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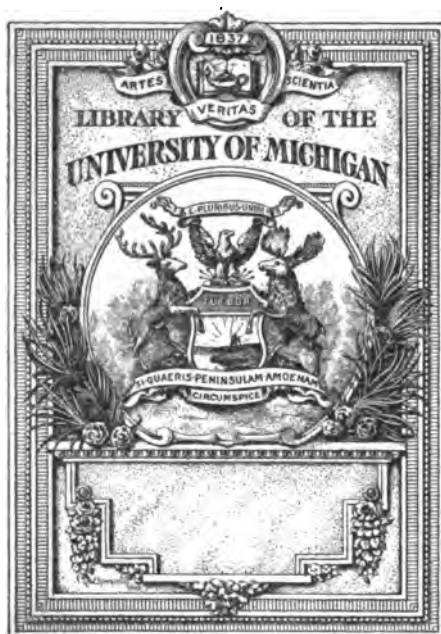
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Our Day

A RECORD AND REVIEW

OF

CURRENT REFORM

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS

WITH THE COÖPERATION OF EMINENT SPECIALISTS IN
REFORM, AT HOME AND ABROAD

Via Lucis, Via Crucis

VOL. III.—JANUARY—JUNE.—1889

BOSTON
OUR DAY PUBLISHING COMPANY
28 BEACON STREET

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The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
Electrotyped and Printed by H. O. Houghton & Company

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OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. III. — JANUARY, 1889. — No. 13.

ROBERT ELSMERE'S SELF-CONTRADICTIONS.

"ROBERT ELSMERE" is the echo of an echo. In its central anti-supernaturalistic contentions, it is largely a rehash of the anonymous work, "Supernatural Religion," which some years ago made considerable noise in England. That work was substantially an echo of a now decadent continental school of rationalistic criticism, led chiefly by Strauss and Renan. Matthew Arnold's own positions in relation to historic Christianity were largely such an echo. It is or ought to be well known that, after full and prolonged hearing, they have produced small effect upon real experts in the field of discussion to which they refer. Mrs. Ward's book echoes on this subject her uncle's now really belated and outgrown opinions. Roger Wendover is a disciple of a school of anti-supernaturalism that has been discredited in the highest circles of scholarship in Germany for nearly a quarter of a century. He is the echo of an echo after the original voice has ceased to be authoritative.

Strauss himself abandoned the famous Mythical Hypothesis before he died. It was buried before its author, as every scholar knows. Professor Christlieb and Professor Luthardt, foremost among thoroughly evangelical experts of Germany in the department of the Christian evidences, assure the world that Strauss' theory no longer needs to be answered in the theological departments of the German universities. "It has been swept out at the back-doors of German intellectual workshops," said

Professor Christlieb once to the present writer, "and it ill becomes Englishmen or Americans to feed on food that Germans have thrown out of doors as intellectual refuse."

In the chief anti-supernaturalistic positions of "Robert Elsmere" there is nothing new to theological scholars. The gospels themselves are proof that, in the age in which they originated, miracles were by no means attributed to every prominent religious teacher. "John did no miracle," is the cool record, "and yet all things that he spoke of Christ were true." No miracle is attributed to Christ himself, before his baptism.

The character of Christ is an historical and unassailable reality. It is itself the supreme miracle. His sinlessness forbids his possible classification with men. In connection with this supreme miracle other miracles are to be expected. On his death-bed, Professor De Wette, the Coryphæus of German rationalism in his time, made this concession, over which Neander, the church historian, shed tears when he read it: "Although a mystery which cannot be dissipated rests on the way and manner of the resurrection of Christ, the fact of the resurrection can no more be brought into doubt by honest historic evidence than can the assassination of Cæsar."

In Germany itself, the school of thought which Roger Wendover represents has met with most disastrous defeats in the highest places of learning. Although the opposite was the case fifty years ago, the young men in the German universities, who are all free to choose for themselves, are now patronizing evangelical in preference to rationalistic theological professors in the proportion of ten to one. "The unforced opinions of young men," Lord Bacon said, "are the best materials for prophecy."

There should have been introduced into "Robert Elsmere" some character like Professor Luthardt, or Professor Christlieb, to balance the Squire and Professor Grey. The defense of sound views is left to Catherine chiefly, and her intellectual equipment is insufficient for the exigency. Her character triumphs, however, and cannot but command reverence, although she is by no means such an antagonist as a Mrs. Browning or a Mrs. Stowe would have been. One of her central positions has often been taken in the course of centuries of debate as to the

Christian evidences, and has never been successfully controverted : *Either Jesus was what he claimed to be, or he was not a good man, nor even sane.*

That Christ was either an impostor or self-deceived, or else that he bore intelligent and trustworthy testimony concerning himself, is not often seriously denied. But to assume, as Robert Elsmere does, that miracles do not occur, and to admit that Christ, therefore, was self-deceived, or an impostor, and yet to establish something like a worship of him, is a self-contradiction that has never shown itself capable of producing important movements in church history. The self-contradiction is too glaring to be kept hidden long from the eyes of its votaries. The attempt to eliminate the supernatural from Christianity and yet retain its spiritual power is like an effort to cut down a tree and yet retain its fruit season after season and its daily grateful shade.

Professor T. H. Green of Oxford, whose character and philosophy are supposed to be represented by Tutor Grey in "Robert Elsmere," endeavors in a lay sermon on Faith to show how disbelievers in historic Christianity may yet retain its spiritual passion for holiness. His positions are a familiar outgrowth of speculation that has been age after age discredited both by historical scholarship and by practical experience. But he is more logical than Elsmere, for he sees that the work of such disbelievers must be more or less crippled by their negations and doubts. "It will be," he says, "rather on the fringe of the church that such work will lie. *For some of the deeper charities of the Christian Society, such as ministering to the spiritual wants of the sick, speculative differences may for the present necessarily disqualify us.*" (Works of T. H. Green, vol. iii. p. 278.) Professor Green himself would have expected only a dubious future for Robert Elsmere's new religious organization. When the Oxford teacher, whose work in philosophy and ethics is to be spoken of with far more reverence than his work in theology, lay dying, March 25, 1882, his belief in God and immortality was clear, and one of his last requests was to have read to him the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans.

Robert Elsmere makes no adequate provision for the continuance of the eccentric ethical society which he founds. Many such organizations have been tried at various periods of church history and have failed. The author of "Robert Elsmere" should herself have described the history of Elsmere's new brotherhood through three or four generations. New religions are to be judged not so much by the men who make them, as by the men they make.

On the whole, therefore, brilliant and noble as much that "Robert Elsmere" contains must be admitted to be, the book cannot be defended as a really fair or strong argument, nor even as a new one, against scholarly evangelical views. The probability is, therefore, that while it may produce a considerable temporary effect in misleading half-equipped minds, its influence will not be permanent in circles at once alert, candid, and well-informed, and spiritually devout, practical, and aggressive.

Not to quote Luthardt, Dorner, Christlieb, or other German writers on the Christian evidences, it may be worth while to mention a single American authority quite abreast of the freshest discussions. The well-known works of Prof. G. P. Fisher, of Yale College, on "The Supernatural Origin of Christianity," and on "Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief," contain, with their references, a sufficient reply to the whole list of recent anti-supernaturalistic critics, and should be read by any one whose convictions are disturbed by Mrs. Ward's novel.

Robert Elsmere's best and noblest work was done in Surrey, when he and his wife labored hand-in-hand for the poor, and when he had not yet fallen under the influence of the Squire. No one in his senses can seriously wish to live the life and die the death of Roger Wendover.

Some one should write a work of fiction entitled "Robert Elsmere's Successor," showing the history of Elsmere's new brotherhood for several generations, and the general result of what Mr. Gladstone so justly calls an attempt to fly without wings. — *North American Review*, January.

JOSEPH COOK.

LORD DUFFERIN ON FREE GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

SPEECH AT CALCUTTA, DECEMBER 2, 1888.

THE departing viceroy, at the St. Andrew's dinner in Calcutta, December 2, took advantage of his last public appearance in India, to express in weighty and statesmanlike language an unqualified condemnation of the Native Congress agitation. This carefully considered remonstrance has the character of a state paper rather than that of an after-dinner speech, and is specially impressive as coming from a governor-general whose utterances here have hitherto been most jealously guarded. The magnitude of the evil must have been marked indeed when Lord Dufferin felt himself compelled, on the eve of his departure, to throw aside the diplomatic mask and urge upon public attention an earnest and uncompromising protest. This speech will prove a valuable legacy to his successor, and will probably enable him at the outset of his rule to adopt a decisive attitude and a settled policy. — *The Times*, December 3.

As I am so near the day of dissolution, I may be permitted to utter a few words of warning and advice to those to whose affairs I have been giving such unremitting attention for so long a period. [Cheers.] You will understand that it is not so much a viceroy addressing you as his departing, pale, attenuated shade — or rather shall we say some intelligent traveler who has come to India for three months, with the intention of writing an encyclopædic work on the government and people, and who is therefore able to speak in a spirit of infallibility denied to lesser men.

Well, then, what is India? It is an empire equal in size, if Russia be excluded, to the entire continent of Europe, with a population of 250,000,000 souls, composed of a large number of distinct nationalities, professing various religions, practicing diverse rites, and speaking different languages. The census report says there are 106 different Indian tongues — not dialects — of which 18 are spoken by more than a million persons, while many races are still further separated from each other by discordant prejudices, conflicting, social usages, and even antagonistic material interests.

Perhaps the most patent peculiarity of our Indian Cosmos is its division into two mighty political communities — the Hindoos, numbering 190,000,000, and the Mahomedans, 50,000,000, whose distinctive characteristics, religious, social, and ethnological, it is unnecessary to mention. To these two great divisions must be added a host of minor nationalities (though minor is a misleading term, since most of them are numbered by millions), who, though some are included in the two broader categories, are as com-

pletely differentiated from each other as Hindoos from Mahomedans. Such are the Sikhs, with their warlike habits and traditions and theocratic enthusiasm ; the Rohillas, Pathans, Assamees, Beloochees, and other wild and marshall tribes on the frontiers ; the hillmen dwelling on the Himalayas ; our subjects in Burmah, Mongol in race and Buddhist in religion ; the Nairs, Bheels, and other non-Aryan peoples of the centre and south of India, and the enterprising Parsees, with their rapidly developing manufactures and commercial interests.

Again, among the numerous communities are found, at one and the same moment, all the various stages of civilization through which mankind has passed from prehistoric ages to the present time. At one end of the scale is the naked, savage hillmen, with stone weapons, head-hunting, and polyandrous habits, and childish superstitions ; at the other the Europeanized native gentleman, with the refinement, polish, and literary culture of Western philosophy and advanced political ideas ; while between the two lie layer upon layer, in close juxtaposition, of wandering communities, living in tents, with flocks of goats, collections of undisciplined warriors, with blood feuds, clan organization, and loose tribal government, feudal chiefs, or barons, with picturesque retainers, seignorial jurisdiction, and mediæval modes of life, and modernized country gentlemen, enterprising merchants and manufacturers, with well-managed estates and prosperous enterprises. Besides all these, under our direct administration, the government is required to exercise a certain amount of supervision over 117 native states, with their princely rulers, autocratic executives, and independent jurisdictions, and their fifty millions of inhabitants. The mere enumeration of these diversified elements must suggest to the most unimaginative mind a picture of as complicated a social and political organization as has ever tasked human ingenuity to govern and administer.

But even within India itself we have not reached the limits of our accountability ; for we are bound to provide for the safety and welfare, not only of Her Majesty's Hindoo, Mahomedan, and other native subjects, but also for the large East Indian community, the indigenous Christian churches, and the important planting and manufacturing interests scattered over the face of the country, as also to secure the property and lives of all British residents in India, men, women, and children, whether employed in the service of the government or pursuing independent avocations in the midst of alien and semi-civilized multitudes, whose peaceable and orderly behavior cannot, under all circumstances, be implicitly relied on. To these obligations are also added the duty of watching over the enormous commercial interests of the mother country, represented by a guaranteed capital of over £220,000,000, which, to the great benefit of India, has been either lent to the state or sunk in Indian railways and similar enterprises. It would be criminal to ignore the responsibility of the government towards those who have sunk large sums in the development of Indian resources on the faith of official guarantees, or who have invested capital in the Indian funds at the invitation of the Imperial and Indian authorities. The same

considerations apply with almost equal force to the further vast amount of capital employed by private British enterprise in manufactures, tea-planting, and the indigo, jute, and similar industries, on the assumption that English rule and English justice would remain dominant in India.

If, again, we turn our eyes outwards we find external obligations hardly less onerous and imperative than those confronting us within. India has a land frontier of nearly 6,000 miles and a seaboard of about 9,000 miles. On the east she is conterminous with Siam and China, on the north with Tibet, Bhotan, and Nepaul; while on the northwest she marches, at all events diplomatically, with Russia. On the coasts are many rich and prosperous seaports — Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Kurrachee, and Rangoon. Every year we are made more painfully aware to how serious an extent contiguity with foreign nations, whether civilized or uncivilized, and the complications arising out of both Eastern and Western politics and wars expose us to attack, and impose on us the necessity of walking warily and wisely with respect to international relations, taking the precautions, however onerous and expensive, incumbent on a nation that finds itself in contact with enterprising military monarchies and rival maritime powers. It is, then, for the outward protection, for the internal control, and for the welfare and good government and progress of this congeries of nations, religions, tribes, and communities, with the tremendous latent forces and disruptive potentialities they contain, that the government of India is answerable. And, with reference to the ever-shifting and multiplying requirements of this complicated political organization, it has been called upon from time to time to shape and modify its system of administration.

Now, some intelligent, loyal, patriotic, and well-meaning men are desirous of taking a big jump into the unknown by the application to India of democratic methods of government and the adoption of the Parliamentary system, which England herself only reached by slow degrees through the discipline of many centuries of preparation. The idea has been authoritatively suggested of the creation of a representative body, or of representative bodies, with the official element in the minority, who shall have what is called the 'power of the purse,' and who, through this instrumentality, shall be able to bring the British executive into subjection to their will. The organization of battalions of native militia and volunteers for the internal and external defense of the country is the next arrangement suggested; and the first practical result to be obtained would be the reduction of the British army to one half its present numbers.

Well, I am afraid that the people of England will not readily be brought to the acceptance of this programme, or to allow such an assembly, or number of such assemblies, either to interfere with the armies or to fetter and circumscribe the liberty of action either of the provincial government or of the supreme executive. In the first place, the whole scheme is eminently unconstitutional. For the essence of constitutional government is that responsibility and power should remain in the same hands; and the idea of irresponsible councils, whose members could never be called to account for their acts in the way in which an Opposition can be called to

account in a constitutional country, arresting the march of Indian legislation, or nullifying the policy of the British executive in India, would be regarded as an impracticable anomaly. Indeed, so obviously impossible would be the application of such a system in the circumstances of the case, that I do not believe it has been seriously advocated by any native statesman of the slightest weight or importance. I have come into contact, during four years, with, I imagine, almost all the most distinguished persons in India, and have talked to most of them upon these matters ; but I have never heard a suggestion from one of them in the sense that I have mentioned. [Cheers.]

But if no native statesman of weight and importance capable of appreciating the true interests of England and India is found in defense of this programme, who are those who do defend it ? Who and what are the persons that seek to wield such great powers — that would tempt the fate of Phaeton, and sit in the chariot of the Sun ? Well, they are gentlemen of whom I desire to speak with the greatest courtesy and kindness, for they are most of them the product of the system of education which we have ourselves carried on during the last thirty years. But thirty years is a very short time in which to educe a self-governing nation from its primordial elements. At all events, let us measure the extent of the educated assistance upon which we could call at this moment, and examine the degree of proficiency which the educated classes have attained and the relation of their numbers to the rest of the population.

Out of the whole population of British India, which may be put at 200,000,000 in round numbers, not more than five or six per cent. can read and write, while less than one per cent. has any knowledge of English. Thus the overwhelming mass of the people — perhaps 190,000,000 out of 200,000,000 — is still steeped in ignorance. Of the ten or twelve millions who have acquired an education, three fourths, or perhaps less, have not attained to more than the most elementary knowledge. In a recent review of the progress of education it is pointed out that 94½ per cent. of those attending schools and colleges are in the primary stage, while the progress made in English education is measured by the fact that the number of the students who have graduated at the universities since 1857 — that is, during the course of the last thirty-one years — is under eight thousand. During the last twenty-five years probably not more than half a million students have passed out of our schools with a good knowledge of English ; there being perhaps a million more with a smattering. Consequently, it may be said that out of a population of 200,000,000, only a very few thousands may be considered to possess an adequate qualification, so far as education and acquaintance with Western ideas, or even Eastern learning, are concerned, for taking an intelligent view of those intricate and complicated economic and political questions, affecting the destinies of many millions of men, that are almost daily presented for the consideration of the government.

I would ask, then, how could any reasonable man imagine that the British government would be content to allow this microscopic minority to control the administration of that majestic and multiform empire, for whose safety and welfare they are responsible in the eyes of God and before the

face of civilization ! It appears to me a groundless contention that it represents the people of India. Is it not evident that large sections of the community are already becoming alarmed at the thought of such self-constituted bodies interposing between themselves and the august impartiality of English rule. They ought to know that in the present condition of India there can be no real or effective representation of the people, with their enormous numbers, multifarious interests, and tessellated nationalities. They ought to see that all the strength, power, and intelligence of the British government are applied to preventing one race or one religion from acquiring dominion over another. They ought to feel that there is no greater blessing to a country than the existence of an external, dispassionate, immutable authority, whose watchword is "Justice," who alone possesses both the power and the will to weld the rights and *status* of each separate element of the Empire into a peaceful, coördinated, and harmonious unity.

When the Congress was first started, it seemed as if that body directed its attention to the consideration of social reform, and that like a similar congress in England it might prove of assistance to the government and of great use to the citizens. I cannot help expressing regret that they consider momentous questions concerning the welfare of millions of their fellow-subjects beneath notice. It is a still greater matter for regret that the members of the Congress are answerable for the distribution—as their officials have boasted—among thousands of ignorant and credulous men of publications animated by a very questionable spirit and whose manifest intention is to excite the hatred of the people against the public servants of the crown in this country. Such proceedings no government could regard with indifference ; nor can they fail to inspire us with misgivings, at all events as to the wisdom of those who have so offended. Nor is the silly threat of one of the chief officers—the principal secretary, I believe, of the Congress—that he and his Congress friends hold in their hands the keys, not only of popular insurrection, but of military revolt, calculated to restore confidence in their discretion, even when accompanied by the assurance that they do not intend for the present to put these keys into the locks.

It was, we think, most wise and most self-denying of Lord Dufferin to make this speech, instead of one, which he could easily have made, that would have purchased for him a roar of popularity. We would not ourselves declare the Congress illegal, as we see some experienced governors are prepared to recommend ; but we would discourage its meetings by all the means at the disposal of government, and especially by proclaiming from the first that while the British remain in India, the care of the countless millions now committed to them cannot be resigned into any hands except their own. When the Indian multitudes are ready for self-government, they will announce the fact to us in indisputable terms ; but till then, the adoption of any scheme of representative government whatever is merely the transfer of power from one qualified and strictly responsible aristocracy to another which would be neither responsible nor qualified.—*The Spectator* (London), December 8.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR ON PROTECTION AND WAGES IN AMERICA.

ON Saturday, December 1, Sir Lyon Playfair, M. P., addressed his constituents of the Southern Division of Leeds, and in doing so, after some preliminary remarks, spoke as follows on protection and wages in America : —

I have lately returned from the United States, where a very important issue has been before the people in the presidential election. It would be false to call that issue free trade, because the proposal before the country was whether the high protectionist tariff, averaging 47 per cent. on the price of imports, should be reduced to 42 per cent. If a man took 47 drinks a day and reduced them to 42, you would not call him a teetotaler. So you could not call a tariff of 42 per cent. a free-trade tariff ; but it was the thin end of the wedge, and every one knew that if successful it would be driven deeper. [Hear, hear.] It was sure to rend in twain protection in the end.

You are aware that nominal wages, measured by dollars or shillings, mean something quite different from real wages, which represent the necessities and comforts of life which money will buy. For unskilled labor wages are a good deal higher there than they are in England, and comforts for the unskilled laborer are greater. The Republicans unhesitatingly assert that this is due to protection. Protection, it is said, creates industries which would not exist without it, and therefore gives work to the laborer.

If protection gives to a working man more wages, where does the more come from ? It comes from the taxes which working men pay to support protection. Protected industries in America have always considerably lower wages than unprotected industries. Still, you may think that protection would render uniform wages all over the country in occupations of a like kind. It does not do so at all. Between different States the variation of wages in the same protected industry is much greater than the difference between English and American wages. Last year, out of 816,000 operatives in Massachusetts, 214,000, or 29½ per cent., were out of employment for part of the year. In such cases you ought to deduct at least a fourth from the nominal rate of wages.

The Republicans boast that protection gives employment to American labor. The truth is that Americans are rapidly disappearing from many protected industries. There is a large mill in New Hampshire which employs 6,000 operatives, and among these there are only 230 Americans, the rest being French Canadians, Irish, and English. The fact is that Americans desert protected industries because the wages are lower in them, and they go to unprotected industries, where the wages are higher. Cobden

laid down the doctrine of wages in this pithy sentence — "When two men ask work from one employer, wages are low; when two employers are after one man, wages are high." This is the usual consequence of supply and demand, and it rules wages in America. In the United States there are only 14 or 15 persons to a square mile; in England and Wales there are 446. The land requires eight millions of people to cultivate the soil, while manufactures demand rather more than three millions. If you take all the unprotected trades, there are, according to George, 20 men employed in them for one in the protected industries; while other authorities put them as one to 17. It is no doubt mainly the demand for labor on the land that raises the rate of wages all over the States. Protection has absolutely nothing to do with it except that it is a force to lower wages. [Hear, hear.]

Compare the manufacturing State of Maine, in the East, near Canada, with California, in the far West, where the demand for agricultural labor is high. In Maine the average wages are £52 yearly, and in California they are £96. It is extremely difficult to compare the real wages between two countries. Mr. Blaine, the leader of the Republican party, tried to do so when he was secretary of state, and got elaborate reports from the American consuls; and this was his conclusion in his own words: "The hours of labor in the Lancashire mills are 56; in Massachusetts they are 60 per week. The hours of labor in the other New England States, where the wages are generally less than in Massachusetts, are usually 66 to 69 per week. Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor."

Mr. Carroll D. Wright, an eminent statesman and a trustworthy observer, comes to the conclusion that, taking mechanics all round, a Massachusetts workman, with a family of five workers, including children, makes in the year £160, while the English workman makes £103. These are nominal wages. It costs the American workman £151 to live comfortably, while the English workman wants £101. At the end of the year the American head of the family would have £9 to save and the English only £2. My conclusion is that protection is a gigantic error in its claim that it is the source of high wages. It is not the English but the Americans who fear "the pauper labor of Europe;" in America that fear stalks like a spectre round the ramparts of protection — a grim sentinel to scare the workmen of the United States.

I hold that protection leads directly to socialism, and even to communism. If you think this view fanciful, look at the movements in protectionist countries. In America socialistic outbreaks have occurred, as at Chicago, followed by the executions of the ringleaders. Russia is honeycombed by socialists; Germany has passed laws for their suppression. The organization of Knights of Labor in America, if it had proved successful, would have formed an inclined plane, rapidly leading to socialism in labor. Protectionists live on the product of the labor of others, collected through a tax upon all of us, for the benefit of themselves. The principle of living on the labor

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of others is a principle liable to great expansion. I need not draw the moral from my sermon. England for 40 years has had free trade. Before 1840, under protection, her working classes had few comforts of life and were unable to lay by savings for their old age. Under protection our industries languished. In 1815 our British exports were 51 million pounds sterling and in 1840 they were the same. In 1886 they had mounted to 212 millions. Wages in England have largely, and on the whole steadily, risen for 30 years. Between 1850 and 1883 the average increase in British wages has been about 39 per cent., while in the United States it has been a little above 30 per cent. Even during the great depression of 1872 to 1883 the average rise in England was 10 per cent., while in the protectionist State, Massachusetts, wages fell 5.41 per cent. In spite of lower nominal wages in the United Kingdom, the wage-workers of our country have saved as much when estimated by purchasing power as their American brethren. Perhaps the best test of a nation's prosperity is the rate of increase of its population compared with former periods of its history. Between 1851 and 1861 the rate of increase in the United Kingdom was 5.6 per cent.; between 1861 and 1871 it was 8.8 per cent.; and between 1871 and 1881 it was 10.8 per cent.

The American politicians are accustomed to speak of "decrepid old England and its pauper labor." I wish they would explain how it is that this country, without one acre of virgin soil, has nearly twice the percentage of gain in the last of the three decades that it had in the first. England and Wales have a density of population from three to nineteen times greater than any of the States in America, whose rate of increase has only in a few cases been greater in the last decade than in England. Thus Ohio increased 19.8 per cent., and Indiana by 17.7 per cent.; while England and Wales increased 14.4 per cent. The older States do not show this rate of increase. New York's rate was 15.9, but Maine only increased by 3.5, and Vermont only by one half per cent. Test the whole question, in any way you choose, and you will find that neither by real wages, by savings, nor by commercial prosperity, is there the slightest support given by American experience to the idea that free trade is a delusion or that protection adds to the remuneration of labor or acts in any other way than as a drag on the development of nations.

PRESIDENT McCOSH ON ROBERT ELSMERE.

"**ROBERT ELSMERE**" is the novel most likely to sway or to undermine belief, published since the days of George Eliot. It has been so much read, partly because it has given us a vivid picture of a period through which many of us have passed, but which is now passing away. An adventitious interest has been imparted to it by the felicitous review of it by Mr. Gladstone, in his "Battle of Belief." But it must be admitted that it owes its popularity mainly to its own attractiveness, to its delicate perception of character, its moving scenes, and its pictorial style.

Having lived through the period pictured, I am in circumstances to understand the position of all the parties, and their swaying motives.

About 1830 the Britishers were bent on having a Reform Bill of a radical character and raising murmurs against the Established Churches. The English clergy, alarmed about what was coming, and wishing to separate themselves from dissenters, and to show that they had something distinctly better, raised the cry of the Holy Catholic Church, fell back into mediævalism, some of them into Romanism, and set about adorning their churches, and their church services. It was the period of the "Tracts for the Times."

A few years later, as might have been expected, there arose a reaction led by younger men in Oxford, tending toward free-thinking and skepticism. Mr. John Stuart Mill's "Logic" might now be seen in the hands of every rising tutor, and became the chief authority in philosophy. They were the days of the once famous but now forgotten semi-skeptical "Essays and Reviews." In the midst of this ferment a grave, earnest man rose to the surface. This was Thomas Hill Green, Fellow of Balliol, vividly described in the novel under the name of Mr. Grey. He could not fall in with the philosophy derived from Hume the skeptic, and propagated in England by the Mills, father and son. So he betook himself to Germany, and became profoundly sunk and lost in the most extravagant of all philosophies, that of Hegel, which made the world ideal, that is, the creation of the mind, declaring it all the while to be real — a philosophy, I may remark, now abandoned in Germany. This man's style of thinking and writing is very scholarly, but terribly arid. But he must have had something attractive in his *personnel*. By his learning and his earnestness he drew many promising young men toward him at a time when there was no deep philosophy in England and not much (after the death of Hamilton) in Scotland, and none in Ireland.

Mr. Green never became a priest, but his admirers drew two lay sermons out of him. These were published posthumously, and I have them before me. In these he applies his ideal Hegelian philosophy to religion. The

Christian's Faith is a projection of the human mind, just as the external world is. There was such a personality as Jesus Christ, — this cannot be denied, the picture of him is so life-like, — but the great body of the deeds ascribed to him are mythical, and there is no proof that he rose from the dead. This personality must have been self-sacrificing and lovely beyond measure. His image was deeply impressed on the hearts of his disciples. No doubt he died, but they could not believe him to be dead. Their fancies raised him from the dead, and these fishermen proclaimed him everywhere, and, somehow, contrived to secure the adherence of Saul, whose imagination was so strong that he believed that he had seen the risen Galilean. Jesus still lives in the hearts of his people, and will continue to live with his high example and ideal. All this is a development from the conception of the fishermen, with nothing Divine or supernatural in it. Robert Elsmere is thus gendered with his new Christianity, which is now superseding the old in the scums of London, and is come to America with the new novel.

Among others swayed by Mr. Green, changed into Mr. Grey, were the sons of Dr. Arnold, the famous teacher of Rugby, who had such influence over the finest of his pupils. A most attractive picture is drawn of him by his biographer, Stanley. It is all true as biographies go. But I have been told by pupils of his, whom I can trust, that the discipline in his school was none of the strictest. I have been seeking, said an old pupil, the other day, to a friend of mine, to find some features of "Black Thom" (as his worst boys called him) in that biography by Stanley.

Dr. Arnold, in his writings, set aside the full inspiration of Scripture. His sons have gone a step farther, and followed out his principles logically. One of them, finding no infallibility in Scripture, betook himself to the mother church, and became for a time a professor in the Catholic University of Dublin. But his unsatisfied mind did not find the peace which he expected, and he left his position to drift, perhaps he knows not whither. Mrs. Humphrey Ward, the authoress of "Robert Elsmere," is a daughter of this man. I can conceive that one so trained may have experienced a difficulty in finding a creed.

Another son, Matthew, is known in this country, which he visited, and where he was so well received, as are all Englishmen who have any name. In my opinion Mr. Matthew Arnold has been rather an overestimated man in England. It does not appear to me that he has written any great work in history or in criticism (of which he is supposed to be master) which will live above an age or two. He has certainly literary knowledge and ability, but his style is full of mannerisms, which came out very oddly when he had to give a business account of the state of education in France. He has taken up no great theme, and he will go down the stream to posterity as the author of some fine poems of the second rank, and of certain phrases, such as the rather unsavory one "uncircumcised philistine," which he has sought to make classical.

He constantly dabbled in religious subjects, of which he knew very little.

He was bent on interpreting the Apostle Paul, and has utterly failed to catch his meaning, which the humblest Christians in all ages have had no difficulty in doing. He has given a most ludicrously perverted meaning to Paul's profound exposition of the "righteousness of God which is unto all and upon all them that believe." On leaving America he gave us some advice. He complains of our defective civilization, of our want of "sweetness and light," — another of his fondled phrases (taken from Swift). He has told us some wholesome truths, but has not shown us a way in which the evil may be removed. Those who follow him will be sure to become *dudes* — not in dress, but in character, manners, and habits.

I may relieve a rather dull article by relating his visit to Princeton College. The students wished to hear him, and I wrote, asking him to visit us. I got a letter in return, addressed to me, thanking me for improving his elocution! It was only after some search that I found that he had sent a letter to me meant for Mr. Dudley Warner. I returned the letter to him, telling him that I was sure the misplacing of the epistle was done not by himself, but by some of those imps who are ever playing such tricks. He set out for Princeton, guided by a hired companion. At New York he drove to the wrong station, and did not reach the Pennsylvania station till the train had left. He took the next train, but found it did not stop at Princeton Junction. In afterwards speaking of the event, he said to me: "Your conductors are such fine men. In England a guard would never have stopped a train to let out a wandering lecturer, but your conductor let me out at the station." On reaching the depot he found that there was no train, and he could not get a cab, but he said, "I am an Englishman, and I can walk," and he set out on foot on a dirty road. Getting wearied, he fell in with a lumber cart, and asked the driver to allow him to mount his wagon, and thus came into our college town. He realized a further difficulty when he came to my house. He was clothed in the rough dress used by English gentlemen, and felt that he could not thus appear before a college audience. Fortunately, his guide found means of arriving with his trunk. He gave us a fine lecture on Literature versus Science; and next morning devoutly attended prayers in our college chapel.

In religion he has reached the same conclusion as Mr. Green. He tells us that religion in America is founded on preternaturalism, and that "a religion of preternaturalism is doomed."

People will now inquire whether Mr. Matthew Arnold in his essays, and his niece, Mrs. Ward, in her novel, are the sort of persons likely to be able to give us a new religion. Only two persons have been able to do this since Jesus left us his gospel — Mohammed and Brigham Young. Are the Arnold family to do it by their novel?

The literary character of the age may be emphatically described as one of novel-writing and novel-reading. It is well-known that works of fiction constitute two thirds of our circulating libraries, and perhaps as large a portion of our Sabbath-school reading. Possibly children are led into the reading of secular novels by their training in religious novels. Possibly the

excessive reading of romances by boys and girls may render it very difficult for them to distinguish between truth and fiction, and may tempt them to look on all faith as a fiction.

We may have come to a time when the character of our young masters and misses will be determined more by tales, than by fathers and mothers, ministers and teachers. Thoughtful men are inquiring what is to be the effect of all this on the formation of the character of the rising generation. Ministers of the gospel will have to send for the last new novel, to see if they have not to warn their people against it. Grave teachers of theology will have to study "Robert Elsmere" and "John Ward, Preacher," as well as the Confession of Faith and the Thirty-Nine Articles.

Of late years, our best novels have been written by ladies. I rather think that this will continue. Women have intuitive perceptions of character keener, more subtle and tender than men have. They can set before us men, women, and children with sentiments, manners, and dress more picturesque than we of the coarser sex can.

Our novels are now being written with a purpose ; not merely to give us a picture, but to promote a cause. It looks as if in the near future the battle of religion and irreligion will be fought in fiction. The war, to a large extent, will be one of Amazons, and with Amazons. The weapons of warfare will not be represented by swords and guns, but by bodkins and darning needles, scissors and breastpins. Novels will have to be met by novels. Oxford has had its novel, and other universities must have the same. Princeton will have to produce a counter irritant to "John Ward, Preacher," and Charles Hodge (who has been attacked) and rigid Calvinism. Harvard will have to regain the literary reputation which it had an age ago, and employ one of the ladies of its annex to put life into — not Unitarianism, which is dead and laid out for decent burial, but into the agnosticism of its young men. Yale must stand by the old faith against Harvard, but will vivify the scenes by gymnastics in order to retain the championship. The end will be that our novel-readers of weak women, and still weaker men, will not know what to believe.

For myself, I should like to have some members of the school expounding their reconstructed Christianity in a formal manner. In that case it could be examined coolly. It is so incongruous that I believe it could be pulled down, as a castle of cards, by a junior in theology. But a far more important organization has been adopted. The new religion is presented to us by a gifted lady, with all sorts of fine arts and attractions, which it would be most ungallant to attack. He who would assail the fair figure, will be loaded with reproach, as my countryman, John Knox has been for ages, for resisting the fascinations of Mary Queen of Scots, when, under foreign influence, she was undermining the foundation of Protestantism.

— *New York Ledger*, December 29.

BERLIN ADDRESSES TO STUDENTS.

BY J. H. W. STUCKENBERG, D. D.

CHURCH LIFE AND RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN GERMANY.

THERE is no imperial German Church. Count Bernstorff, from the Department of the Ministry of Religion, gave this audience recently a valuable account of the government of the state church, and we then learned that each state manages its own ecclesiastical affairs, and that each ruler is the head of the church in his own state. Thus the Emperor of Germany is the *summus Episcopus* or supreme bishop only of the state church of Prussia, and this he is, not as emperor, but by virtue of the fact that he is King of Prussia. The Cultus Minister appointed by him acts as his representative in the government of the church in that kingdom. The church is regarded as an integral part of the state, and all its laws are promulgated in the name of the king. That this government must also affect the internal affairs of the church is evident. Nevertheless the voice of the church is heard in the district and general synods, composed of clerical and lay representatives of the churches.

The official designation of the state church in Prussia is *Evangelical*, and consists of a union of the Lutheran and the Reformed confessions. The Catholic Church, however, has equal rights with the Evangelical or state church; indeed it has some special advantages in that while it is supported by the state it has greater liberty in the management of its own affairs simply because it is not so organically connected with the state.

I propose this evening to consider briefly the theories of the relation of church and state, and then to discuss the condition of the state church.

The state and the church are the two greatest organizations on earth. Different theories prevail respecting the nature of each of these mighty institutions, and it is not surprising that

there is no agreement respecting their relation to each other. Not only here, but also in Great Britain and in the United States the question of their relation is exciting discussion. In Scotland the question of an established and a free church has long divided the people. In England it is claimed that 12,500,000 persons belong to the Established Church, while only one million less are Dissenters. According to English law every Englishman is a member of the Church of England, but that fact has nothing to do with the real state of the case. In Wales and in many parts of England the Dissenters are in the majority, and they are making disestablishment a burning question.

In the United States the main problem has been the relation of the state to religion; but Catholicism is also pushing to the front the relation of the church to the state. Whether the state can recognize religion without special recognition of a church as the embodiment of that religion is the problem given us for solution. The question of appointing chaplains for legislative bodies, and for the army and the navy; the recognition of Sunday; the Bible, and moral and religious instruction in common schools; the problem of Mormonism, and the repeated appropriations to religious institutions, together with the Catholic theory of the relation of the religious to the civil authority, are calculated to direct attention to the attitude of the state toward religion and the different religious bodies.

When we consider the various theories of the relation of the church to the state, we find that sometimes the state wishes to absorb the church, sometimes the church desires to control the state. The former is the case in the Greek Church of Russia. In Germany the church has much more freedom. In the case of Catholicism we find that the claim so persistently defended in the Middle Ages, namely, that the ecclesiastical is superior to the civil power, is still the theory of that church. This is proclaimed in recent encyclicals, and is constantly reiterated by the Catholic press. Even in Protestant lands, where this press is more guarded in its utterances than in Catholic countries, this claim is constantly made. Call this spirit ultramontane or Jesuitical if you will; but remember that this spirit is the

dominant one in that church even in Protestant Germany. The leader of the Centre, the Catholic political party of Germany, was applauded to the echo when in a religious assembly he declared that the Pope rules the world, and the entire press of that church echoed the sentiment. This church claims likewise that as it is superior to the civil authority so it is to determine what amount of religious freedom shall prevail. It has become fashionable for the advocates of Catholicism to laud it as the defender of religious freedom and of the rights of reason; but its authoritative utterances put all such laudation to shame. "The Voice of Truth," of Rome, which speaks with authority on the views of the papacy, has declared that the church uses religious freedom in lands where it is in the minority; but that it cannot grant this freedom in lands where it is supreme. It is in favor of freedom so long as it needs that freedom; but whenever it gains the ascendancy that freedom is at an end. All the hierarchical assumptions of the Catholic Church in the past are still made, though circumstances render it expedient for Rome to be less arrogant than in the Middle Ages. Let me quote but one recent utterance, and that in England, by the Roman Catholic Bishop Auxiliary of Newcastle, who declared in a sermon that "there sat, at that moment, yonder at Rome, on Peter's throne, with all Peter's power and jurisdiction over emperors, kings, princes, and people — there sat on Peter's throne their own blessed Lord, the Pope Leo XIII., holding Peter's keys in his hand, holding Peter's jurisdiction, holding Peter's power, that what he bound on earth was bound in heaven; what he loosed on earth was loosed in heaven. . . . Yonder he sat, then, the father of fathers, the prince of prelates, Peter's successor, and Christ's vicar — their Lord Pope." And this is but one utterance of a thousand, all of which confirm the constant claim of encyclicals respecting ecclesiastical supremacy over civil power.

An interesting and somewhat novel view was held by the eminent theologian, Richard Rothe, namely, that the functions of the church would eventually be assumed by the state, so that the church would cease to exist as a separate institution. He did not regard this as the result of religious indifference, but

as the consequence of the permeation of the entire state by religion.

On the Continent as well as in America and Great Britain there are those who advocate the entire separation of church and state. Some do this because they are hostile to religion; but there are others who think the church would thereby be the gainer. Thus Vinet held that religion should be entirely freed from political control, in order that it may develop according to its own genius. There are also many Christians in Germany who want the autonomy of the church to be increased; but there is a general fear that an entire separation would be disastrous to the church. Not only is it not prepared for self-government; there are also apprehensions that its support would be impossible without aid from the state, and that in different places elements dangerous to the best interests of religion might get control of the church. The fact is, men in Germany are so bound by traditions and by the present state of things that they can form no conception of a church severed entirely from the state. Some look upon it as fatal both to the church and to religion. To the vast majority the theory which prevails in our country, according to which every religious body is to be protected unless it interferes with the laws of the land, while no particular church is to be organically connected with the state, seems to mean religious anarchy. It is a striking illustration of the fact that persons can form no correct conception of conditions of which they have no experience.

Let us now try to gain an insight into the working of the state church in Germany.

Church life just as political life is seriously injured if the people are deprived of the privilege of self-government. Those who have their own affairs taken out of their hands are not likely to develop energy and skill in those affairs. As a consequence, the genius of the church managed by the state is not fully developed, and has no opportunity fully and freely to express itself. Among the most serious results is the failure to develop the activity of the laity. In some respects hierarchical views are to blame for this. Ministers have been known to oppose lay activity on the ground that it interfered with the

prerogatives of the clergy. Even now preachers can be found who fear that Young Men's Christian Associations and other religious organizations may encroach on the peculiar privileges of the ministry. But aside from this sacerdotalism, a state church does not give the laity the same room and encouragement to work, as a free church. The very needs of the free church develop the activity which a state church suppresses, because it takes upon itself what should be left to the membership. The state is held responsible, hence the church does not feel the same responsibility as it otherwise would. The church is consequently spoken frequently of as "the preachers' church," simply because the state seems to have committed to the ministers what it still leaves undone. The laymen are therefore placed in a subordinate position and but few demands are made upon them.

Still more detrimental to the church is the fact that it is often referred to as part of the police regulation of the state, as if the state used it for the purpose of maintaining order, and perhaps as the means of accomplishing certain political ends. It is a significant fact that the orthodox in religion are the conservatives in politics, and are the right arm of the government in passing political measures. Even in making concessions to the Catholics, the conservatives voted for the measures of the government, and then complained that a great advantage had been given to Rome. The government seems to expect from the church adherence to its measures; and is it surprising, then, that those who oppose the government, also oppose what is regarded as the church of that government? This explains what seems so unaccountable to foreigners, the fact that the liberals in politics are alienated from the church. Indeed, there are conservatives who denounce as irreligious all who dare to be politically liberal. But of late, voices have been heard even among the orthodox in favor of severing party politics from religious convictions; and the time may yet come when a man may be liberal in politics and orthodox in religion.

Among the most marked differences in the religious life of America and Germany is the position of woman in the church. Intellectually, socially, industrially, and religiously she is placed

much lower here than in our country. Only on a very limited scale is room given her for independent religious activity. Large religious assemblies of women, and managed entirely by them, are unknown here. Where there are ministers who think it unbecoming for a layman to open a public meeting with prayer, we cannot be surprised to find such as think it sacrilege for a woman to open a meeting of women with prayer. Her public prominence in religious work is deemed contrary to apostolic teaching and destructive of female modesty.

The failure to develop the lay activity of the church is deeply felt, and a change in this respect is recognized as one of the chief conditions for improving the religious life of Germany. One naturally expects the religion of the state church to permeate the whole state, just as the state leaves its impress on the whole church. But the facts already mentioned give the reason why the German church is far more restricted in its public influence than are the churches in America. In Germany the church seems to be much more separated from the national life; it is more an institution for Sunday service, and even then its influence is limited to the small percentage of the population who attend. The church here seems more like a great cathedral than like a popular leaven.

But the religious life is by no means confined to the operations of the state church. Indeed, more can often be found outside of it than within. The most hopeful sign of Christian activity is seen in what is called "The Inner Mission." This is not synonymous with what we call home missions, but is far more comprehensive. The term was first used by the theologian Luecke, but was popularized by Wichern, the founder of the Raue Haus, for neglected children and for training Christian workers, near Hamburg. Instead of confining the Inner Mission to evangelistic work, it includes all work, whether in behalf of the body, the mind, or the spirit, which is undertaken in the name of Christ and is not a part of the regular work of the state church. It thus includes the most varied kinds of voluntary Christian enterprises, such as the work of deaconesses in hospitals and schools, the efforts to save fallen women, to reform criminals, to help the poor and the suffering, to spread

the gospel among the neglected, to purify the press, and the like. I hold in my hand the table of contents of a book on the Inner Mission, and that table contains fifty different kinds of institutions. This will give you an idea of the magnitude of the work. It means much to have a convenient term covering all these varied operations ; it helps to unite and to systematize them. In this department of Inner Mission work we find the activity of Christians especially manifesting itself. Laymen and ministers are alike active, the former often taking the lead. And as all the associations are voluntary, the work is hearty, and usually systematic, persistent, and efficient.

The greatest influence of the state on the internal affairs of the church is exerted by the appointment of the theological as well as of all the other professors by the government. Besides the requisite moral character, the quality chiefly considered is intellectual fitness. The doctrinal standing is made secondary, if at all considered. This will explain the fact that at Bonn Professor Bender, who holds that all religion, the Christian included, is a natural evolution, could be a member of the same theological faculty as Professor Christlieb. When a theological teacher finds himself wholly at variance with Christian doctrine, he is likely to be transferred to the philosophical faculty, as has recently been the case with Bender. Wellhausen was at his own request transferred to the philosophical faculty a few years ago.

The theory prevalent in Germany is that theology and all science must be free, and that this is possible only on condition that the teachers of theology be appointed by the state. If the church appoints them, it is claimed that then they will be bound by the views of the church, and theology will be hampered, as in the Catholic Church. The church is to be considered in all the appointments as a matter of course ; but all kinds of doctrinal views prevail in the state church, and all have a right to representation in the theological teaching. Hence the greatest possible latitude is given to this instruction. It may even happen that the view predominant in the church is not prevalent in a university. Thus in Prussia at present the orthodox party rules in the church, while in the universities they are often in the

minority and perhaps not even represented. Even in the university of Berlin there is not a single prominent professor who represents the dominant party of the church.

We regard it as self-evident that the church should have the appointing of the teachers of its future preachers. The very life of the church, to say nothing of simple justice, seems to demand this. But in Germany this view is not even general among the orthodox, who complain so bitterly of the injustice done them by the appointments of the government. The recent transfer of Harnack, who belongs to the Ritschl school, from Marburg to Berlin, has made the question of the appointment of theological professors a burning one. He was recommended by the theological faculty of Berlin; the authorities of the church were asked for their opinion, and they opposed the transfer. Nevertheless the Cultus Minister transferred him to Berlin. Keenly do the orthodox party feel that all their opposition and protests were in vain, and that after the authorities of the church were asked to give their opinion that opinion was ignored. Yet it is admitted that with the present relation of the church to the state the government is only consistent when it claims the absolute right to settle all questions of the appointment of professors.

There is a growing disposition on the part of the orthodox to secure to the church more independence, and Harnack's appointment has convinced many that the church must be more free if its spirit and life are to be preserved. An effort was made by the orthodox party to secure more liberty for the church; but when the measure was presented to the Prussian legislature all the members of the ministry and all their counselors arose and left the house, thus showing their attitude toward such efforts. The measure was defeated, but the agitation continues.

It cannot, however, be questioned that the freedom in theological inquiry prevalent in Germany has great advantages. Whatever oppressions the Germans have complained of, they boast that in their universities freedom of thought has a refuge, and this, they hold, is attended with the highest benefits. Helmholtz attributes the superiority of German thought in

various departments to the fact that it is more free than in other lands, the conviction prevailing that, even if for the time being disastrous results seem to follow, the truth must at last prevail and will restore order. This confidence in the truth incites hope concerning religion. The idea is that in the freest investigation and the severest conflict, the pure truth and genuine religion will be promoted. The very necessity of meeting opposing views is promotive of breadth and thoroughness. Since the appeal is not to subjective opinions or party prejudice, but to the objective merits of the case, fairness and depth are sought. In theory, at least, every subject of inquiry is thus tested according to its own inherent worth.

In the crisis through which religious thought is passing, investigation on the basis of such a theory is of inestimable value, particularly for those agitated by doubt, and for such as are called to work their way through conflicting systems to a reliable faith. Some who cannot find in schools committed to a certain line of teaching the solutions which their heads and hearts need, eagerly enter upon the unhampered investigations of the profoundest problems in a German university in hope of finding the required solutions.

But this very freedom also promotes doubt. Thus in the same university the theological student may hear Lutheran, Reformed, Unionistic, Rationalistic, and Pantheistic doctrines. The different systems are presented in the best light and are enforced by the strongest arguments. Instead of a completed dogmatic system to which all the teachers adhere, the student is suddenly thrown into a whirlpool of conflicting opinions. The thinkers are always scarce; and it is not strange that many students settle all conflicts by simply adopting the system of some school and making that the standard of all truth. This royal road for indolence makes it evident why schools are so easily and so quickly formed in Germany. Prevalent tendencies, able teachers, the willingness to have others settle questions which would require some especial effort if one dared to settle them for himself, and the desire for favor, position, influence, and preferment, are often potent factors in the formation of schools.

For philosophical minds and for thinkers, this freedom is, however, of the utmost importance. It arouses the energies and incites to the greatest development; it necessitates the comparison of conflicting views and the determination of their relative value; it promotes candor and fairness, and the spirit of tolerance; and both for the sake of the truth and of mental rest it leads to the profoundest researches. While thus many of the students are obliged to pass through tortures of doubt, there are likewise many who find this free atmosphere essential to the attainment of a firm basis of faith and hope.

The effect of this liberty — some will be tempted to call it libertinism and licentiousness of thought — is seen in all departments of German theology. No school, no existing theological systems, are the norm for determining what the results of biblical, historical, or dogmatic inquiries shall be. Abuses are of course possible; love of novelty and originality may be stronger than the love of truth. But correctives are always at hand. Finished systems are not likely to be in vogue here. Thought is viewed as living, and as growing with the ages. Hence the works of eminent theologians are apt to be esteemed valuable as ferments rather than for what they have finally settled. Schleiermacher is a striking illustration. At different periods he held different views. His own daughter informed me that as he grew in years he also more fully approached evangelical faith. He is probably to-day more influential than any other theologian of the century. The reason is that his works are so suggestive, so full of living thought, so rich in impulses to further inquiry. In theology and in the pulpit, as well as in philosophy, he dared to be himself and to go his own way. What he began, what problems he suggested, and the working leaven he introduced into theological thought, have given him his pre-eminence.

This freedom is also seen in German reviews. Criticisms are made as objective as possible, and a friend will freely criticise a friend's works according to their merits, not biased by the friendship. In Halle, at a conference of preachers, I once heard Tholuck give an account of books for the minister's library. Although the venerable Dr. Stier sat near him,

Tholuck freely pointed out what he regarded as the faults of his friend's works, and everybody took it as a matter of course. That men cannot deny their own standpoint in reviews is too evident to require mention. There is complaint in Germany, too, as everywhere else, that books are too often reviewed without being read.

Exegesis being regarded as the fundamental study in theology, we find that it is made the basis and the seed of ethical and dogmatic systems. Eminent scholars let their systems grow out of their exegetical studies, without determining beforehand what the fruit will be. The historical development of dogmas, the confessions of churches, and the theories of philosophers may be used as aids; but exegesis is held to be the decisive factor.

The freedom of parties in the state church deserves a careful study. • That church really allows much greater doctrinal liberty than our American free churches. Look at the Church of England, with its high and low and broad tendencies. So in Germany we find the baldest rationalism in the church, as well as the most rigorous orthodoxy. Thus there are parties which vigorously denounce one another, and each would gladly exclude the others. But the state compels them to dwell together in the same church. It is this diversity of tendency, and this variety of contradictory and hostile views, which make the study of the state church so difficult. Only in a sense so general as to be almost unmeaning, or at least extremely indefinite, can we speak of unity in doctrine, in aim, and in works in the state church.

ROBERT ELSMERE'S SUCCESSOR.

CURFEW JESSELL: THE HISTORY OF A SOUL.

BY DR. JOSEPH PARKER, CITY TEMPLE, LONDON.

INTRODUCTORY.

THIS is not a novel. Due allowance being made for dramatic form, this book may be regarded as the real history of a real soul in its perhaps eccentric yet truly earnest attempt to find religious peace.

Curfew Jessell soon found that what was called his family religion was extremely powerful as a superstition but utterly without value as a rational discipline or an incentive to honest good doing. He openly rebelled against it, and in doing so created a natural sensation truly painful to those who loved him best. His father, who sustained the relation of leaseholder to what little religion he cared for, was overwhelmed with the fear of an impending judgment if he changed an opinion or varied a custom, whilst his mother was somewhat inclined to adopt a precisely opposite view of the Providential plan. Curfew, being a boy of bluff mind and manners, was often credited with frivolity when he was actually concealing the truest earnestness under the guise of playfulness or audacity. Many of his boldest statements would have lost most of their ruggedness if the listener could have seen the note of interrogation latent in them, and thus have softened an assertion into an inquiry. As it was, however, Curfew went amongst men as a concealed boy destitute alike of modesty and reverence, and as such was severely remarked upon by those who knew nothing of him.

The one thing most clear to Curfew's opening mind was that there is more superstition than honest piety in the world, hence his recoil, his disgust, and his apparent infidelity. He saw that most men take their religion as they take their law, that

is to say, it is written in the books and must be received as written. On the other hand, he saw some men with theories of their own, quite new inventions, speculations as to the beginning, the course, and the issue of the universe which boasted of their reasonableness and their independence. By those he was for a time beguiled. It was only necessary to be so ingenious as to be partially absurd in order to fascinate Curfew's attention, a fact which will account for the period of fantasy and vagary so marked in this personal history. Every line of this section is almost literally true; he saw all the people, he heard their theories from themselves, he reported their conversations actually in their own words; so much, indeed, was this the case that I have often said that to follow Curfew's course was to become acquainted with all the religious eccentricities of the times. But eccentricity always gives way under the stress of its own action. The law of spiritual gravitation is against it. The larger nature is always bringing the rash and the errant, the chaotic and the tumultuous, into harmonic line and expression and thus eccentricity will by and by be ruled out of the whole process of life. In the mean time, the world owes no small debt to eccentric men. They alarm superstition, they challenge prescriptive rights, they break in upon the priest, the traditionalist, and the quack who declines to show his credentials, and in this way they disinfect and chasten society.

It was under Sorrow that Curfew Jessell came to himself.

As the irregular narrative proceeds, one wonders where the clamor of competing absurdities will end, and the young life come to steadfastness and peace. It is evident from the structure of Curfew's mind that abstract argument would not have much effect upon him. What great use has the Lord ever made of that instrument? History returns but a poor reply to this inquiry. By miracle, by sign and wonder, by pain and loss, by graves suddenly dug and ambitions ruthlessly thwarted, rather than by wordy plea, has the Lord advanced the regeneration of humanity. It was thus that Curfew Jessell was taught to pray. His mother's grave was the open door through which he saw far into heaven. Thus does God keep his own ministry largely in his own hands, though men are apt to think that there is much of force in their choice of words.

Through Sorrow Curfew Jessell was brought to Music.

Not all religious thinkers reach this height and joy of life. Many stop short at hard terms, at iron creeds, at popular orthodoxies, and never know on earth that music is the sea into which all sacred streams of thought and purpose gently flow. If they were content to be ignorant they might be borne with, but they must needs use their tongues in denunciation. By music they understand nothing but adjusted notes: imagination they confound with nightmare: idealism is to them but a new form of veiling truth which ought, they think, to be as palpable as carved ivory. Their religion, moreover, is something to be owned, and scheduled, and carried as a sacred parcel, instead of being a living force, a quality of the soul, a native air, an incarnation; hence they say their prayers but never pray, and conclude their routine with a sigh. Yet it must come to this, that is to say, religion must end in sigh or song. Curfew's religion ran straight up into music, the ringing and dominant music which is suitable to conscious victory and deepest sense of liberty. No church with a fixed gate of man's handiwork would admit this buoyant singer into its communion, yet it pleased his soul well enough that in the church not made with hands he could look his father in the face.

The church has always been the last to read aright the signs of the times. It has always been afraid of modernness, because of a superstitious regard for the past. It is curiously afraid of disillusioning itself. Never has it fully grasped the meaning of being in the world yet not of the world, of being the light of the world, of being the salt of the earth. The church has never taken full advantage of the very civilization which it has created, but has allowed sections of that civilization to break away from its direction and set up all manner of independencies and rivalries. Hence we have Science, Literature, Political Economy, and manifold Socialism, all of which should have owned the benign and helpful sovereignty of the church. All this aspect of things troubled Curfew Jessell with real pain. He felt that the church should be the all-inclusive institution, and ought to be so constituted that not to belong to it should be equal to a brand of dishonor. It was once in the power of the

church to be so noble as to grant patents and charters to all other organizations, and now it seems to be content with toleration and to construe indifference into peace. Curfew might have been too sanguine, but he certainly felt that the whole Christian church has lost its rightful consciousness of power, and has consequently settled almost ignominiously into a secondary position. The church must not trace its deposition to unmannerly rivalry, but to its own want of penetration into the true intent and use of its function. The church should have made rivalry impossible. It should subsidize Science, open its pulpits to all reverent teachers, assume the whole care of the poor, undertake the education of the young, foster with generous patronage the whole scheme of pure and elevating literature, and all this it should do without the bitterness of sectarianism, without the test of dogmatic declarations, without the tyranny of the priest, then nothing could prevent its ascendancy and coronation.¹ But all this implies what it may be difficult to express in adequate and acceptable words, it implies the reconstruction of the church, its enlargement, its release from dogmatic fetters of its own invention, and its return to the Spirit and purpose of its immortal Founder. A corrupt church deserves to fall into decrepitude, contempt, and oblivion.

This is a summary of the book. In its own way it must tell its tale and insist upon its moral, yet some readers may more instantly seize the purpose of the narrative after this epitome of its main intent.

¹ Years before *Robert Elsmere* appeared I wrote the great bulk of the following story. In no sense, therefore, can it be a reply to that book. In bringing my studies to a close, I do definitely attack some of the main positions of *Robert Elsmere*, but beyond this my book is an independent portrayal of character. Strange as some of the situations may appear, I can substantiate every one by facts known to myself. From White of Selborne to the last fanatic of so-called comprehensionism, all the characters are known to me. Whoever reads *Curfew Jessell* through will have a fair idea of popular religion in England. My hope is that many who live in cloud and doubt will be led, like Curfew Jessell, into the clear living air and light of Faith and holy Love. Laughter and banter I have never allowed to be used as a monopoly against Christianity.

J. P.

London, December 17, 1888.

CURFEW JESSELL: THE HISTORY OF A SOUL.

CHAPTER I.

A DOMESTIC VIGNETTE.

PUSH back the wooden gate in the high thorn hedge and look at that sweet little home at the other side of the mossy lawn. Did you ever see anything just so quiet and wearing exactly that aspect of contentment? The pigeons on the sunny roof do not disturb the summer peacefulness of the scene, and even the crow that breaks at long intervals from the neighboring elms owes its distinctness to the calm it ruffles. That broad, two-storied house is the home of the Blighs of Avenstone. The Blighs are four in number — father, mother, and their two children, Arthur and Esther. Mr. Bligh can, as a man of ample means, afford to gratify his tastes as a naturalist, whilst mother and children can also gratify themselves in various study and refinement; the whole process going so smoothly that the fine old high-case clock in the roomy hall makes the only noise that is heard in the whole house, and the house seems to be grateful for this monotonous excitement. How far is this abode of peace from the dusty, toiling, fretful city? The distance cannot be expressed in figures, for the space of separation is moral as well as arithmetical. It is not far, however, from little Avenstone, a village of gardens and green lanes, where, nevertheless, old age, pain, need, sin, and misery are by no means without proof and urgency. While Mr. Bligh is pursuing his studies of nature, Mrs. Bligh is concerning herself with the weakness and need of human life. As we are permitted to look into Mr. Bligh's diaries they may help us to understand something of his spirit and habits. First look at the man himself; not tall, not short, a broad smooth forehead, hair too white for fifty, but very ample and inclined to curl; eyes large and calm, but for a sort of eagerness intellectual rather than nervous; a slight student-like stoop, and a voice without one tone of publicity in its round and gracious murmur. No one could doubt that Mr. Bligh was a gentleman, not because of his house and substance, but because of his simplicity, refinement, and affable dignity. What he was as a student will partly appear from his diaries, many in number, and written with exquisite neatness. Read:—

"The sedge-bird sings most part of the night. It is quite a mimic. I had no difficulty in identifying the notes of the sparrow, the swallow, and even the skylark, in its voice. I have noticed, too, that if the sedge-bird ceases to sing during the night you have only to throw a stone or a clod into the bush and immediately it takes up its song again."

"Both the male and the female swallow have the long tail feathers that give the tail its fork-shape. It is certain, however, that the feathers are longer in the male than in the female."

"[NOTE.—Swans turn white the second year and breed the third.]"

"I do not see how the stock-dove can ever be so domesticated as to become a

house-dove. At present, however, I have only seen it in the summer. I must study it in the winter. I wish I could find out the manner in which stock-doves build. My rector tells me that he has seen a stock-dove that was bred in Sussex, but he could not determine the place of its nidification. I suspect the rector may be mistaken, as he is not an adroit ornithologist. That house-doves are derived from the small blue-rock pigeon, I have not the shadow of a doubt. [NOTE. — Since wood-pigeons have taken so much to the use of turnips for food it is easy for nice judges to detect considerable rancidness in their flesh.]”

“Yesterday, being in the very middle of the breeding season, it was ridiculous to hear some rooks attempt to sing. The thing was the more farcical as the wood-pecker set up a sort of loud and hearty laugh. The amorous sound of a crow and the clamoring castanet of a goat-sucker make a striking contrast.”

“The rector tells me that having lost most of his chickens by a sparrow-hawk that came gliding down between a fagot pile and the end of his house, he hung a setting net very carefully between the pile and the house, into which the caitiff dashed; he clipped the hawk’s wings, cut off his talons, fixed a cork on his bill, and then threw him down among the brood hens. He tells me that imagination cannot paint the scene that ensued. The hens upbraided, execrated, insulted, and triumphed, and never desisted in their work of resentment, until they had torn the thief into a hundred pieces.”

“The nightingale sings first in April and ceases about the middle of June, so does the middle willow-wren. The chaffinch begins to sing in February, but the red-start does nothing until May. Contrast with these the wood-lark that begins in January and goes on through all the summer and autumn. It is curious to observe how some birds cease to sing by the very calendar; the hedge-sparrow ceases on July 10, the yellow-hammer on August 21, the blackcap ceases three days after the hedge-sparrow; and the titlark three days after the black-cap; and so on.”

Mr. Bligh’s studies were not confined to natural history, as his son Arthur was but too well aware. Mr. Bligh pursued arithmetic and geometry merely for the sake of mental recreation; but unfortunately they did not commend themselves to Arthur on the same delightful ground. Regarded as parts of a sacred duty Arthur was not unwilling to look at them; but regarded as in any degree of the nature of recreation he looked upon them with intense disfavor. For example, the following was thought by its inventor, Mr. Bligh, to be the very thing to fascinate a youthful mind:—

“In what manner may a number of nuns be disposed of in the eight external cells of a square convent, placed like those in a chess-board, so that a blind abbess, who occupies a cell in the middle, shall always find whenever she visits them, nine in each row and yet some of them may have gone out, or a certain number of men may have been introduced so as to vary the number from twenty to thirty-two?”

Mr. Bligh had said to Mrs. Bligh that by personalizing this very interesting inquiry he thought it would quicken Arthur’s interest in its solution; but Arthur declined the investigation on the ground that the proceedings of nuns he could never reconcile with honesty and loyalty to Protestant doctrine.

To the genial Rector Mr. Bligh proposed the following, which he described as a little relaxation from the severer studies of a naturalist : —

"A blind abbess visits her nuns, who were equally distributed in eight cells, built at the four corners of a square, and in the middle of each side, finds an equal number of persons in each row or side containing three cells. At a second visit, she finds the same number of persons in each row, though their number was increased by the introduction of four men. And coming a third time, she still finds the same number of persons in each row, though the four men were then gone and had each carried away a nun. Required the distribution in each case."

The Rector thought it was a riddle, and required some kind of witty answer. But when he came to understand that it was solid arithmetic, he ventured to expostulate with Mr. Bligh upon his making so much of blind abbesses and nuns in embarrassing situations.

"But, my dear Rector, the whole thing is simple arithmetic !"

"Not so simple, Mr. Bligh. I do not admit the simplicity — curious, if you like, or interesting, or instinctive — anything but simple, Mr. Bligh."

"On my honor, Mr. Rector, the simplicity is, from my point of view, undeniable."

"Possibly, Mr. Bligh — more than possibly, I will add certainly ; but then your point of view is wholly inaccessible to me. I stand on a totally different plane."

Thus admonished Mr. Bligh did not abandon his arithmetical and geometrical studies, but kept steadily clear of abbesses and nuns, and betook himself to the classics for his subjects, and to the Rector he thus addressed himself : —

"The three Graces, carrying each a equal number of oranges, were met by the nine Muses, who asked for some of them ; and each Grace having given to each Muse the same number, it was then found that they had all equal shares. How many oranges had the Graces at first ?"

"This will do," said the Rector, "this will do ; this is famous ; there is no need, Mr. Bligh, to blush on putting this inquiry. This is totally devoid of moral suggestion."

"Then will you answer it ?" said Mr. Bligh smilingly.

"No, Mr. Bligh," said the Rector, whose head was suddenly filled with an idea ; "no ; but I will tell you what I will do. For some time I have not been quite satisfied with the parish schoolmaster, Mr. Bulman. So I will take it to him, and if he cannot answer the question to your satisfaction, my suspicions will be confirmed."

"That will never do," Mr. Bligh warmly replied ; "that would be like setting a trap for an honest man. To that I could not consent. Do you know, I think Mr. Bulman a most upright and really capable man. He has been most useful to me in the collection of specimens. He has made some remarkable observations on the sagacity of a willow-wren which has built in the upper bank of my garden ; the surprising thing is that no nest could be found until he removed a large bundle of long green moss, which had

been distributed with the most intelligent carelessness. I could on no account consent even to appear to lay a trap for so excellent a man."

"Very good, then," said the Rector, "you have done the very thing I wanted to have done; you have entirely removed my doubts of Bulman's efficiency."

"Then," said Mr. Bligh, "let us compromise thus: If any three of the scholars can answer a question I shall set, you will ask Mr. Bulman to give them an afternoon holiday next week?"

"Very good. What is the question? I can take it over at once."

"Here is the question. What is the difference in a commercial concern between doubling an expense and halving a profit?"

"Ah," said the Rector, "that will be a little out of their way. You know we are not very commercial at Avenstone. Something about a may-pole, now, would be more likely, or something about butter and eggs, or cows and calves. You know the sort of thing I mean."

"I tell you what, then," said Mr. Bligh, under the impulse of a new idea; "two or three of the boys know a little about geometry. Now ask them this question: How can the mouth of a square well be filled up with three square stones? If one boy answers, our bargain will stand good."

Mrs. Bligh lived to no inconsiderable extent for the poor of the parish, and especially for those who were sick and dying. In her own way, which was not very modern, Mrs. Bligh was quite a doctor, as it was almost necessary some one should be, as Avenstone was so healthy as to be but a poor field for a professional practitioner. Many difficulties which occasioned the professional mind a good deal of anxiety never came up for Mrs. Bligh's consideration, owing to the fact that, in her opinion, all village ailments could be satisfactorily treated through the medium of mixtures, which might be described as mediæval. For example, there was the "great cordial" of Sir Walter Raleigh, which he is said to have compounded in the garden house of the Tower of London during his second imprisonment; that was a remedy which she administered to a grateful Avenstone for many years, because she never doubted its efficacy, though she was never absolutely confident as to its composition. Mrs. Bligh would never have administered that cordial to the poor had she not fully assured herself that it had been useful to the rich, notably to Queen Anne, who declared that on one occasion it had actually saved her life. Mrs. Bligh was sure that Prince Henry would have been saved by it, if the physicians had not been disgracefully tardy in its use; but it was some compensation to her that Charles II. would never take any other medicine than Raleigh's great cordial. The point of uncertainty as to its composition was not vital, as it simply related to the quantity of sassafras that should be used in mixing pearl, musk, hartshorn, bezoar-stone, mint, borage, gentian, mace, red rose, aloes, sugar, spirits of wine, and twenty other things. The peasants of Avenstone were delighted with this cordial, so much so indeed that it was often taken as a special treat on occasions of birthday parties amongst the

very poor. Even the great cordial itself, however, would not have been really what it was to the poor but for the tender sympathy of the willing giver. She never made the poor feel their poverty, and therefore she never made them feel their obligation. The poverty of other people was but an opportunity for Mrs. Bligh to make good use of her own substance.

"Esther, my child, poor old Martha Stafford said she would be glad of another bottle of the great cordial, and I promised you would go round with it this afternoon between two and three."

"Yes, mother, I shall be glad to go. I think old Martha could live on your cordial. It is a wonder she did n't send for some to cure the broken leg of her old husband. Martha's faith was equal to that."

"So, so," Mrs. Bligh would quietly remark, paying no attention to Esther's skepticism, "do not be later than three o'clock."

Arthur was too much of an invalid to take any interest in his father's deeper studies, and too astute to be decoyed into easier inquiries by his father's innocent wiles. Where Mr. Bligh thought he was making study agreeable, and, indeed, partially amusing, Arthur encountered him with the liveliest suspicion. For example, Mr. Bligh would instructively remark during breakfast, that there are two places on the continent of Europe so situated that although the former lies east of the latter, yet the latter is not west of the former, whereupon Arthur would quietly add, "What a lark! Pass the toast, Esther." Undiscouraged by this flippancy, Mr. Bligh would patiently seek to lure the youthful mind into the study of important subjects by whetting the curiosity with such paradoxes as: There is a certain island in the Baltic Sea to the inhabitants of which the sun is visible in the morning before he rises, and in the evening after he sets. But Arthur was callous. He sighed as if in dumb pity for the islanders, and took another cup of coffee by way of consolation. Esther did not like to see her dear father thus foiled, so she would beg him to set her one question, or give her one puzzle, which she would work out, and the gentle scholar would do it with a willing heart.

"Very well, dear Esther, here is an easy one for my girl. There is a certain island situated between England and France, and yet that island is farther from France than England is."

On hearing this very easy puzzle, Esther suddenly remembered that she had promised her mother to take a bottle of the great cordial to poor old Hannah Usher, but as soon as she came back she would think about it, or call on Mr. Bulman, and ask to look at a large school-map.

"Not to-day, child," Mrs. Bligh remarked. "All the poor women from the sewing-class are coming here to tea this afternoon, and all our time will be filled up in finding amusement for them."

"Oh, father, dear!" Esther exclaimed, "what a chance that will be for you! The old women will be delighted! They will think you are joking, you know!"

"Good heaven!" Arthur ejaculated as this impossibility loomed immensely before him.

"They will think it is your way of making fun," Esther continued ; "and I'm sure you will not frighten them; they will quite like it. If you would write some of the puzzles out I could give them one or two, and they would not take it a bit serious from me" —

"That's true," said Arthur with insufficient provocation.

"Well, you need n't say anything," Esther retorted with witless resentment.

"Did n't know I had said anything," Arthur added.

"Well, well, dear children, perhaps you will some day see the value of my little puzzles. I'm sure I don't go after them; they seem to come after me, and force me to take them in. Now only last night I made this one — There are ten places all under the same meridian" —

The little audience dissolved, but Arthur declared that as he went out of the hall he heard his father saying — "all to be equi-distant."

CHAPTER II.

TEN years after this particular interview Esther Bligh became the wife of Hugh Jessell, and to them was born a son upon whom they bestowed the name of Curfew. Concerning that son this story will have much to say, beginning at a point when his schooling is supposed to be finished. Happily we are indebted to no less an authority than his father for a plaintive note which gives quite an outline of the boy's earlier characteristics, so the father shall be heard in his own quaint words.

Curfew is a singular boy, full of whimsical notions, nervous, abrupt, and self-willed. He is a Bligh all over. His mother, taking after her own father a good deal, would have him named Curfew, because of the hour of his birth, that evening chime being well known to us on account of the nearness of our ivied house to the old parish church of Overton. The name is too fanciful for me, but who could ever turn aside, or change, or improve the suggestion or the wish of a Bligh? My ancestors for generations are all buried in the quiet churchyard over yonder; and to their credit be it said, they never had a doubt or a fear about the parson or the pulpit, whereas Curfew is all out with Mr. Bruce, and has not one good word to say about him. As for myself, I always do as my forefathers did, for I say plainly what was good enough for them is good enough for me, and the parish church must take the whole responsibility. That's how I put it, and that's what I stand by and nothing shall change me. Curfew is a Bligh. Curfew is all wrong together. I don't know where the willful boy has picked up all the words he uses. They sound to me like a foreign tongue, and to be rather bad in their meaning, some of them at least. I know the boy himself is not bad, but somehow he has got into strange company in London. Nothing seems to be like its old self. Even the house I live in, and all my ancestors lived in, is not at all what it used to be when my grandfather was living. It seems as if the very ivy was full of ghosts, and even the old

curfew does not seem to be quite what it was. A sort of mist has come over everything, and everybody seems to be expecting everybody else to tumble down, or to be carried off in a mysterious kind of way. I feel as if I was in a dream. It is a positive fact that I forget the names of people I have known all my life. The other day I met Mrs. Oldbody, and her name went from my memory as absolutely as if I had never known her, and there I stood like a daft man that can hardly open his mouth; and worse than that, I went into Kennedy's, and instead of asking about the bantams, I inquired after the babies: of course they tried to turn it off in a laugh, but I was all over hot with shame. If Curfew had only gone on with the parson and the parish as the Jessells have always gone on I would not have minded the trouble or expense of a few wild oats; but that is just where it is; his wild oats are not like the wild oats of other young men; he wants to pull down religion, to kick out the parson, and to have everything new. That is the way to bring down a judgment upon Overton, and upon England, and upon the world. Besides all this, which is bad enough, I have to think about the property. Can any luck go with property when the man who owns it, as Curfew will, holds such dangerous notions? I have a sort of notion that the oats in the ten-acre field did not thrive as well as usual last year, and I am sure the field was not neglected in any way. Say what people may, I do believe in ghosts, I do believe that good luck runs in seams. I have had a deal of it, and so had my father before me, and our balance at the Overton Bank was never less than five hundred, a good deal nearer a thousand I should say, and Curfew might have had the same if he would only do as we have done. He has got a good head on his shoulders, but the inside of it is sadly in need of weeding. "Curfew is getting too clever by half," I said to his mother the other night, but I don't get from her the comfort I ought to have, which makes me more sure than ever that the boy owes his queerness very much to her side of the house; for the Blighs must have been a very singular kind of people, even more so than I thought at first. The old man used to keep a good many private books about birds, and flowers, and insects, and was always bothering about the temperature and the rainfall, and old Mrs. Bligh was a good deal too fond of quack doctors and silly talkers. I remember her being very cross with me because I would not take a pill the size of a walnut to cure a headache she heard me complain of. But what's the good of talking to his mother about Curfew when she thinks him a nonesuch? I know I am as proud of him as she is, but why is he so impudent with the parson? What has the poor parson done to offend him? A kinder, nicer man than Mr. Bruce never drew the breath of life, yet Curfew almost insults him every time they meet. He goes at the old parson like a steam-engine, and won't give him time to breathe. I am sure Mr. Bruce says many very nice little things that any boy might be glad to hear, but he no sooner opens his mouth than Curfew jumps down his throat. I will make one more effort to bring them together. They shall meet to-morrow, for if Curfew was to die in this state of mind what could possibly become of him? That makes me break out all over in a cold perspiration. I do not see how Mr. Bruce

could bury him, or how he could be buried in the family vault, and it would break my heart if he was buried by a strange vicar. I must try to bring about an understanding.

Curfew was undoubtedly at that awkward time of life when he was neither boy nor man, and when he consequently took the liberty of doing and saying things appropriate to both conditions respectively, but incoherent and tumultuous when brought together in one impossible association. Speaking as a boy he would excite a smile: speaking as a man he would excite an apprehension: speaking as both he would represent the wildest paradox and bring down upon himself the scornful wonder of all sober-minded people.

The worst man in all the world to talk to a young man supposed to be a heretic, or indeed any young man at all, was the Rev. Watson Bruce, M. A., who, at this period of his life, was sixty-two years of age. Mr. Bruce represents a family respectability dating back to the Middle Ages, and supposed by some to have been quite venerable even then, yet he had no sympathy with the day in which Providence had cast his troubled lot. He walked through the world backwards, and readily keeping his eyes upon the pictures of rural quietude and moss-grown piety which he was reluctantly abandoning. The soothing agricultural hum and hush in which he had been decorously trained to the highest pitch of mediocrity he felt to be rudely broken in upon by strife and ambition which he could do positively nothing to control; yet as was consistent with well-ordered sentiment he could not divest himself of some consciousness of responsibility for living in an age that threatened to become increasingly boisterous, so he made up for want of ability to suppress its uproar by continually explaining that he was in no degree to blame for it. Happily for himself, Mr. Bruce was largely endowed with that holy ignorance — of deep-sleeping mental apathy — which knows how to receive with gratitude any theology of extreme age and good parliamentary standing, and sufficiently well-bred to conceive an intense dislike to any living creature who might presume to ask for an explanation of any word in any of the books read by authority. For a tremendously respectable way of saying nothing about anything, the Rev. Walton Bruce was not known to have a living equal. Upon his respectability there was no blot, though at one time he had the narrowest escape from what might have looked like a complication; it was in the case of a most nervous invalid aunt who, on getting ready for a journey, threw herself upon a couch, complained of pains in the region of the heart, and expired within an hour. "But for a most merciful Providence, my dear aunt would have started on her journey, and would actually have died in a coach," — and to die in a coach would have created an undesirable precedent and led to explanations which rural curiosity might have perverted. "By a most merciful Providence — which I could never comprehend — we were enabled to get my dear aunt, Georgina Gertrude, up to her own room, and, I am thankful to say, that it was on her own bed — and

not in a public conveyance — that she breathed her last." Mr. Bruce often told this story, not only in vindication of the eternal gentility of his family, but in proof of his very deep experience in the dark school of human sorrow. It added a touch of pathos to his unimaginable weakness, and made it more unimaginable still. Whenever one of the parishioners "went wrong" Mr. Bruce instantly suspected novel reading as the cause, and faithfulness to this unaccountable and irrational suspicion led him to treat Curfew Jessell accordingly. A friend who was present at the first interview will relate the substance of the conversation: —

"Nothing in the world, sir, thanks to a most merciful Providence, — and I speak as a man of experience, — would induce me to look even at the outside of a novel."

"I am sorry for that," said Curfew emphatically.

"Sorry, my dear young friend? why should you be sorry? It will be one of the joys of my dying day. It will make dying a mournful comfort."

"You are quite in the wrong," Curfew answered.

"Perhaps," said I, "you will explain to Mr. Bruce where you suppose him to be wrong." I felt this to be mild on my part, yet impartial, but not innocent, as I wished to develop the old gentleman.

"We are all novelists and romancists, though some of us are rather wooden and clumsy."

"What ever do you mean, Mr. Jessell?"

"I mean that we are all little Shakespeares. We are all mixed up in novel-making and play-acting. Some men write novels; but all men make them. Life is a romance. There is a drama going on in every kitchen and every parlor, in palaces and hovels, in kingdoms and villages, and in every heart, from the child with her doll to the king with his crown. Every architect is a dramatist, so is every organizer, so is a statesman, so is a clergyman; and, in fact, so is Mr. Bruce himself." Curfew looked somewhat quizzical as he said this.

"If, sir," said Mr. Bruce, with official gravity, "if I thought that in me or about me — yes, I will go so far as to say in me or about me — there was the slightest danger that I should be or do anything dramatic, I should beg my dearest earthly friend to cut off this right hand!"

We both looked at the right hand as Mr. Bruce held it boldly aloft. In fancy I saw it severed from its owner's arm.

"I don't doubt that, sir," said Curfew; "but it does not touch the question at all. If both your hands and both your legs were cut off; if both your eyes were put out, and both your ears were amputated; if your head was shaven, and your teeth were drawn, you would still be dramatic."

"You must have some meaning, sir, which I cannot penetrate." Mr. Bruce shuddered as he made this remark.

"So far, Mr. Bruce, was I from meaning anything personal, that I was going on to say that God conducts the world on dramatic principles."

Mr. Bruce was shocked, horrified, dismayed! Was Curfew mad? Was Curfew a blasphemer? Was Mr. Bruce himself in a trance, in a stupor, in

a dream? Did he hear correctly, or was he imposed upon by an evil spirit? The case was shocking.

"Understand me, Mr. Bruce. I am not in the habit of putting many curves into my speech; perhaps I am a little too angular. After all, my principle is, I believe, thoroughly sound. What are all the exigencies, coincidences, surprises, cross-purposes, disappearances, reappearances, schemings, traps, snares, mistakes, and checkmates, but so many parts of an intricate drama?"

"That is very clear to my own mind," said I, hoping to bring Mr. Bruce to my opinion.

"It is so clear to my own," Curfew proceeded, "that if I were not a dramatist, I should be an atheist."

Mr. Bruce, notwithstanding the advanced state of a pamphlet he was writing—and had been writing for twenty years—in support of the church, turned upon me a look of blank despair.

Curfew steadily continued: "As a dramatist, I believe in design, order, purpose, proportion, government, and final justice. I don't interpret the drama. I contend that the parts must be read in the light of the whole. Men torment themselves by calling the middle the end, and interrupting God when he is making semicolons. I say this life is a great drama, and I shall wait patiently for the catastrophe."

Curfew completely carried my conviction, and I thought it right to say so to Mr. Bruce very distinctly.

"The very word 'drama,' sir," said he, with intense moral rigidity, "is a word which my soul hateth—it smells of the bottomless pit."

"Change the word," said Curfew; "I don't fight for a word, but I do maintain that you make life no better than a piece of broken glass, if you exclude the dramatic element. And if you will excuse an audacious young monkey for saying so, I should like to tell you, Mr. Bruce, that the great fault of your preaching and all preaching is that it is not sufficiently dramatic."

Mr. Bruce was transfixed. He had never been spoken to in this way before. The bluntness and force of Curfew's method deprived the reverend gentleman of the full use of his powers, and, in fact, left him "nowhere." The effect was much the same in my own case. To doubt anything that was spoken so authoritatively was like quarreling with the decisions of Providence. After all, this power of wrapping up your opinions in short sentences has its dangers as well as its advantages. Quotable speakers should be very wary speakers. Men whose sentences require a dozen commas and four semicolons apiece, are always safe from criticism, and may say pretty much what they like, nobody caring to carry the burden of their verbosity; but men whose only punctuation is a full-stop are often pierced by their own epigrams.

"Preachers should be the greatest dramatists in the world," said Curfew, "and they would be if they followed their Master."

"Young man," said Mr. Bruce, no longer finding himself at liberty to

address Curfew as his dear young friend, "notwithstanding yearly privileges, you appear to have a very strange religious creed?" The opinion was expressed interrogatively, yet with a bias.

"I have a very short one, at any rate."

"And, pray, sir, what is it?"

"It is only two words — they are the best in the world."

"What are they, sir? Is it impertinent on my part to inquire?"

"I believe in Jesus Christ," said Curfew, in a tone which made him very dear to me; it was so firm, yet so tuneful.

"Is that all, Mr. Jessell?"

"That is everything. There is nothing outside that worthy of a moment's attention, unless it be of the same quality, going out of it and coming back to it. I never could read your theological books. I have just been in London, and a fine fellow there was kind enough to put some theological works into my hands, supposing, no doubt, that they were suited to my state of mind; but — pshaw!"

"And pray what was the matter with the theological books, Mr. Jessell?"

"They wanted to measure God for a livery" —

"Mr. Jessell!" Mr. Bruce exclaimed, with strong deprecation.

"Well, then, they wanted to put God through a mould" —

"Most extraordinary language; most incomprehensible; most shameful!"

"Well, then, let me say that they wanted to take him to pieces like a piece of machinery" —

Mr. Bruce groaned. Mr. Bruce threw up his hands in dumb despair.

"One writer — he must have had a clay heart as well as a clay head — actually began to discuss God piecemeal: first of all, he had a chapter about his power, then one about his wisdom, then another upon his goodness, and so on, and so on. The learned ass!"

"But, Mr. Jessell, is it not right to discourse upon the attributes of the Almighty?"

"Certainly not," Curfew replied, with oracular promptitude and emphasis. "What do I want, or what does anybody want, with attributes? Why don't you talk about God as Jesus Christ talked about Him? Jesus Christ did not set up a logical God, He interpreted a Father."

"Ah, Mr. Jessell," the reverend gentleman replied with compassionate patronage, "you do well to say that you have not read much theology. I can quite believe you: you condemn ignorantly and unjustly. Don't you believe in astronomy?"

"Do you?"

"Certainly."

"And so do I; but if astronomers were attempting to get the sun under a glass dome, and to sell the only spectacles through which he was to be seen, I should denounce their intermeddling, and demand that the pedants let the sun alone."

"If botany can be tolerated, why should not theology?"

"Yes," said Curfew, "but botanists must mind what they are about. They must not forget the coloring and fragrance of flowers, and they must not suppose that we cannot enjoy the beauties of nature simply because we don't know much about cells, petals, and secretions. I don't care about being an astronomer, a botanist, or a theologian; I want to be a poet. There is nothing worth thinking about but Jesus Christ, metaphysics, and poetry." Curfew said this as if an angel had just whispered it to him, and told him to enlighten our ignorance.

Mr. Bruce was not unlike a man who had been caught in a whirlwind. He wanted to turn round so as to get the wind in his back, but turn how he would the storm still met him in the face. The reverend gentleman had been accustomed to have things his own way, but in this case he had to contend with a blunt negative, and as a consequence he was placed *hors de combat*. Curfew was flushed with success, and was surprised that Mr. Bruce did not demolish him with a stroke; for, as he told me afterwards, he expected that so well trained a scholar would have had the best weapons at command. Our perplexing silence was broken by Mr. Bruce.

"On the whole, Mr. Jessell," said he, with imperfect dignity, "I shall advise you to read theological literature more extensively." The reverend gentleman then reclined in his chair, as if this original remark had exhausted him.

"No more theological literature for me," said Curfew. "After a dose of theology I always read the parable of the Prodigal Son to put the taste out of my mouth. I tell you, Mr. Bruce, if you want to preach to the whole world, and not to the well-dressed end of one little parish, you must never go far from the Prodigal Son, the Good Samaritan, and that poor woman who kissed Jesus Christ's feet in the house of that glass-eyed, cork-hearted, india-rubber-headed pedant, called Simon the Pharisee — I hate his very name, an infinite humbug, and most detestable beast!"

"My dear Curfew!" said I, nearly clutching him.

"That fellow, sir, was a theologian; he was a cunning detective; he was a low-lived villain" —

"My dear boy," said I, marking his rising passion, "never mind him: he is dead and gone."

"He is not dead and gone, sir, and it appears to me he never will be dead and gone. I am compelled to believe in the transmigration of souls, because I see that detestable old Pharisee everywhere, watching and mocking the dear Christ, setting up little problems in ethical casuistry, and smacking his lips when poor women go headlong into hell. Away with him for a theological Iscariot!"

[To be continued.]

AMERICAN NATIONAL SABBATH REFORM.

THE ORIGIN AND ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN SABBATH UNION.

EARLY in 1888 Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts circulated among the officers of Sabbath associations and other friends of the Sabbath, in all parts of the country, the following petition :—

To the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church :

DEAR FATHERS AND BRETHREN : The undersigned earnestly petition you as the representatives of the largest denomination of American Christians, to take the initiative in forming a National Sabbath Committee, by appointing several persons to serve in your behalf on such a committee, with instructions to ask other religious bodies, in your name, to appoint representatives to serve on the same Committee, in order that the invasion of our day of rest and worship by the united forces of the liquor traffic and its allies may be successfully resisted by the united forces of American Christianity, in the interest alike of the church and of the nation, of morality and of liberty." With the coöperation of Rev. J. H. Knowles, editor of "The Pearl of Days," this was presented to the General Conference, and referred to the Committee on the State of the Church, Rev. J. O. Peck, D. D., chairman. On May 15 this committee made the following report, which was unanimously adopted : "In view of the important interests involved in the above memorial, your committee recommend the following for adoption by the General Conference : Resolved, 1. That the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in response to a petition signed by the officers of Sabbath associations of this country, and by more than 600 others, petitioners of different evangelical denominations, take the initiative in forming a National Sabbath Committee. 2. That this General Conference invite all other evangelical denominations to appoint representatives to serve on this Committee. 3. That the basis of representation on the committee for each denomination be one representative for each 100,000 members, or major fraction thereof. [Changed — see Constitution.] 4. That the following persons be designated to serve on this committee during the coming quadrennium, with power to complete the full quota for the Methodist Episcopal Church and to fill vacancies — the first named to communicate the action of this body to the official representatives of other denominations and to be the convener of the committee for its first meeting." The persons appointed, are named in Document No. 1 of the American Sabbath Union, and also those appointed, in response to the above invitation, by

ecclesiastical bodies representing the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Reformed Churches. Other denominations will probably do likewise at the meetings of their supreme councils this year or later.

The members were convened for organization in the parlors of Colonel Elliott F. Shepard on November 13. The participants in that meeting were: Of the Methodist members, Rev. J. H. Knowles, Rev. T. A. Fernley, Rev. A. J. Kynett, D. D.; of the Presbyterian, Colonel Elliott F. Shepard; of the Reformed, Rev. E. A. Collier, D. D. The Congregationalists were unofficially represented by Rev. H. A. Hazen, secretary of the Congregational Council, and Rev. Josiah Strong, D. D. The latter also represented, unofficially, the Evangelical Alliance. These were both elected corresponding members, with all privileges of original members. Rev. J. L. Mills, D. D., of the Methodist Protestant Church, was also present at the request of his Conference President, and Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, and Mr. R. R. Doherty, Ph. D., on invitation of the Convener. These were elected honorary members, with the same privileges as original members. The constitution then adopted differed little from the final draft found elsewhere. Colonel Elliott F. Shepard was elected President, and Rev. J. H. Knowles, General Secretary and Editor of Publications, to serve until the first annual meeting.

This annual meeting occurred, together with the First National Sabbath Convention, December 11-13, in the Foundry Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, the arrangements being hastily made by the Convention Committee, Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts and Rev. J. H. Knowles, with the advice of Chicago members of the Union. The chief themes of the convention were: "National Sabbath Reform," "The Sabbath and the Foreign Population," "The Sabbath and the Labor Problem," "The Sabbath and the Press," "The Sabbath and the Church." The speakers were: Rev. J. H. Knowles, Mrs. J. C. Bateham, General A. S. Diven, Rev. F. W. Conrad, D. D., Rev. T. A. Fernley, Bishop John F. Hurst, D. D., Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Hon. Nelson Dingley, Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Rev. W. W. Everts, D. D., Hon. G. P. Lord, Rev. George Elliott, Rev. C. H. Payne, D. D., Professor Herrick Johnson,

and Rev. James Stacey, D. D. Letters of sympathy were received from Justice Strong, Mr. P. M. Arthur, Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Mr. T. V. Powderly, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, and others. Among others who coöperated actively in this important council, besides those named, are : Rev. Byron Sunderland, D. D., Hon. A. M. Clapp, Rev. G. H. Cory, D. D., Rev. S. H. Greene, Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, Rev. E. Erskine, D. D., Rev. C. R. Hunt, and Mr. John Edmunds.

On December 13 the American Sabbath Union participated with other organizations, both friendly and hostile, in a six hours' hearing on Senator Blair's Sunday Rest Bill before his committee (on Education and Labor). The active officers, with some additions made by the meeting of the Executive Committee at a meeting soon after the convention, are Colonel Elliott F. Shepard, President ; Hon. G. P. Lord, Recording Secretary ; Rev. J. H. Knowles, General Secretary and Editor of Publications ; Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, Field Secretary ; Mr. R. N. Perlee, Treasurer. The active members of the Executive Committee are the above and General O. O. Howard, Rev. Leighton Williams, Rev. R. S. McArthur, D. D., Rev. G. S. Mott, D. D., Rev. W. J. R. Taylor, D. D., Rev. George Bishop, D. D., Rev. T. A. Fernley, Rev. T. W. Conrad, D. D., William Irwin, C. B. Fairchild, R. R. Doherty, Ph. D. Enrollment papers for members, new and old, brought 225 names, representing fifteen States and the District of Columbia, and including most of the specialists of this reform. The evening audiences nearly filled the church ; the afternoon audiences were smaller, but the fourteen millions of petitioners from labor organizations and churches (Protestant and Catholic), whose names, individually or representatively, covered the galleries and filled the air, attached to streamers of red cloth, as flags of warning, made "a great cloud of witnesses ;" and the Associated Press dispatches — that of the last day filling nearly two columns of the daily press — made another audience of millions. May the saying of President Shepard prove true, that the petitions are the Providential writing on the wall which proclaims that Sunday work is "weighed and found wanting, numbered and finished."

PLATFORM OF THE AMERICAN SABBATH UNION.

I. DECLARATIONS AND RESOLUTIONS.

(Unanimously Adopted at first Annual Meeting. — Professor Herrick Johnson, D. D., Chairman of Committee.)

The American Sabbath Union, in convention assembled, in view of the perils to which the Christian Sabbath is exposed in our land from many causes, among which are the rapid influx of a population foreign to our habits and historic traditions, the dissemination of dangerous theories of social order and individual liberty, the greed of gain on the part of individuals and corporations, and the constant growth of the secular spirit; recognizing our duty as Christians to defend God's Holy Day; as patriots to uphold our free institutions, with which the Sabbath is so vitally connected; and as philanthropists to protect the laborer from the heartless exactions of Sunday toil, declare our principles and purposes in the following resolutions:—

Resolved, First. That we declare our conviction that the Fourth Commandment, like all the other commandments of the Decalogue, is of universal and perpetual obligation.

Second. That the American Sabbath Union, while recognizing the value of arguments for the Sabbath from expediency and physical health, still regards its chief work the quickening of the Christian conscience upon this subject.

Third. That the preservation of the Sabbath is the best protection of our Christian homes, churches, and all organizations looking toward the promotion of our National welfare.

Fourth. That the Christian pulpit can never fulfill its sacred functions without declaring fearlessly the truth of God concerning the claims, sanctities, and obligations of the Sabbath.

Fifth. That in view of the neglect to enforce Sunday laws designed for the conservation of public morality and order, and to protect the liberty of Sabbath rest and worship, it has become an imperative necessity that Christians should insist that the officers of the law perform their duty.

Sixth. That we indorse the petition for the passage of a National Sunday Rest Bill.

Seventh. That we request those who control Sabbath-school assemblies and conventions to give the Sabbath greater prominence in their deliberations, and we urge that more frequent and earnest attention be given to the instruction of children in Sabbath observance.

Eighth. That we lay upon the Christian conscience the responsibility of personal example in keeping the Lord's Day, especially by abstaining from travel, from the purchase and reading of Sunday secular papers, and from social entertainments.

Ninth. That as the first week in April has for many years past been observed as a week of special prayer in behalf of Sabbath observance, we approve of such observance, and we recommend, so far as consistent with other obligations, that pastors preach upon the subject in connection with that week.

Tenth. That as the circulation of Sabbath literature is a most effective form of propagating our cause, we promise our General Secretary a hearty support in the most energetic dissemination of such literature.

Resolved, Finally, that our dependence in this effort to preserve the day is in the power of the Holy Spirit, by whose agency all nations may be led to see its significance.

II. CONSTITUTION.

I. — NAME. The American Sabbath Union.

II. — BASIS. The basis of this Union is the Divine authority and universal and perpetual obligation of the Sabbath, as manifested in the order and constitution of nature, declared in the revealed Will of God, formulated in the Fourth Commandment of the Moral Law, interpreted and applied by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, transferred to the Christian Sabbath, or Lord's Day, by Christ and his apostles, and approved by its beneficial influence upon National life.

III. — OBJECT. The object of this Union is to preserve the Christian Sabbath as a day of rest and worship.

IV. — MEMBERSHIP. 1. *Representative Members*. — The representative members shall be such persons as have been or may be appointed by the various Christian denominations of our country — that accept our basis — four representatives from each denomination, with an extra representative for each one hundred thousand members or major fraction thereof in the denomination. 2. *Honorary Members*. — Eminent workers for the promotion of Sabbath observance may be elected to honorary membership. 3. *Corresponding Members*. — One representative of each Sabbath association, committee, department or other body that is engaged in preventing Sabbath desecration may be elected by his association, subject to the confirmation of this Union, or may be elected by this Union on its own nomination, as a corresponding member. 4. *General Members*. — These shall consist of all members of all bodies auxiliary to this Union, and of such individuals as shall signify in writing their acceptance of our basis and their desire to become members.¹ All classes of members shall be equally entitled to all the rights and privileges of membership.

V. — OFFICERS. The officers shall be : President ; one Vice-President from each denomination which has officially appointed representative members, and one from each State and Territory of the Union, — the Presidents of State and Territorial Sabbath Associations, so far as they exist and are in cooperation with this Union being preferred ; a Recording Secretary ; an

¹ No membership fee. All friends of the Sabbath are invited to send their names at once to the General Secretary.

Assistant Recording Secretary ; a General Secretary and Editor of Publications ; a Field Secretary ; one District Secretary for each District ; and a Treasurer. The Executive Committee shall consist of the foregoing officers and seven or more additional members. Members of the Executive Committee who shall attend a regular or called meeting shall be a quorum for the transaction of business. Such other committees as may be necessary shall be appointed by the Executive Committee, or by the annual meeting.

VI. — DISTRICTS. For convenience in meeting the following districts are constituted : Boston District — all of New England except Connecticut. New York and Philadelphia District — Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Washington and Richmond District — Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, and North Carolina. Charleston and Atlanta District — South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama. New Orleans District — Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Cincinnati and Nashville District — Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Indiana. Chicago District — Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Dakota. St. Louis District — Missouri, Arkansas, and Indian Territory. Denver, Omaha, and Des Moines District. — Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, and Wyoming. San Francisco District — Montana, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, Washington Territory, Oregon, California, and Alaska. The members residing in each district shall constitute the District Committee to organize state, county, and local Sabbath associations, and coöperate with them in behalf of the National Union. The districts may be rearranged and the number of district secretaries changed by action of the Executive Committee.

VII. — MEETINGS. There shall be an annual meeting of the Union at such time and place as the Executive Committee may designate. Extra meetings of the Union may be called by the Executive Committee or by the President on written application of ten members. Members who attend a duly called meeting shall constitute a quorum. A district meeting may be called by a District Secretary.

VIII. — VOTING. Elections of officers (except Assistant Recording Secretary who shall be appointed by the Recording Secretary) and of honorary and corresponding members shall be by written ballot, except by unanimous consent to the contrary.

IX. — AMENDMENTS. This constitution can be amended by a two thirds vote of the Executive Committee or a majority vote of the annual meeting.

WHAT THE AMERICAN SABBATH UNION ASKS OF THE FRIENDS OF THE SABBATH. — 1. *Keep up the snow-storm of petitions*, now falling on the capitol, asking for National law against Sunday work, so far as the jurisdiction of the National government extends. Do not confuse the four-years-old petition with the one-month-old Sabbath Union. The Union is but one of several organizations that are pushing the petition. In this branch of its work the Union coöperates with Catholics and labor organizations that would not wish to be counted as indorsing its religious basis. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Knights of Labor have indorsed the

petition by vote of their International Conventions, and the largest of the Labor Unions, the Central of New York, has done the same, but the petition needs the local indorsement of every local brotherhood and assembly of every labor organization, either by resolution or by individual signatures, or, still better, by both. The Field Secretary has recently received many a significant letter from a Knight of Labor asking for one petition for his local assembly, and others for the ministers of the town, whom he proposes to visit to enlist their coöperation. No paper in the land has done more, and few as much, to promote this petition as one of the papers devoted to labor reform. Let the church look to its laurels, lest in the humane aspect of the Sabbath question it shall be outstripped in zeal by the labor organizations. We ask every religious paper to publish our petition, and every church and preachers' meeting and religious conference or convention to indorse the petition by resolution, and also as far as possible, by individual signatures, which duplicate its strength. The Catholic Church has indorsed the petition through a letter of its Cardinal, and most of the Protestant churches by resolutions of their Supreme Councils, but these indorsements are strengthened by the confirming votes and signatures of local churches. Send all petitions to Petition Superintendent, Temple Hotel, Washington, D. C., from whom petition blanks can be obtained. 2. *Organize Sabbath Associations* in every State, county, and city where they do not now exist, and where they exist, see that they also *live*. The American Sabbath Union does not aim to displace, but only to multiply and unite such organizations. The District Secretary and District Committee of each district, with the help of the state Vice-Presidents in the district and the Field Secretary, it is hoped will organize every State, county, and city in the district as soon as it can be done wisely and effectively. A Sabbath organization that is dead and not buried, which will neither work nor disband, is a supreme curse to the cause. 3. *Agitate*. Get the Sabbath question as often as possible into the pulpit. Put it several times (in the spring especially) into the list of prayer-meeting topics. Let the practical application of the sermon be a vote indorsing the petition, and let the practical application of the prayer-meeting talk be a collection to be used for Sabbath documents, or to aid the work of the Union or some other Sabbath association. The Union does not ask Sabbath offerings where so many other causes have the right of way, but a prayer-meeting collection from a thousand churches would aid it in securing needed funds for its great work. Get the Sabbath question into the programme of Sabbath-school Assemblies and Conventions, that the new generation may be started right. Write strong, practical articles about the Sabbath, especially when published falsehoods and sophistries call for prompt reply, or send such articles to the Field Secretary. Friendly articles send to the General Secretary. 4. *Subscribe at once for the Monthly Document*, twenty-five cents per year, three cents each; one dollar per one hundred. The January number (1889) is on "National Sabbath Reform" — a condensation in 32 pp., 8vo, of the points made for and against the petition for a National Sunday Rest Law at the two hearings on this sub-

ject before the Senate's Committee on Education and Labor. The Field Secretary is ready to speak on Sabbath observance, without charge, to ministers' meetings, conferences, conventions, colleges, etc.

WILBUR F. CRAFTS, Field Secretary,
74 E. Ninetieth Street, New York.

The history of the petitions to Congress against Sunday work is, in brief, as follows : —

In 1828–29, from twenty-one States, four hundred and twenty-five petitions were sent to the Postmaster General asking for the discontinuance of Sunday mails. The autocrat then reigning in the Post Office Department, an *imperium in republico*, gave an autocratic and poetic refusal to the petitioners, but the agitation did at least this much good, besides the discussion, — it taught petitioners to look to *Congress* for redress. Accordingly, in 1883, the International Sabbath Association petitioned Congress for a law against Sunday mails and Sunday parades, at the same time petitioning railroads to stop Sunday trains. In the words of Rev. Yates Hickey, the earnest secretary, "the time did not seem to be ripe," and only a few thousand names were marshaled on these petitioners. In 1884 Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts prepared a threefold petition to Congress for a law against Sunday work in the mail and military service, and in interstate commerce. Soon after this, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union added a Sabbath Observance Department to its work, with Mrs. J. C. Bateham as its superintendent, and through her efforts, assisted by her lieutenants, the little army of petitioners was increased to about a million and a half. These were sent to the United States Senate and referred to its Committee on Education and Labor, whose chairman, Senator H. W. Blair, soon afterwards introduced his "Sunday Rest Bill." At his suggestion, Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, who had charge of hearings before his committee, presented the Sunday Rest Petition before the Central Labor Union of New York and the International Conventions of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Knights of Labor, securing in each case, after an address followed by questions and discussions, a unanimous and enthusiastic indorsement. Cardinal Gibbons also sent him an official letter indorsing the petition on behalf of the Plenary Council of the Roman Catholic Church. About the same time the American Sabbath Union, on his motion, indorsed the petition. These representative indorsements of labor organizations and churches (Protestant and Catholic) represent thirteen and a half millions, in addition to which there were at least half a million more among the individual signatures, besides those represented in the above bodies. Another fourteen millions of petitioners is wanted at once by the Petition Superintendent, Temple Hotel, Washington, D. C.

A memorable six hours' hearing on the Blair Sunday Rest Bill, before the Senate's Committee on Education and Labor, took place at Washington, December 13 : —

The Committee consists of Senators Blair, Bowen, Palmer, Riddleberger, Wilson, George, Call, Pugh, and Payne. Of these, Senators Blair, Palmer, Wilson, and Call were present during more or less of the hearing. The others will depend on the notes of the Senate's official stenographer for the facts and arguments presented, which are to be published in full as a Senate document. The hearing occurred in the Senate's reception room, which was filled with interested friends and foes of the Sunday Rest Petition. The hearing was on Senator Blair's Sunday Rest Bill, but the advocates of a National Sunday Rest Law did not in any case urge the passage of *that* particular law in its present form. In fact they all wished the word "protect" used in the title instead of the word "promote" with reference to "the religious observance of the day," and this change will be made by the author of the bill. They all wished also that the exception in the clause forbidding Sunday mails, by which a letter marked as relating to sickness might be handled on that day, should be stricken out as likely to be misused by knaves, and also as unnecessary in this age of the telegraph. The arguments were almost exclusively against Sunday work in the government's mail and military service, and in interstate commerce.

The hearing was opened on behalf of the petitioners for the Sunday Rest Law by Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, who first submitted, without reading, his argument on this subject as presented at the hearing of April 6, the substance of which was then published in *OUR DAY*. He submitted also a detailed statement of the estimated number who work on Sunday in each of the occupations enumerated in the last Census, showing that three millions out of seventeen millions of wage workers were *then* deprived of Sunday rest, about one half of these being engaged in occupations usually classified as works of necessity and mercy, but most of these being required to do twice as much work as was really necessary. Allowing for increase, he showed that the number now deprived of Sunday rest is about four millions, one half of them at least being engaged in work wholly outside of the realm of mercy and necessity. He then submitted a statement showing that about seven millions of Protestants and as many more Catholics had already indorsed the petition for a National Sunday Rest Law representatively, that is, by the action of their supreme ecclesiastical bodies, multitudes of these being on the petitions a second time by the action of labor organizations and local churches, and a third time by their individual signatures. Mr. Crafts also submitted his conversations with the International Conventions of the Locomotive Engineers and the Knights of Labor, showing how thoroughly they had examined the subject before indorsing the petition. These are given in an editorial note elsewhere.

Mrs. J. C. Bateham, National Superintendent of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, who has gathered the largest number of individual signatures, presented the following arguments for a National Sunday Rest Law:—

"We ask only for the protection of Sunday as the National Rest Day, and as a day for quiet worship by those who wish so to use it, and would

have the law carefully guarded against any union of Church and State, to which all Americans object. We claim that the present attitude of our government is working a great injustice and damage to its citizens. We base our claim and our petition on these facts: 1. Nearly every State in the Union has its Sabbath law, but we have no National Sabbath law, though greatly needed, since the Sabbath question has become emphatically a National one. 2. It is in gross violation of nearly every State Sabbath law that railroads run their Sunday trains, yet these States are powerless to prevent it because nothing but Congress can control interstate commerce. . . . State laws forbid ordinary traffic and labor on Sunday, but in defiance thereof the United States Government opens its post offices and sells, as on other days, and sends the mail to every part of the country, depriving 100,000 of its employees of Sabbath rest, and indirectly half a million more of railroad men, while the example of such cities as Toronto and London shows Sunday postal work to be unnecessary, — the telegraph supplying every necessity. 4. In its military service, by requiring drilling and parades on Sunday, it makes this day often the most laborious of the week. 5. By ignoring Sabbath obligations and state Sabbath laws our National Government sets an example sure to be generally followed by the courts of justice, of overriding and casting odium on all Sabbath laws."

Hon. G. P. Lord, who, as Secretary of the Illinois Sabbath Association, has gathered a harvest of petitions only second to Mrs. Bateham's, showed that the "Boston tea-party" of the Revolution had an insignificant case compared to the petitioners against Sunday work. He was followed by General Diven, whose argument is given elsewhere, — an argument that railroad managers will find hard to answer. Rev. T. P. Stephenson, D. D., representing the National Reform Association, made an impressive point by showing that the Constitution protects one of the government's servants against Sunday work, namely, the President, by the law that gives him ten days, exclusive of Sunday, for considering a bill. He claimed that the principle should be extended to the other employees of the nation. Rev. Dr. Conrad, editor of the "Lutheran Observer," asked for the Sunday Rest Law in behalf of the better class of foreigners.

Rev. Dr. Lewis of the Seventh-day Baptists protested against the law in behalf of the Saturdarians, but "gave his case away" by admitting that if the people thought a railroad train on any day was interfering with the public welfare they had a right to stop it. Rev. George Elliott of Washington, who followed, called attention to the fact that all the Saturdarians (Jews, Seventh-day Baptists, and Seventh-day Adventists) were but seven tenths of one per cent. of the population, and that the needed weekly rest day should be legally appointed on the day observed by the great majority. He showed also that the law did no wrong to the conscience of those who believed in another Sabbath because it required no religious observance. Dr. Herrick Johnson urged that the seventh-day people made a fetish of that day. If one of them would start east and another west to go round the

world, and each would keep the seventh day all the while, on returning one would be keeping Friday and the other Monday.

Rev. C. H. Payne, D. D., of New York spoke on the Personal Liberty Leagues showing, first, that what they ask is class legislation, Sunday privileges of sale for the one worst business of all, while the better forms of business are closed ; second, that liberty is only found in conjunction with quiet Sabbaths. A Mr. Wolff spoke for the infidel Secular Union, ranting at great length against the churches, with scanty attention to the bill, to which he was recalled by Senator Blair. He admitted the only claim of the petitioners, that "a civil Sunday" is legitimate and wholesome. He spent half an hour in opposing what no one was asking, the enforcement of the religious observance of Sunday. The liquor-dealers' attorney, Mr. Schade, came and stood patronizingly beside the infidel, but made no speech for himself except to ask that the arguments of the infidel might be numerously published by the Senate. Professor A. T. Jones, of the Seventh-day Adventists, opposed all the other elements represented at the hearing ; declared that the Seventh-day Baptist had "given his case away" at the point already referred to ; rejected any exception in Sunday laws in behalf of seventh-day people ; cited "render unto Cæsar" as a Divine veto on Sunday laws as if there were no humane element but only a religious one in such laws ; declared that his view of prophecy made these days times of persecution, which he was evidently determined to get if he could. The impression he made on some hearers was that nothing would suit him quite so well as the enactment of the law he opposed, since it would confirm his theory of prophecy, for which he evidently cared more than for his theory of Sunday laws.

Other addresses in favor of the law desired were made by Professor David B. Wilson, and by Mr. J. N. Stearns of the National Temperance Society. It is very significant of the revived interest in the Sabbath question, caused by the petitioners, that the Associated Press sent out a report of this hearing nearly two columns long.

This hearing was taken by the Senate's official stenographer, and is to be published about the same time as this number of OUR DAY. Every one who desires one or more free copies should apply at once to one of the senators from his State, as the number to be published will be determined by the demand. Let all friends of Sunday rest at the same time bespeak the aid of the senator addressed in securing the law asked for by "the largest petition ever presented to a government," the only one in which labor organizations and churches of all creeds have generally united.

A SABBATH-KEEPING TOURIST IN THE WEST.

AN ADDRESS BY PROF. WM. G. BALLANTINE, AT OBERLIN COLLEGE.

MY intention is not to speak of the wonders and sublimities of the West, but to mention some of the many incidents of travel showing how the best class of the American people between Boston and San Francisco regard and treat the Lord's Day. I wish to express in some degree the sorrow and unceasing pain in my heart in view of a great national sin against God and in the oppression of workingmen.

The first conversation of friends meeting after a long vacation is apt to contain narrations of experiences of travel. In commencing this address I find it impossible to resist that tendency and I shall begin in narrative form. Perhaps, however, before I finish, the subtle influence of this environment may insensibly draw me into something very much like actual preaching, and I may end with a text.

When physician and wife and friends had all unanimously agreed that my summer must be wholly given up to recuperation, the pleasing perplexity arose of choice among the various delightful regions of summer travel at home and abroad. But the meeting of the National Educational Association in San Francisco on July 17, and the offer of a ticket for six thousand miles of railway travel for \$100, soon decided the question in favor of a visit to the great West.

The next necessity was a choice of routes and the preparation of an itinerary. For the tourist who leaves home without having well considered what he most wishes to see, and how he will reach, and how long he will stay at, the several points of interest, will infallibly waste his time and his money and come to the end of both without having accomplished his hopes. Repeatedly during the summer I came across tourists who had just missed objects of surpassing interest, which others had enjoyed without extra expense, and who had been compelled to

travel when they wished to stop, and to stop when they wished to go on,—all for the lack of careful planning beforehand. Particularly is such planning necessary if one has any eccentricity; as, for example, a repugnance to travel on the Lord's Day. It will not do for such a one to set out without any calculation where Saturday night will find him. The distances in the West are vast, and it is possible to get five hundred miles from any bed in which one would care to sleep, to say nothing of table and company and scenery.

The most natural thing to do in going West would have been for me to secure a place in the special train of Pullman palace sleeping cars and tourist's sleeping cars, provided at Chicago for the Ohio party and advertised to leave on the evening of July 5. With reference to this I procured from our Oberlin ticket agent a little pamphlet entitled, "Official Announcement and Complete Itinerary of the Excursion to San Francisco under the Direction of the Committee on Transportation for Ohio." On looking over the "Complete Itinerary," in which the programme for each day was minutely given, I was surprised to read as follows:—

Sunday, July 8. At Manitou.

Leave Denver via Denver & Rio Grande R. R. at 7 A. M., arriving at Manitou at 10 A. M. After dinner, carriage drive to Ute Pass, Rainbow Falls, Manitou Grand Caverns, Iron Springs, Soda Springs, Williams Cañon, Cave of the Winds, with ninety natural rooms including "Music Hall," "Bridal Chamber," etc.

Sunday, July 15, Overland Stage Ride in the Sierras.

From Carson City the climb over the mountains will be made in the overland stages, to Glenbrook, on Lake Tahoe, where connection will be made with the steamer, Todd Goodwin, for the trip to Tahoe City, across the grandest and most beautiful mountain lake in America. From Tahoe City either the train or the overland stages can be taken to Truckee, the station on the Central Pacific R. R. where connection will be made the same evening with the through train for San Francisco.

It seemed to me too bad that a train load of the best people of Ohio—our teachers, those upon whom we depend to form the characters of our little boys and girls, and to whom they

look up with so much affectionate reverence, — should scatter broadcast over the State an advertisement of their intention to spend two Sabbath days in railroading, steamboating, carriage-driving, and miscellaneous sight-seeing, and should invite all who desired healthful recreation, good company, and the cultivation of travel to join with them. It seemed that, as one of the teachers of Ohio, intending to participate in the excursion, even though not on that particular train, I ought to make some sort of protest. Accordingly, I addressed four letters, almost identical in language, one to the Committee on Transportation, and the three others to gentlemen holding high positions in our public school system, inquiring in temperate and courteous language whether they thought that anything could be done to dissuade the excursionists from this objectionable feature of their plans.

To these four letters, in which no censorious expressions were used, only one letter was received in reply. It was as follows : —

SUPERINTENDENT'S OFFICE, June 23, 1888.

REV. W. G. BALLANTINE :

My Dear Sir, — With reference to the California trip and Sunday traveling, I do not see what can be done at this time. I presume teachers could stop off over Sunday, though on so expensive a trip as this, and considering the quietness with which the day could be spent in the cars, I think few of them would.

The railroad companies could not now change schedule time of trains, nor would they be able to obtain the consent of a majority of the teachers to stop over twenty-four hours in some out-of-the-way place. This may not be to the credit of the teachers, yet such is, I have no doubt, the fact.

To me it does not seem worse for an overland ship, *or train*, to be moving on Sunday than for a steamboat in crossing the ocean. Still I believe that the railroad companies and all organizations should strive to avoid Sunday labor so far as possible.

I do not take the trip.

Do not see how authorities can be reached to accomplish anything in the present case.

Very truly yours.

I have no doubt that this letter substantially expresses the feelings of the three gentlemen who remained silent, and that their failure to reply arose from an unwillingness to be drawn into a controversy on the subject, or to be quoted for or against their fellow teachers in the matter. Each feared that any letter he might write might be used as I am now using this. It was cruel to call them out on so delicate a subject.

But I could not in any case have conveniently reached Chicago in time to take the special Ohio train. I followed on one of the regular trains a few hours later and made such connections as to reach Denver Saturday evening. On the train on Saturday I was thrown into company with two gentlemen who also were making the California excursion. One was a very prominent educator and a Doctor of Divinity; the other was equally eminent in the legal profession. They were not traveling together, but each mentioned incidentally in the course of the day his intention of making the excursion to Silver Plume the next day, Sunday. Silver Plume is a mining place high up in the Rocky Mountains, fifty miles west of Denver. The excursion train leaves the city about 8 A. M. and ascends four thousand feet over marvels of engineering skill, the narrow-gauge railroad winding around the mountain sides and in one place actually making a loop, so that the train on a bridge ninety feet high crosses the track along which it passed a few minutes before. After a stay of two hours, which allows time for dinner and a visit to the Silver Mines, the train returns to Denver, reaching the city about six o'clock in the evening. Hundreds of Christian teachers spent a Sunday in this manner this summer.

I may say that I did not fall in with the Doctor of Divinity again until I met him in the Yellowstone National Park. We were all on the home stretch then, and near the limit of our time and money. As we compared plans, and I mentioned that I should be at home on Friday or Saturday, he, living farther east, said that he should not be at home until Monday or Tuesday, adding, apologetically, "I always dislike to travel on Sunday but in this case it seems necessary."

At Manitou Springs, while riding on horseback up Williams

Cañon, I was delighted to recognize, in a carriage coming down, two Oberlin students, going out as missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M., and enjoying a little pleasure travel along the way. In the course of those mutual inquiries in which all tourists indulge, I asked, When did you reach Denver? "Sunday afternoon," was the matter of course reply. But how were you so long in getting there? For I knew when they had left home. "Oh, we stopped over to visit friends in St. Louis and had a delightful time." Here were two Oberlin missionaries who had stayed over to visit, although their journey was thus prolonged into Sunday afternoon. I did not say anything; for the trouble was evidently too deep-seated and too wide-spread to be helped by any little bit of superficial caustic I might apply. But it may not be unprofitable in this connection to quote a few sentences from that valuable book which every Christian should read, "The Sabbath for Man," by Wilbur F. Crafts (page 29).

Mrs. M. T. True, for many years a missionary in Japan, bears cordial testimony to the faithfulness with which Japanese Christians keep the fourth commandment, often at the sacrifice of "all their living," and also to their "increasing love for the Sabbath." Sabbath observance is found to be so absolutely essential to Christian life that it is made a test question when a native convert applies for baptism, whether he will keep the Sabbath even at financial risk or loss. She adds the very significant statement that when young Japanese who have been educated in America come back, they sometimes say, "I cannot unite with the church in Japan, because Christians here are so much more strict about the Sabbath and other matters than they are in America," which does not speak very well for our Christian land. This she explains as due to the fact that the standard of Sabbath observance has been lowered in the home churches during the last score of years, so that returning missionaries who have been absent for that time, "find less conscience with regard to the Sabbath," and more "seeking of worldly pleasure on the Lord's Day," than existed when they went away.

Later I fell in with another Ohio lady — a mature and very highly cultivated Christian woman. She said that the family with whom she had boarded at Colorado Springs were quite scandalized by the fact that she hired a carriage and spent Sunday morning in driving around. She laughingly said that they had begun to look upon her as a godless sort of woman,

when, fortunately, a mutual friend happened in and certified them of the tourist's high character at home. This lady emphasized the fact that she felt no interest in the minister of her denomination in Colorado Springs — "a fifth-rate man." She hired a very quiet man — a gentleman out of health who is spending his time there — to drive her quietly around with a very quiet horse, and felt that the day thus quietly spent was more profitable to her than attendance at church could have been.

A party of tourists in the cars were talking over their Denver Sunday. One lady — a teacher from Philadelphia — said, "I am a Methodist, and as we were driving around, our hackman pointed out Trinity Methodist Church [one of the finest buildings in Denver]. 'Oh, is that a Methodist church?' I exclaimed, 'I want to go in.' So they stopped for me and I went in. Service was just closing, but how good it did seem to be in a Methodist church out here. Now," she asked artlessly, "did we break Sunday?" "I don't think so," decisively answered the lady in the seat turned opposite.

In San Francisco special inducements are offered for Sabbath breaking. Excursion tickets for Monterey, for example, are sold at a lower rate on Sunday than on any other day. The fact that anybody abstains from Sunday travel has sunk out of popular consciousness. I was entertained by an excellent lady — a former student of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary — at whose table I met a number of eminent teachers. After I had engaged my passage to Yosemite, with the expectation of starting on Monday afternoon, I received Saturday evening a message from the stage agent stating that, in order to connect with the first stage from Milton, it would be necessary to start Sunday afternoon at four o'clock, otherwise I could not go till Tuesday. I said to my hostess, "I cannot go to-morrow afternoon." "Why," said she, "have you engaged to preach?" This Mount Holyoke lady did not think of anything likely to prevent a Congregational minister from starting on Sunday except an engagement to preach. And yet she is a member of a Congregational Church in San Francisco, and has a wide acquaintance.

The convention of the National Educational Association

which met in San Francisco last July was a Sabbath-breakers' convention. The individual members and various tourist parties desecrated the Sabbath, as a rule, all the way across the continent and back. I clipped from one of the San Francisco papers — the "*Illustrated Pacific States*," July 14 — the beginning of an article upon the president of the association. It is as follows: —

MAJOR AARON GOVE. — We have fittingly prepared for the first page of this issue of our paper a photo-fac-simile portrait of this distinguished guest of California.

Aaron Gove, President of the National Educational Association, arrived in this city Sunday, July 8, from Denver, accompanied by his wife and son, Aaron M. Gove, and Dr. and Mrs. Stedman, old friends of the family. The party were met by J. K. Wilson, chairman of the Reception Committee, at Auburn, Placer County. Superintendent of State Instruction, Ira G. Hoitt, boarded the train at Sacramento, and Frederick M. Campbell, Superintendent of the Oakland public schools, joined the party at the Sixteenth-street station. Upon their arrival the distinguished visitor and his party were driven to the Occidental Hotel.

Such an item would certainly be more naturally expected in a Brazilian than in an American newspaper. Yet Major Gove is a member of the leading Congregational Church in Denver.

Visitors to the Yellowstone National Park this season have generally purchased tickets for what is called the "five days' trip." (It is really a six days' trip.) Such tickets are sold for \$40, in little books of coupons, and cover all hotel and transportation expenses while in the park. Stage parties are made up at the Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel on the morning of the second day and go around according to a fixed time schedule. The passenger keeps his seat in the same stage, drawn by the same team, all the way around. There are three drives of about forty miles each, and one of twelve miles.

Our party left the Hot Springs on a Thursday morning. The stage was expected to make the homeward journey of forty miles on the next Sunday. On Wednesday evening before starting, I went to the transportation clerk and informed him that I wished to avail myself of the privilege of stopping over,

printed on every ticket, and that I should spend Sunday at the Grand Cañon. He replied that although each ticket bears the words, "Stop-over privileges at all points of interest within the Park granted, on application to the Stage Company," no arrangement had been made to allow it. As the Yellowstone National Park is exclusively under the United States government, there is no Sunday there. Each stage, the clerk said, was sent out if possible full. If any passenger gave up his seat, he did so at his own risk. Possibly he might find a vacant place in a stage the next day, but most probably he would not. No rebate would be allowed for a coupon unused by a tourist who might stop over and be forced to resort to private conveyance. I would probably find myself next Monday morning forty miles away with no means of transportation. There were two lady teachers from Cleveland at the desk upon the same errand as mine. Unable to obtain any concessions, they at last very reluctantly submitted. Conscientious and troubled as they evidently were, the possibility of giving up a pleasure trip which was necessarily going to involve Sabbath-breaking did not seem to occur to them. It would have occurred to Japanese Christians. I saw that it was of no use to wrangle with the clerk, but resolved to take my chances.

When we reached the Grand Cañon Saturday night, my expressed intention of stopping over excited much remark. The hotel clerk said that, in the two months of his experience, no one had attempted it. My fellow passengers in the stage, two of whom were ladies teaching in the public schools of Ohio (not the Cleveland ladies just referred to), and all of whom were teachers, looked upon me as a rare specimen of the martyr spirit. My own feelings were a mixture of amusement and pain. There was something laughably absurd in the martyrdom of an extra day in one of the most sublime spots on the continent and imminent danger of having to hire a saddle-horse for a ride of forty miles over an excellent road. It was mortifying to think that such a course should seem to the most intelligent people of our country a stretch of heroic conscientiousness not to be expected of ordinary Christians. I was, however, a martyr in will only, not in deed; for on Monday morning it appeared that, for some

reason, a four-horse stage was to return entirely empty, and I had the vehicle all to myself for the whole forty miles.

Being without other company that day, I naturally got pretty well acquainted with the driver. He complained that it was no pleasure to drive a stage in the National Park, for the teams are always tired. They have no day of rest. The team that gets in from the Grand Cañon Saturday night starts southward with another party of tourists on Sunday morning. The manager of the stage line, he said, thinks it more profitable to buy up cheap horses and use them up, than to keep extra teams for relief. Now a horse is a loyal animal. As long as he has strength he rallies at the call of his driver and pulls. To draw in a stage team of four or six is as much fun for well-kept horses as drawing a sled is for boys. How brutal the spirit that can use up a faithful horse! How different from the spirit of Moses who said: "Six days shalt thou do thy work, and on the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine ox and thine ass may have rest, and the son of thine handmaid, and the stranger, may be refreshed." Sitting there beside that profane and vulgar stage driver, who had had no Sunday all summer, and behind those tired horses that were being killed by inches, I could not be clear that we had gained so much as some people think, in escaping from Mosaic bondage into Christian liberty. Moses was the first Henry Bergh, and the Hebrew commonwealth was the first society for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

A good many more facts might be mentioned, showing the lax views and practice of our best people, but these are enough.

The arguments offered by Christian tourists for their Sunday travel and sight-seeing may be summed up under seven heads. Most of them are concisely stated in the very able letter of the school superintendent which I read to you. They are as follows:—

1. "It does not seem worse for a train, which is an *overland* ship, to be moving on Sunday than for a steamship in mid-ocean."

To this it may be replied that many ocean voyages are necessarily more than a week long. A ship in mid-ocean must be managed, and it is about as easy to keep her on her course as to stop. The safety of passengers, crew, and cargo demand the

shortest possible exposure to the dangers of the deep. The difference between stopping a through train in Colorado on Sunday and stopping a ship in mid-ocean is, simply, that none of the circumstances are the same. If trains on the Denver & Rio Grande R. R. are stopped on Sunday, most of the railroad men can spend the day at home with their families. The passengers can spend their time in perfect safety and comfort. There is precisely the same ease in stopping trains in Colorado as in Ohio. The fact that one State is a little farther west is an immaterial circumstance.

2. "The train will run anyhow. The Colorado people have no Sabbath, and why should not we go along?"

This is the rumsellers' argument, and needs no answer.

3. "On so expensive a trip teachers cannot afford to stop for Sunday, at least, not for the whole of Sunday."

My trip extended over fifty-one days, and cost me \$350. I had the best of accommodations in every case. In order to avoid taking a Sunday evening train, I stayed in Salt Lake City until Monday night, and in San Francisco until Tuesday afternoon. Thus I lost three week days. My expenses for board those three days were not far from \$6. I also rested during the seven Sundays, at a cost of about \$20. My Sabbath-keeping cost me thus: three days of secular time and \$26 in money, beside the Sundays, out of an expenditure of fifty-one days and \$350. Will a man rob God? And yet the Ohio teachers think that they cannot be expected to make such a sacrifice. Think of the shame of the time when an Ohio man is thought singular for being willing to sacrifice so much. Is it just when, through God's blessing, we have time enough and money enough to take the long-desired transcontinental trip, that we cannot afford to keep God's day?

The New England special Pullman train, which left Boston on July 6, paid more regard to Sunday than did the special Ohio train. Their published itinerary shows a purpose to reach Chicago on Sunday morning at half past eight, and to leave on Sunday afternoon at five. The next Saturday night they were to reach Salt Lake City, and they were to leave Sunday evening at seven. These New England people could not afford to give

God all his day, but they would be as generous as they could afford.

Sunday sight-seeing and travel are poor economy. On the latter part of the route, it was obvious that many tourists were utterly jaded in body and in mind. I saw people pass through scenes of indescribable beauty without any emotion, solely because of weariness; and I knew of a good many cases of illness. One day in the week, of conscientious abstinence from effort, was a precious refreshment and a grand preparation for the week to come.

4. "We can be very quiet on the train."

This is not true. A railway train is a noisy thing, — whistling, ringing the bell, thundering across bridges, roaring through tunnels. Nor is sitting in a train a quiet thing for the intelligent tourist. Every nerve is strained. The object of the journey is to see and to feel. The eye wearies itself with looking. It is not a quiet day when the traveler goes through the "Royal Gorge" of the Arkansas, or the "Black Cañon" of the Gunnison, or over the Marshall Pass, but a day of intense excitement.

But suppose it were true. Suppose that the traveler is already familiar with that part of the route, or suppose that he is simply enduring the deserts of Nevada, as nearly motionless and unconscious as he can contrive to be. What about the quiet of the railroad men all along the line, who never have a Sabbath at home from year's end to year's end? It is gross selfishness to deprive the 250,000 railroad employees of the United States of their weekly rest, even if we can be quiet while they work.

5. "Teachers cannot be expected to stop off for twenty-four hours just where Saturday night may find them, in some out-of-the-way place."

My seven Sundays were spent in the following places: Denver, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, Yosemite, Seattle, Tacoma, Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone. That is an imperial list of abiding-places. Once, as we have seen, I lost Monday, and once Monday and Tuesday, in getting away. That is, I stayed a little longer in two very pleasant places than I had at first

planned — not a very serious trial. The Ohio party left Denver one Sunday morning and Carson City the next. It will hardly do for them to talk of the unreasonableness of asking people to stop off “just anywhere that Saturday night may find them.”

I did meet some tourists who were surprised and troubled to find that with their parties and tickets it was going to be impossible to keep Sunday. These Christian people, in planning their summer trip, had thought of everything except their religion, and were naturally aggrieved that their conductors had not looked after what they themselves had forgotten.

But most of those who stopped over Sunday used it in sight-seeing. They said, “You cannot expect us to spend the day sitting around a hotel; and we do not feel any interest in the obscure preachers of our denomination here. Besides, we have nothing to read either.” It is enough to ask in reply how Paul, if he were alive to-day, would spend a Sunday in San Francisco, if by reason of some disability he were unable to preach. Some of the time, doubtless, he would spend in his room in prayer. It would matter little to him whether it were a cheerful room or not, if he could meet Jesus there. Then, I think, he would seek out some company of Christian worshippers. Then he would inquire what was doing for the conversion of the Chinese. Perhaps in the afternoon he would drop in at the Y. M. C. A. meeting. They have had a continuous revival in the San Francisco Y. M. C. A. for the last year. In the intervals of the day, Paul would read in those inestimable Oracles which are able to make wise unto salvation. This total failure of resources on Sunday at a hotel in a strange city is one of the saddest phenomena of modern Christian life. Why might not a group of Christian friends improvise a meeting of their own for singing gospel hymns, or for prayer? On Sunday evening in San Francisco I attended a union Bible Society meeting of Chinese Christians in the Chinese Presbyterian church. There were 250 or 300 Chinese men and women present, and there were prayers, hymns, and addresses in English and Chinese. That audience of Christian Chinese was the pleasantest sight to be seen in San Francisco that day. There

were very few tourists present, however, although hundreds of tourists — ladies as well as gentlemen — made it a point, during their stay in the city, to visit the Chinese dens of debauchery, with guides, after dark. "You must do it," they said, "in order properly to understand the Chinese question." After going through those places, and smelling those smells, the ladies felt perfectly competent to discourse on the hopeless degradation of the Chinese, though they had not visited a single mission school. Several ladies invited me to join such parties, but I declined on the ground that in visiting New York or Chicago I had never thought it necessary to be conducted through the slums in order to form a correct estimate of the American character. These people thought me absurdly eccentric.

The suggestion to take along a few religious books for Sunday reading would seem to most tourists to show utter ignorance of the limited capacity of valises and Saratoga trunks. They have novels for week days but nothing for Sunday. And who could be expected to occupy himself half a day over a Testament?

6. The sixth argument is that to insist upon an absolute stop on Sunday is at present only to annoy other people with our private opinions. Other members of the party want to go on. Somebody must yield. Is it not the Christian thing to yield? A rigid, uncompromising insistence will make everybody else angry. It excites antagonism and contempt. It has an odiously Pharisaical appearance. It makes religion unlovely. "I thought," said a lady who teaches Moral Philosophy in a female seminary, "the best way was to make a protest, and then go quietly along with the others. Our conductor assured me that he had done his utmost to arrange for a stop, but could not." I replied that the Apostles and early Christians failed to discover this pleasant way of discharging their moral obligations, and had a blundering aptitude for getting themselves hated of all men and burned at the stake. Our Lord seems to have expected that they would excite antagonism, and predicted that a man's foes would be they of his own household. Had the Roman Christians thought to make a courteous protest to the officer in charge, and then, to avoid further trouble, merely

burned a little incense to the statue of the emperor, the lions would have missed many a meal.

7. The last great argument for a lax Sunday is based on the words and the silence of our Lord himself. Christ did not reenact the fourth commandment. Therefore it was abrogated, and passed away with the prohibition of pork and with other Mosaic restrictions. He said, "The Sabbath was made for man," and therefore we have a right to deprive all the railroad and livery and stage men in the West of their weekly rest. He said, in healing a man, "It is lawful to do good on the Sabbath day;" and so we are free to spend it in any way we please, whatever it may cost working people. He said, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice;" and so we are at liberty to drive a tired team every day in the week, though the ancient Jew could not. Christ has given us Christian liberty, and so we ourselves are free from the obligation of stopping for Divine worship, and are free to deny that privilege to our working people. What brazen effrontery it is for a Sabbath-breaker to claim the authority of Jesus Christ.

Having now considered at this great length the views and practice of our best and most intelligent people, the next thing is to inquire who is to blame for this lamentable state of affairs. Without hesitation we reply, Primarily the ministry, Flabby, nerveless, cowardly preaching is at the bottom of it. Secondly, private Christians are severally to blame for inexcusable heedlessness and gross worldliness. If our people were taught to use the Sabbath at home, and took pains to learn how to use it, they would know how to use it when away from home.

A tourist needs special Divine influences. In the emotional exaltation of sublime scenery the pious soul ought to feel lifted toward God. It is profane coarseness to rush without religious preparation and repose of soul into the august scenes of the Yosemite and the Yellowstone. And in general, amid the rush and shock of travel, exposed to unusual dangers, distressed by continual swearing, drinking, and the madness of a godless world, a Christian ought to thirst for the day of calm and communion with God.

Our tourists ought to travel as Christians. They should study

the religious needs of such a State as Colorado. If there are small churches in such a place as Manitou Springs and Christian workers trying to save hotel porters and livery men, it would be more becoming to join in the services than to hire those livery men to go off to the top of Pike's Peak. There can never be a Sabbath in Colorado until Eastern Christians have more conscience. They give the lie, when they go there, to the teachings of the home missionaries whom they support there.

But is not for us to debate the usefulness of a rest day in the week, or to balance arguments for and against the observance of the Sabbath. The finger of God wrote the fourth commandment in the red granite of Sinai. It stands just as Divine and perpetually and universally obligatory as the third commandment and the fifth commandment.

Popular religion in America will stand or fall with the Sabbath. The great profane, whiskey-drinking, licentious, greedy West needs the Sabbath — the whole Sabbath, not that pitiful fragment of a broken Sabbath which remains between the time the morning train comes in and the time the afternoon train goes out. Dr. Leavitt has said, "The closing hour of the Lord's Day is the saving hour." Christians must cease to deprive unsaved railroad men of that saving hour.

"If thou turn away thy foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day; and call the Sabbath a delight, and the holy of the Lord honorable; and shalt honor it, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words: then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord; and I will make thee to ride upon the high places of the earth; and I will feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

BOOK NOTICES.

THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH. By JAMES BRYCE, author of "The Holy Roman Empire," M. P. for Aberdeen. 2 vols. crown 8vo. Pp. 750 and 743. English edition, 3 vols. London and New York. Macmillan & Co. 1888.

It is high praise to say that in the discussion of democracy in America Professor Bryce is De Tocqueville's successor and peer. The scope of his already famous work on "The American Commonwealth" is much like that of De Tocqueville's "Democracy in America," and yet the differences between the two books are numerous and instructive. Professor Bryce discusses America for an English audience with the whole intelligent public of Europe and America in the foreground. De Tocqueville wrote primarily for a French audience with the cultured classes of Europe in the background. The republic visited by Professor Bryce has sixty-five millions of people; that of De Tocqueville had only fifteen. England and France, as well as the American Republic, have developed democratic tendencies extensively since the date of De Tocqueville's work. American history has advanced through the great chapters of the settlement of the Mississippi valley, the opening of the Pacific slope, the annexation of Texas, and the political and military achievements of the Civil War. In the field of both promises and perils of the American future, the materials at Professor Bryce's command were far richer than those used by De Tocqueville. It is interesting to notice that the methods of the Englishman in securing a knowledge of details were much the same with those of the Frenchman. Professor Bryce visited our republic repeatedly. He made close acquaintance with our foremost men in politics, literature, journalism, and university life. In like manner De Tocqueville filled his note-books with the wisest opinions of Americans in his day. Professor Bryce sets England in contrast with America, and so makes his book a good study of England for Americans as well as of America for Englishmen. While it cannot perhaps be said that the literary style of Professor Bryce is as finished as De Tocqueville's, yet its ease, incisiveness, grace, and generally artistic qualities remind one of the best passages of the brilliant and now classic French writer.

Professor Bryce was born in Belfast, May 10, 1838. He is the son of James Bryce, LL.D., of Glasgow, and of Margaret, daughter of James Young, Esq., Abbeyville, County Antrim, Ireland. He was graduated a double first-class, at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1862, and was elected the same year a Fellow of Oriel College. He became barrister at Lincoln's Inn, in 1867, and practiced law for some years. In 1870 he was appointed

Regius Professor of Civil Law, in Oxford University. In 1880 he was sent to Parliament as Liberal member for the Tower Hamlets. In 1885 he was elected member for South Aberdeen. He was Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in Mr. Gladstone's government, and one of the chief supporters of the Home Rule bill. In 1886 he was returned to Parliament unopposed for South Aberdeen. Among his literary works are "The Holy Roman Empire," first edition, 1864; eighth edition, 1884, and now translated in German and Italian; and a book of travel, "Trans-Caucasia and Ararat," published in 1887. In his parliamentary career he has taken a special interest in the Eastern question and University reform.

It is safe to say that Professor Bryce distributes praise and criticism of American institutions so judiciously that intelligent American opinion will rarely find him at fault in either matter or tone. He is never patronizing and never obtuse, and so is a refreshing contrast to many an English critic of the ways of the republic. But then Professor Bryce is a Scotchman and an Oxford Professor of Civil Law and a liberal member of Parliament. Looking down from the galleries of our National House of Representatives, in which Americans themselves find enough to criticise, Professor Bryce does not lose either his geniality or his insight.

"I have spoken of the din of the House of Representatives, of the air of restlessness and confusion, contrasting with the staid gravity of the Senate, or the absence of dignity both in its proceedings and in the bearing and aspect of individual members. All these things notwithstanding, there is something impressive about it, something not unworthy of the continent for which it legislates. This huge gray hall, filled with perpetual clamor, this multitude of keen and eager faces, this ceaseless coming and going of many feet, this irreverent public, watching from the galleries and forcing its way on to the floor, all speak to the beholder's mind of the mighty democracy, destined in another century to form one half of civilized mankind, whose affairs are here debated. If the men are not great, the interest and the issues are vast and fateful. Here, as so often in America, one thinks rather of the future than of the present. Of what tremendous struggles may not this hall become the theatre in ages yet far distant, when the parliaments of Europe have shrunk to insignificance?"

Professor Bryce's work is divided into six parts — The National Government, The State Government, The Party System, Public Opinion, Illustrations and Reflections, Social Institutions. Of these divisions, the last will probably be the most interesting to American readers, because containing the most that is novel, but the comments on the familiar features of our government and party system are exceedingly shrewd and just. As a Record of Reform, we enrich our pages by a few strategic extracts on matters of great current interest.

In a most suggestive chapter on "Spoils," Professor Bryce says:—

"The plan of using office as a mere engine in party warfare had already been tried in New York, where the stress of party contests had led to an early development of many devices in party organization, and it was a New

York adherent of Jackson, Marcy, who, speaking in the Senate in 1832, condensed the new doctrine in a phrase that has become famous — 'To the victor belong the spoils.'

"Those whose bread and butter depend on their party may be trusted to work for their party, to enlist recruits, look after the organization, play electioneering tricks from which ordinary party spirit might recoil. The class of professional politicians was therefore the first crop which the spoils system, the system of using public office as private plunder, bore. Bosses were the second crop. In the old Scandinavian poetry the special title of the king or chieftain is 'the giver of rings.' He attracts followers and rewards the services, whether the warrior or the skald, by liberal gifts. So the Boss wins and holds power by the bestowal of patronage. Places are the prize of victory in election warfare; he divides this spoil before as well as after the battle, promising the higher elective offices to the strongest among his fighting men, and dispensing the minor appointive offices which lie in his own gift, or that of his lieutenants, to combatants of less note but equal loyalty. Thus the chieftain consolidates, extends, fortifies his power by rewarding his supporters. He garrisons the outposts with his squires and henchmen, who are bound fast to him by the hope of getting something more, and the fear of losing what they have. Most of these appointive offices are too poorly paid to attract able men; but they form a stepping-stone to the higher ones obtained by popular election; and the desire to get them and keep them provides that numerous rank and file which the American system requires to work the Machine. In a country like England office is an object of desire to a few prominent men, but only to a few, because the places which are vacated on a change of government are less than fifty in all, while vacancies in other places happen only by death or promotion. Hence an insignificant number of persons out of the whole population have a personal pecuniary interest in the triumph of their party. In England, therefore, one has what may be called the general officers and headquarters staff of an army of professional politicians, but few subalterns and no privates. And in England most of these general officers are rich men, independent of official salaries. In America the privates are proportioned in number to the officers. They are a great host. As nearly all live by politics, they are held together by a strong personal motive. When their party is kept out of the spoils of the federal government, as the Democrats were out from 1861 till 1885, they have a second chance in the state spoils, a third chance in the city spoils; and the prospect of winning at least one of these two latter sets of places maintains their discipline and whets their appetite, however slight may be their chance of capturing the federal offices.

"It is these spoilsmen who have depraved and distorted the mechanism of politics. It is they who pack the primaries and run the conventions so as to destroy the freedom of popular choice, they who contrive and execute the election frauds which disgrace some States and cities,—repeating and ballot-stuffing, obstruction of the polls, and fraudulent countings in.

"In making every administrative appointment a matter of party claim

and personal favor, the system has lowered the general tone of public morals, for it has taught men to neglect the interests of the community, and made insincerity ripen into cynicism. Nobody supposes that merit has anything to do with promotion, or believes the pretext alleged for an appointment. Politics has been turned into the art of distributing salaries so as to secure the maximum of support from friends with the minimum of offense to opponents. To this art able men have been forced to bend their minds ; on this president and ministers have spent those hours which were demanded by the real problems of the country. The rising politician must think of obscure supporters seeking petty places as well as of those greater appointments by which his knowledge of men and his honesty deserve to be judged. It is hardly a caricature in Mr. Lowell's satire when the intending presidential candidate writes to his maritime friend in New England, —

‘ If you git me inside the White House,
Your head with ile I ’ll kinder ’nint,
By gittin’ you inside the light-house,
Down to the end of Jaalam pint.’

“ After this, it seems a small thing to add that rotation in office has not improved the quality of civil service. Men selected for their services at elections or in primaries have not proved the most capable servants of the public. As most of the posts they fill need nothing more than such ordinary business qualities as the average American possesses, the mischief has not come home to the citizens generally, but it has sometimes been serious in the higher grades, such as the departments at Washington and some of the greater custom-houses. Moreover, the official is not free to attend to his official duties. More important, because more influential on his fortunes, is the duty to his party of looking after its interests at the election, and his duty to his chiefs, the Boss and Ring, of seeing that the candidate they favor gets the party nomination. Such an official, whom democratic theory seeks to remind of his dependence on the public, does not feel himself bound to the public, but to the city boss or senator or congressman who has procured his appointment. Gratitude, duty, service, are all for the patron. So far from making the official zealous in the performance of his functions, insecurity of tenure has discouraged sedulous application to work, since it is not by such application that office is retained and promotion won. The administration of some among the public departments in federal and city government is more behind that of private enterprises than is the case in European countries ; the ingenuity and executive talent which the nation justly boasts are least visible in national or municipal business. In short, the civil service is not in America, and cannot under the system of rotation become, a career. Place-hunting is the career, and an office is not a public trust, but a means of requiting party services, and also, under the method of assessments previously described, a source whence party funds may be raised for election purposes.”

As to the present condition of Civil Service Reform, Professor Bryce writes : —

"The Act of 1883 applies to only about 14,000 out of nearly 120,000 posts in the federal government. But its moral effect has been greater than this proportion represents, and entitles it to the description given of it at the time as a 'sad blow to the pessimists.' It strengthens the hand of any president who may desire reform, and has stimulated the civil service reform movement in States and municipalities. Several States have now instituted examinations for admission to their civil service ; and similar legislation has been applied to New York, Brooklyn, Boston, and other cities. Some years must pass before the result of these changes upon the purification of politics can be fairly judged. It is for the present enough to say that while the state of things above described has been generally true both of federal and of state and city administration during the last sixty years, there is now reason to hope that the practice of appointing for short terms, and dismissing in order to fill vacancies with political adherents, has been shaken ; and that the extension of examinations will tend more and more to exclude mere spoilsmen from the public service.

"What are the results of this system ?

"It destroys the unity of the House as a legislative body. Since the practical work of shaping legislation is done in the committees, the interest of members centres there, and they care less about the proceedings of the whole body. It is as a committee man that a member does his real work. In fact the House has become not so much a legislative assembly as a huge panel from which committees are selected.

"It prevents the capacity of the best members from being brought to bear upon any one piece of legislation, however important. The men of most ability and experience are chosen to be chairmen of the committees, or to sit on the two or three greatest. For other committees there remains only the rank and file of the House, a rank and file half of which is new at the beginning of each Congress. Hence every committee (except the aforesaid two or three) is composed of ordinary persons, and it is impossible, save by creating a special select committee, to get together what would be called in England 'a strong committee,' i. e. one where half or more of the members are exceptionally capable. The defect is not supplied by discussion in the House, for there is no time for such discussion.

"It cramps debate. Every foreign observer has remarked how little real debate, in the European sense, takes place in the House of Representatives. The very habit of debate, the expectation of debate, the idea that debate is needed, have vanished, except as regards questions of revenue and expenditure, because the centre of gravity has shifted from the House to the committees.

"It lessens the cohesion and harmony of legislation. Each committee goes on its own way with its own bills just as though it were legislating for one planet and the other committees for others. Hence a want of policy and method in congressional action. The advance is haphazard ; the parts have little relation to one another or to the whole.

"It gives facilities for the exercise of underhand and even corrupt influ-

ence. In the small committee the voice of each member is well worth securing, and may be secured with little danger of a public scandal. The press cannot, even when the doors of committee rooms stand open, report the proceedings of fifty bodies; the eye of the nation cannot follow and mark what goes on within them; while the subsequent proceedings in the House are too hurried to permit a ripping up there of suspicious bargains struck in the purlieus of the capitol, and fulfilled by votes given in a committee. As will be seen subsequently, I do not think that corruption, in its grosser forms, is rife at Washington. When it appears, it appears chiefly in the milder form of reciprocal jobbing or (as it is called) "log rolling." But the arrangements of the committee system have produced and sustain the class of professional "lobbyists," men, and women too, who make it their business to "see" members and procure, by persuasion, importunity, or the use of inducements, the passing of bills, public as well as private, which involve gain to their promoters.

"It reduces responsibility. In England, if a bad Act is passed or a good bill rejected, the blame falls primarily upon the ministry in power whose command of the majority would have enabled them to defeat it, next upon the party which supported the ministry, then upon the individual members who are officially recorded to have "backed" it and voted for it in the House. The fact that a select committee recommended it — and comparatively few bills pass through a select committee — would not be held to excuse the default of the ministry and the majority. But in the United States there is no ministry to be blamed, for the cabinet officers do not sit in Congress; the House cannot be blamed because it has only followed the decision of its committee; the committee is a comparatively obscure body, whose members are usually too insignificant to be worth blaming. The chairman is often a man of note, but the people have no leisure to watch fifty chairmen, they know Congress and Congress only; they cannot follow the acts of those to whom Congress chooses to delegate its functions. No discredit attaches to the dominant party, because they could not control the acts of the eleven men in the committee room. Thus public displeasure rarely finds a victim, and everybody concerned is relieved from the wholesome dread of damaging himself and his party by negligence, perversity, or dishonesty. Only when a scandal has arisen so serious as to demand investigation is the responsibility of the member to his constituents and the country brought duly home.

"It lowers the interests of the nation in the proceedings of Congress.¹

¹ "The doubt and confusion of thought which must necessarily exist, in the minds of the vast majority of voters as to the best way of exerting their will in influencing the action of an assembly whose organization is so complex, whose acts are apparently so haphazard, and in which responsibility is spread so thin, throws constituencies into the hands of local politicians who are more visible and tangible than are the leaders of Congress, and generates the while a profound distrust of Congress as a body whose actions cannot be reckoned beforehand by any standard of promises made at elections or any programmes announced by conventions.

Except in exciting times, when large questions have to be settled, the bulk of real business is done not in the great hall of the House but in this labyrinth of committee rooms and the lobbies that surround them. What takes place in view of the audience is little more than a sanction, formal indeed but hurried and often heedless, of decisions procured behind the scenes, whose mode and motives remain undisclosed. Hence people cease to watch Congress with that sharp eye which every principal ought to keep fixed on his agent. Acts pass unnoticed, whose results are in a few months discovered to be so grave that the newspapers ask how it happened that they were allowed to pass.

"The country of course suffers from the want of the light and leading on public affairs which debates in Congress ought to supply. But this is perhaps more fairly chargeable to defects of the House which the committees are designed to mitigate than to the committees themselves. The time which the committee work leaves for the sittings of the House is long enough to permit due discussion did better arrangements exist for conducting it.

"It throws power into the hands of the chairmen of committees, especially, of course, of those which deal with finance and with great material interests. They become practically a second set of ministers, before whom the departments tremble, and who, though they can neither appoint nor dismiss a postmaster or a tide-waiter, can by legislation determine the policy of the branch of administration which they oversee. This power is not necessarily accompanied by responsibility, because like everything else about the committees, it is largely exercised in secret. Besides, as an able writer remarks, 'the more power is divided, the more irresponsible it becomes. The petty character of the leadership of each committee contributes towards making its despotism sure by making its duties uninteresting.'

"It enables the House to deal with a far greater number of measures and subjects than could otherwise be overtaken; and has the advantage of enabling evidence to be taken by those whose duty it is to re-shape or amend a bill. It replaces the system of interrogating ministers in the House which prevails in most European chambers; and enables the working of the administrative departments to be minutely scrutinized.

"It sets the members of the House to work for which their previous training has fitted them much better than for either legislating or debating 'in the grand style.' They are shrewd keen men of business, apt for talk in committees, less apt for wide views of policy and elevated discourse in an assembly. The committees are therefore good working bodies, but bodies

Constituencies can watch and understand a few banded leaders who display plain purposes and act upon them with promptness; but they cannot watch or understand forty odd standing committees, each of which goes its own way in doing what it can without any special regard to the pledges of either of the parties from which its membership is drawn." — WOODROW WILSON, *Congressional Government*, a lucid and interesting book from which I have derived much help in this and the two following chapters.

which confirm congressmen in the intellectual habits they bring with them instead of raising them to the higher platform of national questions and interests."

After describing the system of committees through which Congress now transacts most of its business and by which the nation is chiefly governed, Professor Bryce says :—

"On the whole, it may be said that under this system the House dispatches a vast amount of work and does the negative part of it, the killing off of worthless bills, in a thorough way. Were the committees abolished and no other organization substituted, the work could not be done. But much of it, including most of the private bills, ought not to come before Congress at all ; and the more important part of what remains, viz., public legislation, is dealt with by methods securing neither the pressing forward of the measures most needed, nor the due debate of those that are pressed forward.

"Why, if these mischiefs exist, is the system of committee legislation maintained ?

"It is maintained because none better has been, or, as most people think, can be devised. 'We have,' say the Americans, 'three hundred and twenty-five members in the House, most of them eager to speak, nearly all of them giving constant attendance. The bills brought in are so numerous that in our two sessions, one of seven or eight months, the other of three months, not one twentieth could be fairly discussed on second reading or in committee of the whole. If even this twentieth were discussed, no time would remain for supervision of the departments of state. That supervision itself must, since it involves the taking of evidence, be conducted by committees and not by the whole House. In England you have one large and strong committee, viz., the ministry of the day, which undertakes all the more important business, and watches even the bills of private members. Your House of Commons could not work for a single sitting without such a committee, as is proved by the fact that when you are left for a little without a ministry, the House adjourns. We cannot have such a committee, because no office-holder sits in Congress. Neither can we organize the House under leaders, because prominent men have among us little authority, since they are unconnected with the executive, and derive no title from the people. Neither can we create a ruling committee of the majority, because this would be disliked as an undemocratic and tyrannical institution. Hence our only course is to divide the unwieldy multitude into small bodies capable of dealing with particular subjects. Each of them is no doubt powerful in its own sphere, but that sphere is so small that no grave harm can result. The Acts passed may not be the best possible ; the legislation of the year may resemble a patchwork quilt, where each piece is different in color and texture from the rest. But as we do not need much legislation, and as nearly the whole field of ordinary private law lies outside the province of Congress, the mischief is slighter than your Europeans expect. If we made legislation easier, we might have too much of it ; and in trying to

give it the more definite character you suggest, we might make it too bold and sweeping. Be our present system bad or good, it is the only system possible under our constitution, and the fact that it was not directly created by that instrument, but has been evolved by the experience of a hundred years, shows how strong must be the tendencies whose natural working has produced it."

Hon. Seth Low, lately mayor of Brooklyn, contributes a searching, but on the whole hopeful discussion of Municipal Government in the United States.

In his very satisfactory chapter on "The Churches and the Clergy," Professor Bryce writes:—

"The influence of Christianity seems to be, if we look not merely to the numbers but also to the intelligence of the persons influenced, greater and more wide-spread in the United States than in any part of western Continental Europe, and I think greater than in England. In France, Italy, Spain, and the Catholic parts of Germany, as well as in German Austria, the authority of religion over the masses is of course great. Its influence on the best educated classes—one must include all parts of society in order to form a fair judgment—is apparently smaller in France and Italy, than in Great Britain, and I think distinctly smaller than in the United States. The country which most resembles America in this respect is Scotland, where the mass of the people enjoy large rights in the management of their church affairs, and where the interest of all classes has, ever since the Reformation, tended to run in ecclesiastical channels. So far from suffering the want of state support, religion seems in the United States to stand all the firmer because, standing alone, she is seen to stand by her own strength. No political party, no class in the community, has any hostility either to Christianity or to any particular Christian body. The churches are as thoroughly popular, in the best sense of the word, as any of the other institutions of the country."

"Social jealousies connected with religion scarcely exist in America, and one notes a kindlier feeling between all denominations, Roman Catholics included, a greater readiness to work together for common charitable aims, than between Catholics and Protestants in France or Germany, or between Anglicans and Nonconformists in England. There is a rivalry between the leading denominations to extend their bounds, to erect and fill new churches, to raise great sums for church purposes. But it is a friendly rivalry, which does not provoke bad blood, because the state stands neutral, and all churches have a free field."

As to Literature, Art, and Manners in America, Professor Bryce says:—

"The prevalence of evangelical Protestantism has been quite as important a factor in the intellectual life of the nation as its form of government."

"Democracy tends to produce a superficially active public and perhaps also a jubilant and self-confident public. But it is quite possible to have a democratic people which shall be neither fond of letters nor disposed to trust its own judgment and taste in judging them. Much will depend on

the other features of the situation. In the United States the cultivated public increases rapidly, and the very reaction which goes on within it against the defects of the multitude becomes an important factor. All things considered, I doubt whether democracy tends to discourage originality, subtlety, refinement, in thought and in expression, whether literary or artistic, I doubt if there be any solid ground for expecting monotony or vulgarity under one form of government more than another. The causes lie deeper. Art and literature have before now been base and vulgar under absolute monarchies and under oligarchies.

"On a review of the whole matter it will appear that although as respects most kinds of intellectual work America is rather in the position of the consumer, Europe, and especially England, in that of the producer, although America is more influenced by English and German books and by French art than these countries are influenced by her, still she does not look for initiative to them, or hold herself in any way their disciple. She is in many points independent; and in all fully persuaded of her independence."

"Will she then in time develop a new literature, bearing the stamp of her own mint? She calls herself a new country: will she give the world a new philosophy, new views of religion, a new type of life in which plain living and high thinking may be more happily blended than we now see them in the Old World, a life in which the franker recognition of equality will give a freshness to ideas and to manners a charm of simplicity which the aristocratic societies of Europe have failed to attain?

"As regards manners and life, she has already approached nearer this happy combination than any society of the Old World.

"As regards ideas, I have found among the most cultivated Americans a certain cosmopolitanism of view, and detachment from national or local prejudice, superior to that of the same classes in France, England, or Germany. In the ideas themselves there is little one can call novel or distinctively American, though there is a kind of thoroughness in embracing or working out certain political and social conceptions which is less common in England. As regards literature, nothing at present indicates the emergence of a new type. The influence of the great nations on one another grows always closer, and makes new national types less likely to appear. Science, which has no nationality, exerts a growing sway over men's minds, and exerts it contemporaneously and similarly in all civilized countries. For the purposes of thought, at least, if not of literary expression, the world draws closer together, and becomes more of a homogeneous community."

The concluding sentence of Professor Bryce's second volume indicates fairly the general tone of his great work as a whole.

"That America marks the highest level not only of material well-being but of intelligence and happiness which the race has yet attained, will be the judgment of those who look not at the favored few for whose benefit the world hitherto seems to have framed its institutions, but at the whole body of the people."

Professor Bryce's volumes are neither too long, nor too rich in details, to

match the chief purposes of the work ; but we hope to see a judicious condensation of it made and used as a text-book in classes in Political Economy in American colleges and universities.

ETERNAL ATONEMENT. Sermons by **ROSWELL DWIGHT HITCHCOCK, D. D., LL. D.,** late President and Washburn Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1888. 12mo. Pp. 306.

Some of Professor Hitchcock's celebrated short sermons have both the illuminating and the smiting power of thunderbolts. A really Divine fire blazes through them. An apostolic personality speaks in their religious intensity both of feeling and thought. The author was a born rhetorician ; he was a trained theologian ; he was an expert authority in church history, but in all else and more than all else he was a sacred orator filled, to use one of his own phrases, not only with light but with lightning. A few years before his death he burned up all his manuscripts except thirty sermons. Nineteen of these are preserved here, and most of them are gems of the clearest water. The epigrammatic passages are numerous but always unforced and natural. A strong grasp on the severe, as well as on the tender truths of Christianity characterizes all the discourses. Professor Hitchcock was, for many years, a preacher before he became a professor of Natural and Revealed Religion at Bangor. When in 1855 he became the professor of Church History at Union Theological Seminary, in New York, he by no means ceased to be a preacher. He was in constant requisition in various of the foremost pulpits and especially at times demanding occasional discourses of high merit. Rarely has a theological professor shown such versatility as that of Professor Hitchcock or borne such fruit at once in the classroom and in the pulpit and on the platform. It has been said that if two students who had been graduated from Union Seminary in his time met and had but ten minutes for an interview they usually spent seven of them in discussing Professor Hitchcock. One of his farewell discourses to a class of theological students is given in this volume and closes characteristically with sentences which must have burned themselves deeply into young men's memories.

"Dictate no terms to Providence. At whatever cost accept the service offered you, high or low, far or near. Then burn to the socket."

So himself burned this heroic, flaming soul and reached the socket all too soon !

We select from these remarkable discourses a few passages, fit to be key-notes of reform in church and state.

Our present civilization, dating from the inventions and discoveries of the fifteenth century, had Protestant baptism, to be sure, but has been running wild since that. This civilization was, first of all, distinctly commercial, then industrial, and of course, intensely realistic throughout. Its philosophy is formulated at last, and now we understand the problem. Our way is not backward, into Egypt, and the old traditions ; but onward to Sinai, with pillar of cloud and fire.

Christianity is safe enough, if only we have found out what Christianity really is. But these Christian sects, I should say, had better be letting one another alone. We are not fighting now for the Trinity, nor for the Divine Decrees, nor for Final Perseverance, but only for religion as our common human inheritance and concern; as England fought at Waterloo, not for herself only, but for Europe. To-day we are safe in asking for nothing but the solitary fact of self-impeachment at the bar of Conscience. Concede us this, confess this to ourselves, and if logic survives the malaria, it will be plain enough that there must be a personal God to take care of us. . . .

. . . What have we to say about keeping company with ourselves, as we now are, forever? . . .

. . . In this universe of law — universe not of light only, but of lightning, is there any chance at all for a man who feels the need of being treated a great deal better, infinitely better, than he deserves to be? When this burning question begins to be answered to any purpose, our blind men begin to see.

Of the nine great historic religions, with which Christianity is sometimes compared, excluding Confucianism, which is not so much a religion as a morality, four are dead: The Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Scandinavian. Of the two that are related to Christianity somewhat as parent and child, Judaism has been superseded by Christianity, and Mohammedanism has failed in its attempt to supersede the superseder. There remain only Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism, and Buddhism, not one of which has ever dreamed of conquering the Occident. Christianity is alone in its ambition, its purpose, and its expectation, of universal dominion. If any one really believes, or is really afraid, that Christianity is now at last, in its turn, decadent, let him only put his ear to the ground, and hear the tramp of the legions. The skirmishers are frequently disastrous to us, but the great battles all go one way. Mankind must have a religion, and will have the best. . . .

In speculation, as I consider the deeper problems of life and history, Christianity amazes, fascinates, and satisfies me more and more. Its recognition of the antiquity and power of evil, its revelation of atonement within the bosom of the Godhead, its conquering love and pity, its regenerating grace, inspiring the hope of a golden age to come, compel me into wonder and worship. My whole rational nature blesses God for it as a philosophy. Pillar of cloud by day, pillar of fire by night, it guides me through the desert. . . .

Many Jews, as we know, passed over into the Christian Church. More than six hundred by the personal ministry of Christ Himself; three thousand on the day of Pentecost; two thousand more soon after; and, in all, perhaps some ten or twelve thousand within the first six years. Nor in Palestine alone. Outside of Palestine the work went on. All over the Roman Empire, the gospel message resounded first in Jewish synagogues, and poured its consolations into Jewish hearts.

But of the Jewish people, who numbered then about five millions, only enough were saved to indicate the wisdom and goodness of that Providence which had given the Jews their place in history. Their most learned and ablest Rabbi, Saul of Tarsus, who had mastered all their science, went over to the new religion, convinced that Jesus of Nazareth was the Son of God. And his voice rang all along the northern shore of the Mediterranean, from Damascus to Spain, in countless synagogues, as no other voice has ever rung, before or since, entreating his countrymen to follow him. It was their golden opportunity. And they lost it.

Judaism, they shouted, is final. Not Judaism, answered the pupil of Gamaliel, not Judaism, but Christianity. This was the point at issue. In their madness, the people thought they could tear the Roman eagles from their battlements and reëstablish the fallen throne of David. They tried, and failed. The whole nation launched itself like a hot thunderbolt against the legions of Rome. Such desperate fighting was never done before. At last, the cloud of wrath, which had been floating over all the land, settled down over the Holy City. Five months¹ it hung there, raining fire: twenty-four thousand Jewish troops inside, thirty thousand Roman troops outside, hurling defiance, and hurling curses, in each other's teeth. Jerusalem was crowded with pilgrims, gathered there out of nearly every nation under heaven, keeping their *last* Passover. Titus waved his helmet from the top of Scopus, and, with one fell swoop, his legions closed in around them like a wall of iron. That hot and awful summer has no parallel in history. Only forty years before, some of those same pilgrims must have joined in the cry, "Not Christ, but Barabbas." Only two years before, their countryman of Tarsus, the Aristotle and Demosthenes of the Jewish race, had finished his course at Rome, witnessing for Christ. Only one year before, the little Christian Church in Jerusalem, warned of the impending bolt, had found refuge beyond the Jordan. Stubborn Judaism, that had stoned its Prophets, and crucified its Messiah, stood there alone, guarding its altar. If Josephus may be trusted, nearly one fourth part of the whole Jewish nation were within those relentless Roman lines. And almost all of them miserably perished; temple and city perishing with them. From sixty-two to sixty-five years later, five hundred and eighty thousand more of the Jewish people perished in another rebellion. There was no need of that second blow. Judaism was shattered when, as foretold by Daniel, the oblation ceased. Since then no smoke of sacrifice has ascended from Mount Moriah. Since then the story of our Christian sacrifice has gone round the globe. And almost everywhere it finds the forsaken and scattered remnants of that ancient people, over whose city the Redeemer wept. Frederick William I. of Prussia is said to have asked of one of his chaplains the shortest possible proof of the truth of Christianity, and to have got in reply: "The Jews, your Majesty."²

... Southwestern Europe, Greece, Carthage, Egypt, and the Orient, the whole theatre of ancient history, the whole garden of ancient letters, art, and social refinement, acknowledged the supremacy of Rome. On her seven hills she sat mistress of the nations. And her power was equaled only by her pride.

Christianity, then just out of its humble manger at Bethlehem, she greeted with contempt and scorn. Tacitus, who praised the virtues of Agricola, rebuked the crimes and vices of emperors, and challenged his countrymen to admire the chaste and warlike Barbarians then roaming in German forests, could see nothing in Christianity but a mischievous superstition.³ Nero's persecution of it was, in his view, equally contemptible. It was not worth its garments of burning pitch. In his judgment, it had better be left to die as obscurely as it was born.

In this contempt of lettered men, contempt so instinctive and utter, lay the safety of the new religion. It thus had chance to grow. All over the Roman Empire, its roots went down into the soil unnoticed. After a hundred years, its branches were in all the air. There were at least two or three millions of Chris-

¹ From April 15th to September 11th, 70 A. D.

² See Farrar's *Witness of History to Christ*. London, 1870, p. 97.

³ *Exitiabilis Superstitio*. *Annals*, xv. 44.

tians. And after the fall of Bar Cochba, 135 A. D., nobody thought of confounding them any longer with the Jews. They were a people by themselves, sifted out of society, organized, drilled, and handled by their leaders, as no other religious body ever had been. They could no longer be ignored. And then the leaven had been working upwards, as well as downwards, among the people. The commercial middle class furnished many converts. By and by philosophers and scholars began to come over: such men as Aristides, Quadratus, Justin Martyr, and many more, who had gone round the circle of human thought, and found no rest till they found it in the Christian system. These men boldly proclaimed the new faith as the final philosophy. Christianity could no longer be despised. Books had been written in its defense, and these books must be replied to. Then there came out on the heathen side such champions as Fronto, Lucian, and Celsus, learned and witty men, attacking Christianity with every known weapon of argument, abuse, and raillery.

By and by, persecution began in terrible earnest. There had been something of it before, something of it from the start even; fanatical Jews setting the example. It was, however, chiefly the work of mobs, stirred up and hounded on by men whose interests were imperiled. Of the emperors, only Nero and Domitian, and they for reasons of their own, had dipped their hands willingly in Christian blood. Now, soon after the middle of the second century, persecution began to be a part of the imperial policy. It was assumed that the old Roman religion was essential to the welfare of the Roman State. It was seen that Christianity was getting the better of that old Roman religion. Christianity must therefore be put down. Bad emperors, like Commodus and Heliogabalus, who cared nothing for the welfare of the state, let the new religion alone. Able, patriotic, high-toned emperors, like Marcus Aurelius, Decius, and Diocletian, could not let it alone. Persecution was logical. And the logic, like all true logic, had no mercy in it. Those consummate statesmen knew their task, and went at it with all their might. Of the last two, Decius and Diocletian, it was the avowed purpose to tear up Christianity by the roots. Those were times of awful agony — the two years of Decius, the ten years of Diocletian — when the powerful Roman Empire, shutting the gates of the amphitheatre, leaped into the arena face to face with the Christian Church. When those gates were opened, the victorious church went forth, with the baptism of blood on her saintly brow, bearing a new Christian Empire in her fair, white arms.

. . . Christianity triumphed over the Græco-Roman civilization; has triumphed in Mediæval and Modern Europe; has, in short, conquered all the best races in history thus far. Now, can it conquer to the bottom, as it has already conquered to the top? Can it bring the whole human family, its lowest peoples with its highest, into one common fold? Can it evangelize the Chinese, Japanese, Polynesians, Africans, North American Indians? Can it evangelize its own cities, going down into the cellars, up into the garrets of its own heathens here at home?

Hard as the task may be, Christianity stands squarely committed to it. If Christianity fails in this its supreme endeavor, it is not of God. But it will not fail. What it can do, may be known from what it *has* done. In dealing with the barbarism of barbarians, it has certainly touched bottom amongst the Zulus and Hottentots of the Eastern Hemisphere, amongst the Hawaiians of the Western. It now stands face to face with the barbarism of the civilized, the reeking slum of our Christian cities. I am more afraid of this barbarism of the civilized than of the barbarism of barbarians. But I am not afraid of either. We have carried the gospel into

the huts of the Bushman; we shall yet carry it into every cellar and every garret of every Christian city. Last in the train, but sure to join it, are our civilized barbarians.

. . . The best sermon that was ever preached to me, I did not hear at all, but only saw it and felt it. A friend of mine lay dying, not many months ago. His voice was clear and strong to the very latest syllable almost. Then the light of the eyes went out, and the hands dropped, and the head drooped, and we said one to another, "He is gone." Suddenly the head turned upon the pillow, the hands moved, and light was in the eyes again. Surprise, wonder, adoration, rapture, wave on wave, rolled across that pallid face. It was the beatific vision. Now I know the meaning of that text: "I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with Thy likeness." . . .

DOGMATIC THEOLOGY. By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD, D. D., Roosevelt Professor of Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888. 2 vols. 8vo. Pp. 546 and 803.

This vigorous, mature, and stately work is likely to become one of the standard authorities of scholarly orthodoxy. Its chief peculiarities are its solidity, scripturalness, and massive logical force. Professor Shedd is himself a master in theology, and he has reverence for masters in his own department. He keeps company with giants and never seems out of place. The select theological minds of all ages, and not merely of modern times, speak through these volumes. The most recent fashions in theological opinion are by no means unnoticed, but are obliged to approve themselves by their harmony with judgments that have received coronation from the ages under the law of the survival of the fittest. Professor Shedd in these volumes closes the labors of forty years in theological research and meditation. The special preparation of the treatise began in 1870. It was continued with few interruptions until 1888. Preparation had been made for it by the author's "History of Christian Doctrine," published in 1863, and by several volumes of theological essays and sermons. Upon a few points only has the elder Calvinism been followed by Professor Shedd in preference to the later. The literary style of the work is marked by a certain trenchant simplicity, clearness, and weight, reminding one of Daniel Webster as does also the general force of the reasoning. There are some inequalities of treatment in the book, but the comprehensive symmetry of the arrangement of the matter as a whole is very striking. After opening chapters on method definitions and bibliography, the book follows the usual classical divisions of its topic into 1. Theology; 2. Anthropology; 3. Christology; 4. Soteriology; 5. Eschatology. This work is notably free from theological technicalities. The proof-texts are usually printed in full. The volumes have a copious index and close with some twenty-five pages of questions which fit them admirably for purposes of instruction among both special students and general readers.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLIES BY GEN. A. S. DIVEN AND THE REV. W. F. CRAFTS.

53. *What opinions do experts in railway management hold concerning Sunday railroad travel and traffic?*

In reply to our inquiry, the Rev. Mr. Crafts sends us the following important paper read by a railway manager of great experience, Gen. A. S. Diven, of Elmira, N. Y., before the American Sabbath Union Convention, Washington, December 11:—

About one year since I wrote for the "Christian Union" an article on railroad traffic, in which I asserted that Sunday trains were not justified, either in the interest of the public or the stockholders. In that article, as I remember it, I made the general assertion: 1st. That the amount of traffic would be the same per week, whether performed in 168 hours or 144 hours. 2d. That it could be performed in 144 hours with no additional cost to the roads. 3d. That the public interest did not require Sunday trains. I challenged the discussion of the foregoing propositions. I claim that an experience of thirty years of the best part of my life in railroad management and construction, commencing with the construction of the first road from New York to Lake Erie and continuing until the great lines reaching to the Pacific were in operation, gives me some qualification for this discussion.

As this challenge has not been met by railroad management, I can only pursue the subject by stating such considerations as I suppose govern the managers of roads in running their trains on Sunday. If it is claimed that the business of Sunday trains would be lost if not done on that day, the manifest answer is that there is just so much freight for transportation, and if it is not moved one day it will be another. Is it claimed that the capacity of the roads is limited so as to require the Sunday trains to meet the demands of the trade? This I dispute. The traffic is not up to the capacity of roads, as evidenced by the constant warfare between competing lines as to which can obtain the greatest amount. Notwithstanding the immense increase of the internal trade dependent upon railroads for movement, the increase of facilities by new competing lines, improvements in tracks and equipments on the older ones keeps in advance of the requirements of trade. It may be claimed that it increases the cost to the roads to pause on Sunday. I think not. Train hands are paid by time or mileage; while not working they are not drawing pay, locomotives are not burning coal, equipment is not subject to wear.¹ In fact, the least time consumed in a given business the

¹ Hon. G. P. Lord, of Elgin, Ill., has shown in an able paper on "The Economics of Sunday Trains," that Sunday rest would save American railroads thirty-nine million dollars, but we think the one seventh of wages reckoned in this saving

greater the profit. I admit that in fixing time-tables in reference to stopping work on Sunday some changes in switching facilities and possibly some additional switches would be needed, but this would require little increase in the plant of the road.

Now as to the public requirements, and this, I anticipate, will be the most specious excuse for Sunday trains. You know how much more anxious railroad managers are to care for the public than for their stockholders. I claim that there is no public requirement for Sunday trains. The great bulk of railroad traffic is connected with the product of the farm, the forest, the mine, the mill, and the factory. Any pretense as to the importance of one day between the time of receipt and delivery of all this kind of traffic is too trivial for consideration. "But," says these devoted public servants, "your cities must be supplied with milk, with vegetables and fruits, and all the way from the natural pastures, from Texas to Montana, comes live stock to supply our Eastern cities with meat, except what is slaughtered in Western cities and comes as fresh meat." Well, let us consider the necessity of Sunday trains to prevent cities from being deprived of milk for their coffee, and of fruits, meats, and vegetables for their tables all the days of the week. Milk trains running into cities, so far as I know, do not start more than 100 miles from the place to be supplied and may be run in four hours. Saturday's afternoon milking will supply Sunday delivery. And the whole of Sunday milking may be started after sunset and come in at night ready for Monday delivery. As to fruits, they are not gathered on Sunday by the growers. The supply for Sunday is procured at the market on Saturday, and Monday's supply is from what was left over Sunday from Saturday's picking or from early Monday picking. What is said of fruits applies as well to garden truck. I do not state these as existing methods at present in all cases, but as what would be universal if Sunday trains were discontinued. I leave you to judge as to how much the people would be inconvenienced in these supplies by the discontinuance of Sunday trains.

As to live stock from the valley of the Mississippi and all the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, in the name of humanity, in the name of economy and of wholesome food, I protest against live animals, intended for the butcher, being confined in cars for over 48 hours without release. Allowing 15 miles the hour for the time of the trains, this would give two rests from Kansas City and one from Chicago and St. Louis. Two days for such rest are better than one, and when Sunday intervenes give it to the poor beast. Give it an extra day for rest rather than rush it all feverish and exhausted to the shambles. As to fresh meat, the whole problem is solved by

could not and should not be relied on. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Horace Greeley, and John Stuart Mill have each said, in substance, that when all the men of a trade work but six days per week, they get as much pay as if they all worked seven, that is, a week's normal wages. But in the other respects named there would be a considerable direct saving besides the indirect gains in accidents and dishonesties prevented by the better physical and moral condition of the men and the better grade of men who would work for a Sabbath-keeping road. — W. F. C.

the refrigerator car. I am better served in Florida with meat butchered in Chicago than in Jacksonville. When it is known that a table in London may be furnished with a roast from a Chicago slaughter-house the plea of necessity for Sunday trains for fresh meat should cease. So much for freight traffic.

My challenge goes still further, and includes passenger and mail trains. While I claim that there is no public necessity for such trains, it will be more difficult to satisfy the people of the fact. So many are accustomed to Sunday travel that they have come to consider it a necessity, but the Sunday trains withdrawn, they would rapidly conform to the change. I am only contending for suspending three trains during the day, so that persons might leave on Saturday evening on a journey of two, three, or even four hundred miles without encroaching upon the light of Sunday. I would have no trains leave or arrive at any station by daylight on Sunday. If a passenger wants to go through, from an Atlantic city to Chicago, there are five days or nights of the week on which he may set out. If to Kansas City, Omaha, or other cities at like distance he has four, and if to San Francisco three. He has all those days to choose from, if he wants to go through without stopping, and by stopping only for one day, on Sunday, the choice of all other trains. Surely the public should be satisfied with such accommodation. I may be asked what I would do with trains from ocean to ocean after the third day of the week. I would select attractive places for spending Sunday and give tickets for free hotel accommodation at such lay-over stations, and I am greatly mistaken if a majority of travelers would not prefer these trains.

Now as to mails. There is no necessity for their transmission on Sunday. The mails are not resorted to in emergency. In such cases the telegraph is the resort. Business houses, banks, exchanges, boards of trade are closed, do not open their mails on Sunday, and I can think of no public or private interest that would suffer for lack of a Sunday mail. So far as newspapers are concerned, the telegraph furnishes to the local papers throughout the country all the important news in advance of the metropolitan press.

There is but one other plea for Sunday trains. The Sunday excursion or picnic is claimed to be necessary to furnish pure air and healthful recreation to the six-day toilers. So far from this, it is a device to lure the people from wholesome rest to unwholesome dissipation, for the sake of a portion of their hard-earned wages of the week. Whether the roads catering for this business make money by it is questionable. They fix low rates and often meet with expensive accidents, but whether profitable to the road or not, they are public nuisances and should be abated.

Of course, in suspending movements of trains on Sunday, I except accidents and unavoidable delays in reaching lay-over stations. What I mean is that, in arranging time-tables, they should be fixed in reference to Sunday observance. In conclusion, inasmuch as all the industries furnishing the roads with business — the mill, the mine, the factory, and the merchant — rest on Sunday and neither bring freights to stations nor take them

away on that day, how can it be claimed as a necessity that trains must be run? If I have made no reference to the moral aspect of the question, this is not because I fail to recognize the right of the religious portions of the people to have their sentiments respected.

Conversation between Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts and the International Convention of Locomotive Engineers and Knights of Labor at the close of his Address on the National Sunday Rest Law.

In the closing paragraph of his recent address to the Knights of Labor, Mr. Crafts said: "At the Convention of Engineers several questions were raised by those who feared that the petitioners' dream of Sunday rest for them might be too good to come true. The first question raised was, 'Will not one day less work per week mean one seventh less wages?' In response to this attention was called to the statement of the Vanderbilt engineers, and also of General Diven and other railroad managers, that as much railroad work as is now done can be done in six days and done better, because of the better condition of the men; and on this ground the engineers would be sustained in demanding, and, if necessary, compelling the railroad company to readjust the pay schedule so that the men would be paid as much as at present. I agree with Mr. Powderly, as I said to them, that there should be no strikes except such as are in accordance with Knightly principles. Another question was, 'What good would my Sunday off do my family if I were a hundred miles away with my engine?' It was replied that a railroad man would usually reach the same point Saturday night every week, and would locate his home at that point. Another question related to the stock train, which, it was said, could not be stopped on the Sabbath without cruelty to animals. But another engineer replied that there were cars now provided in which stock could be fed and watered as if in the stable, on such trips as were too long to accomplish between Sabbaths. In any case, men should not be sacrificed for cattle. One freight engineer from Georgia, where the law against Sunday freights is enforced, said emphatically that he never would leave Georgia while a railroad job could be had there, so greatly did he prize his Sunday rest.

Question. Would it not be the best way to stop Sunday trains to have the government own and control the railroads altogether as the Knights advocate?

Answer. I believe in that. Perhaps the best way to begin the discussion of government control for seven days per week is to discuss this bill for government control on one day. If the railroads refuse the little we now ask, the people will be the more ready to take control altogether.

Question. Could not this weekly rest day be secured without reference to religion by having the workmen of an establishment scheduled in regular order for one day of rest per week, whichever was most convenient — not all resting on any one day?

Answer. A weekly day of rest has never been permanently secured in any land except on the basis of religious obligation. Take the religion out

and you take the rest out. Greed is so strong that nothing but God and conscience can keep it from capturing all the days for toil. However, I believe in a law requiring that some week-day be given for rest to those engaged in such work as is permitted on Sunday, in accordance with the following petition, which was indorsed by the Knights of Labor Council of Chicago; but being a petition for a state law, I present it, not for indorsement by the General Assembly; as I do the other petition, but only for you to carry home and push, each in his own State:—

To the State Senate:

The undersigned earnestly petition your honorable body to pass a bill forbidding any one to hire another or to be hired for more than six days of any week, except in domestic service and the care of the sick, in order that those whom law or custom permits to work on Sunday may be protected in their right to some other weekly rest day, and in their right to a week's wages for six days' work.

Question. Cannot this Sunday rest, in which I believe, be secured without law, and so without interfering with personal liberty, by agreements among churches, among engineers, etc.?

Answer. Sunday laws do not in any way interfere with true liberty, for they do not require any man to be religious. A six-day law is no more a violation of liberty than an eight-hour law. In shortening the hours of labor it is a great advantage for the law to name as the rest day one which is already a rest day to a large number of the population on religious grounds. On the continent of Europe the voluntary plan has failed so signally that even the conventions of socialists are asking for stricter laws against Sunday work.

REPLY BY MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD.

54. If clubs for ladies and gentlemen are to be founded, what ought to be their leading principles?

So much is being said and done about clubs in these days that it seems worth while to note their later evolution and elevation to the plane where women can consistently join them. The following facts on this phase of the movement are furnished at my request by an accomplished English woman, who has been a member of important public committees in London, Miss Frances Lord.

The Albemarle Club of London for ladies and gentlemen was proposed in October, 1873, Frances Lord being the foundation member, and also its first honorary secretary. It was opened 1876, in No. 25 Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, where it has been ever since. The annual subscription is £25; the entrance fee is £40, but is suspended for a year at discretion, and has been long suspended. A lady must be eighteen and a gentleman twenty-one years old to be eligible as members. If either husband or wife is admitted, the partner cannot be excluded. One black ball excludes a candidate; proposers are usually requested to withdraw the candidate. If I have Mrs. Smith to propose I enter her name in a book which is in the public drawing room, thus:—

Mrs. Jane Maria Smith, wife of John Smith, of the War Office.

Residence, 20 Chester Street, London.

Proposer, Frances Lord.

Secunder, Mary Brown, or Thomas Jones.

Supported by

The entry must be there fourteen days before it is seen by the committee. The proposer must know Mrs. Smith, and be prepared to answer a long series of questions on a form marked *private*, which is sent by the chairman as soon as the name comes before him. The secunder and supporters often sign out of compliment, from no personal knowledge. Mrs. Smith can be elected without any supporter. There is absolutely no creed, politics, profession, or other point of distinction in the club; and to belong to it gives you no right to address a remark to another member. It is no "introduction" to you; but it is a guarantee of a certain sort of position, culture, and character. It is limited to six hundred persons because of the size of the house; it has about five hundred members; it has a restaurant, library, dressing-room, drawing-room, and there tea may be had, but nothing else.

The use of the club up to noon for seeing people on business to engage them is plain. Governesses, tutors, servants may be seen there, but not later. I do not mean you cannot have a governess or tutor at the club at any time, but that a small string of persons is permitted up to noon, and not later. Children and dogs are not admitted on any terms. I observe a general feeling exists against using the club to entertain shabby and doubtful people (you have to enter the name of every one you bring), and also against display of unsuitable dress. For years the chief use of the club to me has been as a place where I and my brother could dine and see friends in dress or undress, and go off to other engagements. There are some members from every rank in the club, but there has never been any vulgar desire to get in titles and money, or to keep them out. A paid secretary has long been necessary.

The committee are elected once a year. You know there are five millions of people in London, and "calling" is impossible for many charming educated people who are poor. They like to have a place where they can meet and have lunch or tea. Often one club member in a set of people means a great deal of club life for them. People who live in the country like to have the club to meet friends at, who do not suit the views of the host and hostess in town, and yet are precious to see. Noisy conversation is prohibited in the drawing-room, and silence is imposed in the library except when members go there to talk, and it is empty.

The question is upon us already: Shall American men and women of culture form clubs like this in our large towns and cities? and the current of the times sets toward an emphatically affirmative answer.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE most inspiring news that has lately crossed the Atlantic is that an alliance of the foremost European nations has been formed to suppress the African slave-trade. Prince Bismarck has secured the coöperation of Germany, France, Italy, Russia, and England, in this great and holy enterprise. We regret that America has no part in it. German and British men-of-war are cruising at this moment off the East-African coast to intercept Arab slave-traders between the Dark Continent and Asia. In the Ashburton treaty, the principles of which were settled by Daniel Webster, Americans agreed to assist England in suppressing the slave-trade on the high seas. This was not an entangling foreign alliance. We see no good reason why American ships should not assist the English, German, and other naval armaments now engaged in suppressing the slave-trade on the Indian Ocean and in the Red Sea.

Our conviction is that land as well as naval expeditions will be necessary if the internal slave-trade in Africa is to be really brought to an end. The head-waters of the Congo and the Nile interlace with each other. The great lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa, with the Congo, form a magnificent water-way across the equatorial centre of Africa. Armed steamers should be placed on these strategic lines of inter-communication. Military posts should be established across the highlands between the lakes and the ocean, and between the lakes and the river. A comparatively inconsiderable land force arranged in this way might coöperate so effectively with a fleet at Zanzibar and off the east coast of Africa and in the Red Sea as soon to settle the question whether the Arab or the European shall control Central Africa.

It is estimated by experts in African travel that more than half a million men, women, and children are sold every year to the slave-traders of Central Africa. The captives are driven

off hurriedly to the coast. Meanwhile they suffer such barbaric treatment that those who die outnumber the survivors five to one. The paths of the slave caravans are marked by the bones of the victims. The wild beasts hold carnivals along the routes of the slave-traders. Near Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika the bodies of dead slaves have usually been cast into a great open space which the hyenas are accustomed to visit every night. Recently a traveler was told that this year the number of the dead is so large that there are no longer beasts enough to devour them. They are sick of human flesh.

It has been said very impressively that if the Atlantic could be drained dry there would be found on its bottom windrows of skeletons of victims cast overboard from the floating hells that brought slaves from Africa to America. If the bottom of the Indian Ocean could be laid bare, it would be found that similar windrows of slave skeletons make a gigantic epaulette for the northeastern shoulder of the Dark Continent and extend their horrible tessellations all along the sunrise coast from Madagascar to Egypt. This epaulette runs far inward along the tawny ridges of the shoulder of Africa and is fastened to its breast by the thorns and spikes of barbarism, avarice, and immemorial custom. To rend that epaulette from the shoulder of Africa would not only bring to an end the chief misery of eighty millions of people but open the way also for the regeneration of the Dark Continent, through the access of commerce and Christianity. While slavery has been swept out of the valley of the Mississippi and that of the Amazon, Providence has opened the valley of the Congo. The hour is ripe for the extermination of the slave-trade on both land and sea.

THERE is need of caution lest the public lose sight of the real question at issue between the Andover party and the American Board in the Noyes case. That question is, Shall the Andover theology, or the Andover party, rule the American Board and make its appointments for it by such means as are agreeable to that party?

Mr. Noyes had been twice examined and declined. This action of the Prudential Committee had been decidedly approved by the corporate members assembled in Annual Meeting.

Since its overwhelming defeat in three national meetings of the American Board, the Andover party has been skirmishing for a position from which to renew the attack. It claims to be the party of peace, but is always preparing war. Its policy seems to be, to accuse the opposite party of the very things it is guilty of itself.

The position gained is the exploded one of a council. This council was so constituted that its judgment could be safely predicted. Several orthodox men who were invited would not attend, knowing well that the case was already made up.

The presentation of the case to the Board a second time was practically a continuation of the attack, for the candidate declared that he had not changed his views, only he would not reaffirm them. If there was some craft in this, there seems to have been more mental obtuseness, for the declaration that he had not changed them was a reaffirmation.

But in truth, the case, as it now stands, has little to do with Mr. Noyes. It is profitable to the small opposing party in many respects. It diverts public attention from the humiliating condition of Andover as a defendant before the law for misappropriation of sacred funds. This position of theological professors is the heaviest blow which has been dealt, in New England, to financial integrity.

Mr. Noyes now goes out as the chosen agent of the Andover party and of the tolerationists of the New Departure who do not care much about a man's theology. In these circumstances Mr. Noyes has lost all individuality that is not in accord with the power he represents. An ambassador must be faithful to his government. By accepting the office, he gives the pledge of a man of honor to be active and faithful in the service. Mr. Noyes must represent those who have sent him forth. His going is a pledge that he will do so.

The Andover party has a perfect right to send missionaries to the heathen. We are glad to have it do so, only holding it responsible to those principles of comity by which different missionary bodies have agreed not to interfere with each other's work.

In strange defiance of this principle, Mr. Noyes is sent di-

rectly into a mission of the American Board in Japan. It matters little what instructions have been given him. The Japanese are too bright a people not to understand the whole case. Various periodicals have explained the case so freely that the Japanese see just as clearly as we do that a new party has risen intensely hostile to the American Board, and aiming to rule it, or to upset and remodel it. They see just as clearly as we do that this new party, when its views are fully outlined, differs from the American Board and its patrons on the following points : —

1. The Bible as a book full of errors.
2. Inspiration as granted to the church in all ages and now as well as in the days of the apostles.
3. Christian consciousness, or something so-called, as supreme judge over all revelation.
4. The condition of man, including the heathen, as not under condemnation.
5. The Atonement not expiatory, not a propitiation for our sins and for the sins of the world.
6. The government of God not a moral government, and not one of law. God is love.
7. God is obliged to give all men an equally fair chance. If they do not have it in this world, they must have it in the next.
8. The heathen do not perish. "Thou shalt not surely die." At least every one can have until the judgment day to make up his mind what to do; and in that time Christ as a Saviour will be clearly manifested to him.

The Japanese will see that Mr. Noyes represents another religion, another faith having the name of Christ in it and using, with another meaning, many familiar terms, but otherwise as far from the old Christianity — the Christianity of Christ and his apostles — as the east is from the west. There is no offense of the cross in this new religion. Paul is at a great discount, in the New Theology. It is a pity that he ever wrote the Epistle to the Romans. It is well to pass cursorily over him and take from him only what you like, if you find anything of that kind. All this will in time work division in Japan. It is bad enough here, it will be worse there. We earnestly hope this new ven-

ture in missions will take a wiser and more honorable course and not insist upon entering into other men's labors.

CYRUS HAMLIN.

The essential and concluding portion of the published letter of November 9, of the Prudential Committee of the American Board on the Noyes case is as follows : —

After earnest and sympathetic consideration, and with every desire to give the candidate the benefit of any doubt, we are wholly unable to regard him as coming within the limits of approved appointment.

The following is a copy of the minute adopted by the Committee at its meeting held upon the 6th instant : —

After prolonged and careful consideration of the statements in behalf of and by Mr. Noyes, as presented in the documents laid before the Committee by the Berkeley Street Church, and in the conference held between him and the Committee at its last session, it was

Voted, That inasmuch as the Rev. William H. Noyes declines to withdraw the statements made by him to the Committee at the time of his previous applications for appointment, which favor the hypothesis of a probation after death — this hypothesis being, as he there states, "in harmony with Scripture," and one which "honors Christ in giving completeness to his work," and which is to him "a necessary corollary" to a belief in the universality of the atonement ; and inasmuch as he has now emphatically stated to the Committee that he knows of no change in his feelings or his expression of them, nor in his position, since he first presented them to the Prudential Committee in 1886, except that his faith has become "more vital" ; therefore, in accordance with the instructions given to the Committee by the Board at its annual meeting in 1886, which were reaffirmed with emphasis in 1887, when this particular case was under review, the Committee has no option, but to decline to appoint the applicant so long as he holds these views.

In closing, permit us to express our appreciation of the missionary interest shown by the Berkeley Street Church, and our appreciation of their personal attachment to Mr. Noyes.

We must, however, also express the strong conviction that, should he be sent out as an independent missionary, it would be highly inexpedient, in view of all the circumstances, that he be sent to any missionary field under the care of the American Board, since such a course would, in our view, be almost inevitably divisive in its results both at home and abroad.

Praying for Divine guidance and an abundant blessing to yourselves, we are, dear brethren and friends, yours in Christian fellowship.

In behalf and by vote of the Prudential Committee,

A. C. THOMPSON, *Chairman.*

MR. BUTTERWORTH, Republican (Ohio), has introduced in the House at Washington, a joint resolution, which has been referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee, authorizing the President : —

To invite negotiations looking to the assimilation and union of the people of Canada and the United States under one government, such unity being based on the admission of the several provinces of the Dominion, or any one of them, into the Union of States, upon the same terms and equality with the States now composing the Union, and the assumption by the United States of the indebtedness of Canada, or a just portion thereof, and such other equitable terms and conditions as justice may demand ;

That, with a view to such negotiation, the President shall invite the appointment of a Commissioner by Great Britain and Canada, to consider the wisdom and expediency of settling and adjusting all controversies and differences which now exist between the two governments, growing out of the fisheries, or otherwise, by such union and assimilation as is hereinbefore suggested, either as to the whole, or any province : such negotiations to be conducted with due regard to the amicable relations which obtain between Great Britain and the United States, and the obligations imposed thereby.

We add a few specimens of expert opinion on these resolutions : —

Great Britain, with so many widely-distributed dependencies, cannot afford to risk her prestige among European nations by a renunciation of all power over the American Provinces. A break here might prove an example elsewhere for other breaks in the empire. So earnest will be the resistance of Englishmen to such an overture, inside and outside of the Canadian Provinces, that its occurrence is not likely to happen during the present generation, always provided that any war of Great Britain shall not call for too large a sacrifice on the part of the Provinces, where they have no more interest than they have in Egypt or Afghanistan. . . . The English civil service system has long served to provide in English colonies a refuge for the destitute younger sons of the aristocracy, and this class, with those dependent upon British pensions and annuities, must be expected to perpetuate national animosities and long to remain so wedded to the British monarchy as to be unable to contemplate a republic without hereditary hatred. . . . The public debt of the Canadian Dominion, however formidable, would have to be paid or assumed by the United States in case of a political union. Its present amount in proportion to population is more than three times as much as that of the United States, and the latter is being rapidly reduced, while that of the Dominion for the last twenty years has steadily increased in every year except two. . . . Public opinion is in no hurry, but it has its index finger forever pointing to a union of all that lies north of us, as our manifest destiny. . . . It is by no means a new question, and was provided for as early as 1777, in Article XI. of the Confederation,

as follows: "Canada acceding to this confederation and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of, this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted to the same, unless such admission shall be agreed to by nine States." . . . This shows our earliest Congress to have looked upon a union with the Canadian Provinces as worthy of their highest efforts. . . . But to-day the plea of nature is as potential as it was a hundred years ago. We feel that there should be no divided empire on the great lakes, and we are not insensible to the grandeur of a continental boundary. — *Senator J. S. Morrill of Vermont, in the Forum for January.*

Mr. Butterworth would probably acknowledge that the present time is not propitious for anything more serious than a debate in Congress on his resolutions. It is not likely that they will even be debated on the other side of the line, and it is doubtful whether Congress will take up the matter seriously at this session. Mr. Butterworth has been the spokesman of commercial union in the House as Mr. Sherman has been in the Senate, and both are probably moved by the same impulse. The motive is commendable, and the project may be feasible at some future time; but we consider the present a most inopportune occasion for bringing it before the public — inopportune here as well as in Canada. The opponents of political union — or annexation, as they call it in Canada — are nearly all the influential classes in the Dominion. These are opposed also to commercial union, because they look upon the latter as a stepping-stone to the former, which indeed it is. Nevertheless, there is a respectable body of opinion in Canada favorable to commercial union which is not ready to entertain the thought of political union. — *New York Evening Post, December 14.*

Political union is the wages of commercial union. The provinces cannot expect to enjoy unrestricted privileges of trade with the United States without severing the political ties that connect them with Great Britain and entering the Union as sovereign States. On these terms they will be welcomed, and will be allowed a full measure of home rule. On any other terms commercial union is not to be considered a practical question. — *New York Tribune (Rep.), December 15.*

Five public questions of prime importance are sure to be settled, easily and naturally, by the annexation of Canada to the United States. These are the fisheries, the fortification of the northern border, the complication arising from the interstate commerce law applying to one country and not to the other, the navigation of the Canadian waterways, and the customs duties between the two countries. Through the disappearance of each of these questions in consequence of annexation, Canada would in the end receive greater proportionate benefit than the United States. Another blessing would come, though, from such a union, or at least it would be greatly hastened and assured, which would redound to the advantage of this country wholly. That would be the final and complete numerical overwhelming of the Solid South, in the sense in which that term is understood, and the normal, healthy, and rational development of the South's local dis-

greements in politics. That is promised now as an event of the constantly nearer future, as the result of the expected admission of other States in the West. When the maintenance of sectional solidity ceases to be politically decisive, the wall which Northerners and Southerners have both helped to build will fall of its own uselessness, and then the Southern men will cross its line without sacrifice of pride on their part or Northern prejudice at their coming. It cannot be supposed, either, that the South would not welcome even this method of its own complete and final reabsorption into the Union. Democracy, its keynote and keystone, would find itself relieved from a peculiar and sometimes crushing difficulty. It would not be long before it would expand and flourish with greater power than ever. — *New York Sun (Dem.)*, December 15.

Nothing can be gained by angry comment on Mr. Butterworth's scheme, and we are willing to leave the ranting and roaring to our Tory contemporaries. In view of the possibility that the Sherman and Butterworth influences may induce Congress to adopt some such resolution, it may be worth while speculating on what would follow such adoption. Considering the almost completely independent position of Canada, it is highly improbable that Great Britain would undertake to dispose of the Washington proposition without referring it to Canada. The consideration of it would be our business. Canadians would wish to give Brother Jonathan his answer. There can be no doubt as to the decision with which that answer would be given. It would satisfactorily settle the question as to Canada's disposition to maintain her separate institutions. The British government, should they refuse to refer the matter to Canada, would interfere very unwarrantably with our self-governing rights. Not only so, but such British refusal would lead Americans to credit the British government with believing that Canadians wish for political union with the States. That is an opinion of which our neighbors should be completely disabused, if possible. So this one thing can be said for Mr. Butterworth's curious proposal — its adoption by Congress would probably lead to a thorough exposition and understanding of Canadian opinion as to the project of political union with the States. We have no doubt that the judgment of Canadians in the matter would be such as to cure our neighbors of a delusion that has long kept them from trying to make the best possible of the political separation of the two countries. — *Toronto Globe (Liberal)*, December 14.

The Butterworth joint resolution has a germ of practicality. "The Great Northwest," from Manitoba to Vancouver's Island, would be a desirable and profitable acquisition. Desirable, because as yet sparsely settled and therefore easily Americanized, and also because, in so far as it is settled, it contains a larger proportion of persons desirous of annexation to the United States than is to be found in any other portions of British America; profitable, because were it under control of the United States it would increase in population and wealth as rapidly as Dakota and Washington Territories have done. And desirable, furthermore, because, with republican influence at work on its eastern and southern borders, the ripening of

Canada for admission to the Union would be hastened. — *Chicago Inter-Ocean (Rep.)*, December 15.

SENATOR BLAIR of New Hampshire recently explained to the Senate as follows, his Bill to prevent sectarian use of public school funds : —

The joint resolution proposes in the first article, section 1, that "No State shall ever make or maintain any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." I need not remind the Senate that the constitution now simply provides, in article first of the amendments, that —

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

There is no restriction whatever placed upon the power or the action of the States in this regard, and yet it is easy to perceive by a little reflection that any State is quite as likely to infringe upon the general and universal principles of liberty by enacting laws respecting establishments of religion or creating establishments of religion as is the nation itself, and perhaps even more so, because it is so much easier for the influences which would be necessarily exerted in accomplishing that end to prove victorious when brought to bear upon a single State than when brought to bear upon the entire government at large.

We have in our existing condition, as in the Territory of Utah, an illustration. I need not go farther and seek other illustrations. We have there an illustration of the danger. There is a Territory otherwise entitled unquestionably to admission into the Union which if so admitted would come in with an establishment of religion already an accomplished fact, and it would only require the slightest and most indifferent formality by which she would when once in the Union with a constitution free in its terms proceed to revise that constitution and establish the Mormon religion as the religion of the State. It is designed to guard against this danger by placing upon the States the limitation now imposed in the first article of the amendments by the States upon the nation, the States consenting to place that same limitation upon themselves by the ratification of the proposed amendment.

The second section of the article provides that —

Each State in this Union shall establish and maintain a system of free public schools adequate for the education of all the children living therein, between the ages of six and sixteen years, inclusive, in the common branches of knowledge, and in virtue, morality, and the principles of the Christian religion.

Of course it may be objected, and it is a matter of discussion, that there should be no interference by the general government in the way of requiring the States to maintain free public schools ; but this provision cannot be imposed without the consent of the States, hence there is no objection to its

submission to them ; and there is no other way by which liberty can be preserved in the States except by the maintenance of a free public-school system. So it seems to me. The object of this provision is to make that duty compulsory upon the States by virtue of the consent of the States previously obtained in the form of the ratification of the amendment.

Of course the clause to require instruction to be given to those between the ages of six and sixteen years inclusive, in the common branches of knowledge only, and in virtue, morality, and the principles of the Christian religion, brings up a question much discussed and upon which the public mind is not settled ; but it has seemed to me that the fathers' and our own experience, the general assent, I think, of intelligent people throughout the country, requires instruction in virtue and morality as much as in the common branches of knowledge and a training of the intellect in the common processes of the mind, virtue, and morality being as indispensable to the existence of the State as intelligence itself. We should give instruction in these great ideas and the general duties of the citizen to society and to individuals in the common schools of the country.

It is said that this sort of instruction should be turned over to the clergy, to the churches, to other influences, to the family especially ; but we all know, not perhaps mathematically, for we cannot settle it exactly, that there are *not far from one third of the children of this country who never see the inside of a church, and who in their family relations are so unfortunate as to have little if any training in the ordinary principles of virtue and morality.* If it is indispensable that they have training in these ideas, that these ideas be implanted in the young mind with a view to a safe and proper citizenship in the future, the instruction must be given by the public schools dependent upon the power of the State. The preservation of the State demands it, and self-preservation is the first law of nature to the State, as of individuals.

In regard to the general principles of the Christian religion, no one but a bigot would think of having introduced into the public schools instruction in favor of any form of sectarianism ; but a knowledge of the Christian religion, even if there be no enforcement of those truths upon the conviction and belief of the child, instruction in those principles, a statement or explanation of what they are, exactly as instruction is given in the principles of arithmetic and geography and any of the common branches of science, is exceedingly desirable and important for every citizen of this country to possess, whether he applies the principle in his personal conduct or not, because they are the warp and woof, the very fabric of society, of the surroundings in which he lives. There never was a great nation yet which was without an affirmative religious belief and practice — a religion which was the source and inspiration of perhaps the noblest deeds of the people.

Section 2 then goes on further to guard against anything like sectarian instruction in the following words : —

But no money raised by taxation imposed by law or any money or other property or credit belonging to any municipal organization, or to any State, or to the

United States, shall ever be appropriated, applied, or given to the use or purposes of any school, institution, corporation, or person, whereby instruction or training shall be given in the doctrines, tenets, belief, ceremonials, or observances peculiar to any sect, denomination, organization, or society, being, or claiming to be, religious in its character, nor shall such peculiar doctrines, tenets, belief, ceremonials, or observances, be taught or inculcated in the free public schools.

I need not advert to the very large accumulation of facts in all parts of the country which have admonished the public mind already that it is essential to the preservation of our institutions, if we would keep them free from the interference of ecclesiastical intolerance and encroachment, that the hand of the State lay itself by constitutional enactment, reaching everywhere throughout the country, upon the increasing practice of the appropriation of the public funds to the promotion and to the maintenance of private religious institutions — in a word, of sectarianism.

I do not enter upon any minute discussion of that subject. That must inevitably come hereafter, because it is up in the country. It is one of those questions which will not down until it is settled, and settled as it ought to be settled.

The third section is as follows :—

To the end that each State, the United States, and all the people thereof, may have and preserve governments republican in form and in substance, the United States shall guaranty to every State, and to the people of every State and of the United States, the support and maintenance of such a system of free public schools as is herein provided.

The most important guaranty of the constitution to the States is the possession of governments republican in form, which is found in section 4 of the fourth article :—

The United States shall guaranty to every State in the Union a republican form of government; it shall protect each of them against invasion, etc.

In that guaranty by the national government to the States of governments republican in form, is to be found, to my mind, the all-important and preservative function of this nation. I do not see any way in which that guaranty can be made good where in a State it does not already exist, whether it be in an aristocratic form, a government of the many by the few, or whether it be in any other form than a government that is republican. I see, I say, no way in which that guaranty can be made good except it be by force, or that it be by qualifying the citizen in advance to discharge the duties which are incumbent upon him as one of the sovereigns of his country; in other words, to guaranty education, instruction, knowledge, intellectual knowledge, and also a knowledge of the principles of virtue and morality, and of the general principles of that religion which is the religion of the United States.

The object of this third section is to specify a way in which in advance the guaranty of a government republican in form can be given to every State. This is not a duty to be entered upon unless the parent fails. The

State does not enter upon it unless the parent fails ; but the fact is that as a rule, parents cannot educate their children. Therefore it is that the State is called upon to do it, and it does it in every State of the Union so far as constitutions and theories and laws are concerned, as to every child. That is the theory. If the parent did this the State would have no occasion to do it. But the parent does not do it ; the parent cannot do it, and the State assumes that burden of necessity.

If the State fails, since intelligence and virtue are indispensable to the existence of republican government in the State, how is the nation to accomplish this guaranty unless by qualifying the child, or at least giving the opportunity of the qualification to the child who is to become the citizen ? So I have proposed in this amendment that this guaranty, where the State fails, and only where the State fails, shall be made good, not by force, but by a preliminary preparation of the child to be a citizen, so that when he becomes a sovereign wherever he is a government republican in form prevails as a matter of course.

Force may establish the government republican in form, but education alone can preserve, or, in the language of the constitution, can guaranty its continuance to the States or its preservation to the nation itself.

Such, very briefly indeed, are the provisions of this proposed amendment and the principles upon which it is founded. It has been pending since last May, as I said before, and I now move that the joint resolution be referred to the Committee on Education and Labor.

The motion was agreed to.

SENATOR HOAR, of Massachusetts, recently presented to the Senate at Washington a petition signed by 3,228 citizens of Massachusetts, praying for the adoption of a constitutional amendment which will prohibit the interference of any religious sect with the system of the common public schools. The petition is as follows :—

To the Honorable Senate and Members of the House of Representatives at Washington, D. C. :

We, the undersigned citizens of Massachusetts, sensibly impressed with the importance of education among the people of our land, in the conservation of our government and the liberties which we so richly enjoy ; believing also, as expressed in a late public gathering of patriotic citizens of Boston, in old Faneuil Hall, that, " it has now become necessary to guard well the public school as the palladium of our liberty ; " and being persuaded also that this desired protection will be more fully effected by a provision in the fundamental laws of the land (as urged upon Congress by that eminent and patriotic citizen, General Grant, while in the presidential office), would respectfully petition your honorable bodies to speedily frame such article for submission to the legislatures of the several States for their approval or rejection as will prevent the interference of any religious sect with the " common-school system " or the appropriating of any of the " public funds " for sectarian uses ; such a measure as this being, in our judgment, the only safeguard against religious encroachments, such as now threaten our time-honored and truly endeared methods of teaching and training our youth for the

duties and responsibilities of American citizenship; to the end also that there may be preserved to us and transmitted to our children's children "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

MR. EBY writes to us from Tokyo, Japan, December 7, that the land on which his proposed lecture hall is to be built in that city has been bought and paid for and about half the funds for the building itself already collected. Meanwhile, he is lecturing to most interesting audiences of students every Wednesday afternoon in University Hall, besides conducting laborious mission work and acting as editor of "The Japan Christian Advocate." As to the present outlook in Japan he says:—

What about the "Religious Revolution" in Japan? The only difficulty in answering this question is that which met us some months ago in discussing the "Political Revolution" in Japan. The London "Spectator" is simply fighting with a man of straw. The government of Japan has never seriously thought of establishing Christianity in this empire any more than of extinguishing Christianity here by persecution. The whole talk of such a procedure has been confined to what the "Spectator" thinks most readers of the account would imagine, "a mere digest of purely academic dissertations by half-informed or over-speculative men," and the guesses of a few foreigners, misled, as was the "Spectator," by incorrect information. The government, even if ever disposed to such a step, knows full well that it would be followed by an explosion, the like of which Japan has never known. Buddhism may be dying, but it is going to die hard. The government's policy is to put no hindrance in the way of Christianity, so as not to interfere with religious liberty; but it hesitates even to acknowledge publicly the equality of Christianity with other religions in face of the law, lest a commotion be aroused. Practically Christianity is free, and in the new civil codes about to be promulgated it is expected that all religions will be quietly placed on an equality before the law. But farther than that the most progressive statesman of Japan has never thought of going. Even if the change ever came up for discussion, a difficulty would arise from a totally different point. What form of Christianity would or could be adopted by the government? The Roman Catholic and the Greek churches are strongly represented here. Shall one of these be chosen? As well might you ask whether the Parliament in London or Congress in Washington would accept either the one or the other. Shall Japan reject them both? Then the representatives of most of the nations in treaty with Japan would be insulted. Shall Protestantism be adopted? Then what form of Protestantism among the many here? The most powerful churches in Japan would not advocate any such step. The number of Protestants in Japan that would like to see a state church here is infinitesimally small. There is not the slightest probability of such a question being soon brought within the sphere of practical politics.

Overburdened by his works as editor and lecturer in Japan, Mr. Eby remains our editorial correspondent, but is succeeded in this number of OUR DAY by the Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, as our associate editor.

A DISPATCH from Philadelphia to the effect that the Secular Society of that city has brought charges against the trustees of Girard College for violating the terms of the will of the founder, leads one to recall the prediction of Daniel Webster made during his famous speech before the Supreme Court in the suit to contest the validity of the Girard will. One of the most impressive passages in Mr. Webster's plea was the attack on the scheme of the founder to prevent all religious instruction of the youth from the age of six to eighteen : "No religion until the boy is eighteen ! What would be the condition of all our families, of all our children, if religious fathers and religious mothers were to teach their sons and daughters no religious tenets till they were eighteen ? What would become of their morals, their character, their purity of heart and life, their hope for time and eternity ? . . . And is that to be considered a charity which strikes at the root of all this ; which subverts all the excellence and the charms of social life ; which tends to destroy the very foundation and framework of society, both in its practices and in its opinions ; which subverts the whole decency, the whole morality, as well as the whole Christianity and government of society ? No, sir ! no, sir !"

Mr. Webster's closing words which contain the prophecy of constant trouble growing out of such an unnatural and heathenish will as that of Stephen Girard, are these : —

"I look for no good from the establishment of this college, this experiment of an education unblessed by the influences of religion. I believe that men sometimes do mischief not only beyond their intent, but beyond the ordinary scope of their talents and ability. In my opinion, if Mr. Girard had given years to the study of a mode by which he could dispose of his vast fortune so that no good could arise to the general cause of charity, no good to the general cause of learning, no good to human society, and which should be productive of protracted struggles, troubles, and difficulties, in the popular councils of a great city, he could not so effectually have attained that result as he has by this device now before the court. I believe that this plan, this scheme, was unblessed in all its purposes and in all its original designs. Unwise in all its frame and theory, while it lives it will live an annoyed and troubled life, and leave an unblessed memory when it dies."

It is worthy of note in this connection that Mr. T. V. Williamson, also of Philadelphia, has recently left for educational purposes an amount of money equal to the Girard bequest. Mr. Williamson gives his property to establish in or near Philadelphia a Free School of Mechanic Trades for the practical instruction of boys. The terms of the gift, unlike those of the Girard will, provide that, while no favoritism shall be shown to any religious denomination or creed, yet the moral and religious training of the pupils must constantly and carefully be provided for.

We are permitted to publish the following highly suggestive letter from General Fisk to Miss Willard, on the results of the Presidential Election : —

SEABRIGHT, N. J., November 20, 1888.

I thank you for your hearty words of congratulation. I am not particularly disappointed in the result. The great folly on the part of Mr. Cleveland in undertaking an educational campaign in the last, instead of the first year of the administration, upset all the ordinary politics of the country. The Republicans saw that at once. Mr. Blaine, from his hotel in Paris, put his hand on the country, in his wonderful reply to Mr. Cleveland, in the Smalley interview, published in the "Tribune."

The Republicans conducted their campaign with great ability and shrewdness, in simply screaming, Wages! Wages! Wages! the summer through, and refusing to discuss all other matters.

Warner Miller was nominated, not to be elected, but to do us all possible damage in the State of New York, and secure, if possible, the election of Mr. Harrison, by obtaining the electoral vote of New York. He did his work well, and will have his reward.

The New Jersey case stands by itself. Two years ago there was no question in the field but that of state politics. There had been much discontent on the part of our best people, because of the failure of the Republicans to do anything for Temperance in the legislature. My great vote then was made up largely of people who were not at heart Prohibitionists, but recorded their vote for me in simple protest against the past, hoping that by so doing the Republicans might be induced to move forward on the Temperance line. The Republican party understood that, and in 1887 gave us Local Option and High License measures combined. A very large number of voters who stood by me in 1886 interpreted this as something wonderful on the line of Temperance, and were prepared in 1888 to stand by the Republican party.

The tariff issue had very much to do with the question in New Jersey, and singularly enough, as it is a Democratic State. Thousands of Prohibitionists, who had come to us from the Democratic party, this year voted for Mr. Cleveland, in order to give the high protectionists one more opposing blow.

To have about three hundred thousand men (and you know our women could not vote) stand squarely up like a stone wall, in this year of cyclonic action in politics, is a sublime spectacle indeed. I remain, as ever,

Your faithful friend,

CLINTON B. FISK.

A NATIONAL Academy of Theology was organized at New York, December 27. This new institution has been for ten years a cherished project of President Hartnaff of Hartford Theological Seminary. In the autumn of 1888, in response to letters from him, some seventy theological professors indicated their approval of his design. At a meeting held in the the chapel of the Collegiate Reformed Church, Fifth Avenue and Forty-eighth Street, the following articles were adopted for the government of the Academy and defining the conditions of membership in it.

The recognition of the Bible as a body of writings prepared by men under the supernatural influence of the Holy Spirit, wholly unique, so that those records are the final rule of doctrine and practice.

The recognition of personal relationship to Christ through repentance and faith, and of dependence upon the Holy Spirit, as the Divine, and therefore scientific, conditions for the right interpretation of the Word.

The recognition of philological and historical laws as the sole human methods for discovering the facts of the Word, from which facts alone the inductions and deductions are to be made. All methods inconsistent with these are to be rejected as unscientific.

The following officers were elected : President, Professor James Strong of Drew Theological Seminary ; vice-president, Professor E. V. Gehart of the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church at Lancaster, Pa. ; registrar, Professor Marcus D. Buell of Boston University School of Theology ; secretary, Professor C. D. Hartranft of Hartford Theological Seminary ; treasurer, Professor F. Gardiner of Berkeley Divinity School at Middletown, Conn.

The friends of this academy hope that it will demonstrate Theology to be a science ; establish a definite theological terminology for common use ; promote research in the various fields of religious scholarship and so prepare the way for more effective Christian work and for federation and union of the churches. The first meeting of the Academy is to be held in June.

WE congratulate our readers on the accession of Ex-President Cyrus Hamlin, D. D., to the editorial staff of *OUR DAY*. He will have charge of the department of Missions, to the advancement of which his life has been almost exclusively devoted for fifty years. On this great theme, if any man living is entitled to speak as an expert, he is qualified to do so. Doctor Hamlin's wonderful career embraces nearly forty years of active service face to face with the Mohammedan power and at the capital of the Turkish Empire. He sailed as a missionary to Turkey, December 3, 1838. He opened the Bebek Seminary on the Bosphorus in 1840. He became president of Robert College, near Constantinople, in 1860. One of his most remarkable services was the foiling of Jesuit, French, and Russian plots against the college. He obtained an Imperial Edict from the Turkish government committing the institution permanently to the care of the United States. He resigned the presidency of Robert College in 1876. He became professor of dogmatic theology in Bangor Theological Seminary in 1877, and president of Middlebury College in 1880. He resigned the latter position in 1885, and retired to Lexington, Mass., but has been almost constantly called forth to public work in the field in which he is so eminent an authority.

THE forthcoming report of the United States Commissioners of Education will show that the number of colleges and universities in our country re-

mains exactly the same as it was ten years ago, while the number of students in them has in the same time increased from 32,316 to 41,161. Several new institutions have been founded during the past ten years, but an equal number have been closed, and the average attendance of each surviving college has increased by twenty-four students. We now have ten times as many colleges and universities as any other nation, but in attendance, reputation, and efficiency we do not yet compare favorably with the European universities. It is highly important to build up and reinforce the established colleges which educated our fathers and grandfathers, and not draw off from their attendance by founding new colleges in localities where there is no demand for additional educational facilities. In the New England States, where the greatest advance is making in university instruction, the number of colleges has decreased by three in the last ten years, while New York has dropped two. The Southern States have lost twenty-three, while their number of students has increased by over eleven hundred.

CARDINAL GIBBONS has indorsed the petition for a National Sunday Rest Law in the following letter, which is here for the first time published in full : —

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE, 408 N. CHARLES STREET, BALTIMORE, *December 4, 1888.*

REV. W. F. CRAFTS :

Rev. Dear Sir,— I have to acknowledge your esteemed favor of the 1st inst., in reference to the proposed passage of a law by Congress "against Sunday work in the government's mail and military service," etc.

I am most happy to add my name to those of the millions of others who are laudably contending against the violation of the Christian Sabbath by unnecessary labor, and who are endeavoring to promote its decent and proper observance by legitimate legislation. As the late Plenary Council of Baltimore has declared, the due observance of the Lord's Day contributes immeasurably to the restriction of vice and immorality, and to the promotion of peace, religion, and social order, and cannot fail to draw upon the nation the blessing and protection of an overruling Providence. If benevolence to the beasts of burden directed one day's rest in every week under the old law, surely humanity to man ought to dictate the same measure of rest under the new law. Your obedient servant in Christ,

JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS,

Archbishop of Baltimore.

LADY DUFFERIN lately performed at Calcutta the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Dufferin Zenana Hospital. On the previous day a very remarkable and picturesque scene occurred at Government House. Lady Dufferin received, in solemn state in the throne-room, seven hundred native ladies, who attended for the purpose of presenting an address. This portion of Government House had been converted into a jealously-guarded zenana. Every man was rigidly excluded. Even the viceroy was compelled to absent himself from Government House until the ceremony had

concluded. A lady correspondent states that the ceremonial presented a marvelous pageant, lit up with flashing jewels, and brilliant with varied coloring ; while the occasion of the assemblage induced an attitude of grateful sympathy, which exalted its character from an exhibition of scenic pomp into a touching display of human emotion at the hopeful progress of a philanthropic enterprise of far-reaching importance.

THE editor of our department of Church Work has been elected Field Secretary of the recently organized American Sabbath Union, and put in charge of the legislative, lecturing, organizing, and financial departments of the Union's work. He has accordingly resigned his pastorate, but his residence will continue to be at 74 E. 90th Street, New York, and he expects to return to pulpit work in the autumn, using the intervening months chiefly in promoting the national petition, organizing Sabbath associations, and lecturing on Sabbath observance.

PROFESSOR PARK, on December 29, 1888, reached, in excellent health and vigor, his eightieth birthday. Many hundreds of his pupils are so carrying forward his work in theology that the influence of his fourscore victorious years can only be said to have begun. Now that Professor Hodge, Professor H. B. Smith, and Professor Shedd have each published a system of theology, our scholars and the general public wait with new eagerness for the publication of the theological system of Professor Park, who has undoubtedly done more for New England Theology than any one since Jonathan Edwards.

THE poet Whittier, who is now issuing a final edition of his works, reached, on December 17, his eighty-first birthday. In a recent letter he advises young men who would make the most of life to identify themselves early with some righteous, but unpopular cause of reform.

MR. MOODY is at work on the Pacific coast ; Mr. Sankey in England ; Dr. Pentecost in Scotland ; Major Whittle in Ireland ; Mr. Mills in New England. The latter is much inclined to undertake a tour of evangelistic labor in India.

MR. COOK, who has just returned from a long lecture tour in the West, is expected to open the next course of Boston Monday Lectures at noon, Monday, February 4, in Tremont Temple.

MISS WILLARD is writing her autobiography and begs her correspondents to allow her a few weeks of seclusion.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. III.—FEBRUARY, 1889.—No. 14.

PERILS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

AN ADDRESS BY THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES.
TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

THIS Alliance, a chief object of which is the promotion of religious freedom, asks your earnest attention to the dangers which at this time threaten the public-school system of the States, which, with its historic memories and marvelous results, its American training, Christian morals, and harmonizing influence, is rightfully cherished as a chief bulwark of our civil and religious liberty, and of the purity and integrity of republican institutions.

Common schools alone can guard the nation from the illiteracy which now to millions of Americans makes the Bible a sealed book ; and when dismayed at the ignorance and superstition brought to us from foreign lands, we thank God as we remember how much of truth there is in the remark that " Children of all nations of the earth go into our common schools, and come out Americans."

That bulwark is now assailed along the line of States by insidious methods and immoral political deals, in which American principles and rights are bartered for foreign votes. There is an organized and persistent attempt, under foreign leadership, and occasionally under the mask of devotion to liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, to subject the infant wards of

the state to proselytizing influences and discipline ; to prevent by spiritual threats and other undue influence the attendance of children at the public schools, and to pervert to sectarian purposes the school fund.

Bills to the end are being introduced into the state legislatures with titles that give no warning of their intent, and which recall the surreptitious passage in the New York legislature (chapter 353, Laws of 1875) of an act to amend an act incorporating the Sisterhood of Gray Nuns, intended to destroy at a blow the broad, unsectarian character of the common schools, and to enable persons trained in seminaries of the Gray Nuns, and furnished with their diplomas, to be declared qualified teachers of the common schools of the State.

The lesson taught by the passage of that law — which at the demand of an indignant public opinion was promptly repealed by the next legislature — of the aims and methods of our opponents, justifies the utmost watchfulness, and a distinct reminder to your state senators and assemblymen to guard with sleepless vigilance the common schools, the school funds, and the constitutional right of all children in America, whether native or of foreign birth, to enjoy the advantages and the American training which the schools are intended to secure.

The Committee on Legislative Action of this Alliance have from year to year opposed a succession of bills in the New York legislature which disregarded the cherished American doctrine of “no connection between church and state,” violated the constitutional guarantees of religious freedom, facilitated the subjection of wards of the state to the agents of a foreign potentate, and aimed at the control of the school fund.

Similar bills, as the committee report, have been introduced in the legislatures of Maine, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and other States ; and at its last session two bills of this character were presented to the legislature at Albany.

Your representatives should also be called upon to take instant steps toward the repeal of every provision which may have been introduced into acts for the commitment of children, or into those for the support of protectories, which directly or by implication authorize the commitment of children, as idle, truant,

homeless, or juvenile delinquents, to institutions which are distinctly denominational or sectarian; and where the child, while a ward of the State, is withdrawn from the supervision and guardianship of the State, deprived of the American education to which he is entitled as an American citizen, and consigned to parties acting under ecclesiastical and foreign control, by whom he is subjected to dogmatic and un-American teaching and discipline, with no state official near, to whom an appeal can be made in his behalf, or who can guard his religious freedom and secure his culture and training as an American citizen. An honest legislative investigation into the management of our institutions of charity and correction will show the extent to which foreign intermeddling with state legislation and state institutions has multiplied the number of pauper children, and increased heavily the burdens of taxpayers; and a statistical comparison of the results of the American and Papal systems of education will show the danger threatened by the latter to our American civilization, by multiplying, in the future, political corruption and pauperism, vice and crime.

It is hardly necessary to repeat the declaration so often made by this Alliance, and recently announced at the National Christian Conference at Washington, that while it must resist as American citizens and Christians all attacks upon our public schools or any of our institutions by a foreign power that has no sympathy with our advance as a republic, we have no feeling but that of kindly regard for the American Roman Catholics who as American citizens, in good faith renounce all allegiance to a foreign potentate; who regard our common schools as essential to the common welfare, and especially to that of their own children; and some of whom have set the noblest example to the American people in their determined resistance to ecclesiastical encroachments upon religious freedom, whether in state institutions or in state legislation, even when their refusal to admit clerical dictation as to their official duty as American citizens has exposed them to ecclesiastical displeasure, which, as in the case of the late Judge Henry Alker, when disregarded by the living man subjected his remains to indignity.

Touching the management of our common schools, on the

purity of whose teaching depends the character of the nation, this Alliance would respectfully and earnestly entreat all who would maintain in their purity and beneficence our American institutions, to have a constant eye to the schools in their own immediate neighborhood ; to cherish them with affectionate and jealous care ; to guard them from partisan and sectarian manipulation ; to see that the teachers are fitted for their work morally as well as intellectually, and that they worthily appreciate the grandeur of their task in training children for their high duties as American citizens. They should clearly understand that while those duties are based upon the broad, tolerant Christianity which our country holds to be, in a modified sense, a part of American law¹—the Christianity revealed in the Bible, and whose Divine origin and birth are judicially recognized—a Christianity not founded on any particular tenets, but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men : the Christian ethics and influence thus authorized and demanded in our schools must never be narrowed or perverted in our state institutions, and least of all in our public schools, by the admission of denominational dogmas or doctrines, or of decrees or

¹ "It is well settled," says President Dwight, of the Columbia College Law School, "by decisions in the courts of the leading States of the Union, that Christianity is a part of the common law of the state."

The judicial authorities bearing on this point are of the highest authority and embrace the opinion of C. J. Kent, in the *Ruggles* case, concurred in by Judges Smith Thompson, Ambrose Spencer, William Van Ness, and Joseph C. Yates, of the Supreme Court of the State of New York ; and that of Mr. Justice Allen and his associates, Clark and Sutherland, JJ., in the case of *Lindemuller* ; of Chief Justice Clayton, of Delaware, in the case of *Chandler* ; of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in *Updegraph v. The Commonwealth* ; of Chief Justice Story in *Vidal v. Girard's Executors* ; and in *Story's Commentaries on the Constitution*.

They are generally alluded to also by Chief Justice Shea in his *Nature and Form of the American Government founded in the Christian Religion*, Boston, 1883 ; in Dr. James M. King's *Religion and the State*, Phillips & Hunt, New York, 1886, quoting also Daniel Webster, President Dwight, and Dr. Woolsey ; and in *Church and State in the United States ; or, the American Idea of Religious Liberty and its Practical Effects*, by Philip Schaff, D. D., LL. D., American Historical Association, vol. ii. No. 4, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1888, with elaborate passages from the leading opinions referred to ; and also from Dr. Franklin, Dr. Francis Lieber, Judge Thomas M. Cooley, and Chief Justice Waite.

Some authorities and information touching the organized attempt to subvert the common schools and religious freedom may be found in the documents of the Alliance, Nos. xx., xxiii., and xxiv.

maxims at variance with American rights, American principles, or American law; or inconsistent with the fundamental American principle of a complete separation of church and state.

W. E. DODGE,

President.

JOHN JAY,

Chairman Executive Committee.

JAMES M. KING,

Chairman Committee on Legislative Action.

JOSIAH STRONG,

General Secretary.

OFFICE OF THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE FOR THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

42 BIBLE HOUSE, NEW YORK, December 22, 1888.

SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS.

AN ADDRESS BY THE REV. PROF. HERRICK JOHNSON, D. D., OF CHICAGO,
AT THE WASHINGTON SABBATH CONFERENCE, DECEMBER 13, 1888.

BEFORE proceeding to the special phase of the Sabbath question that has been assigned to me for discussion, viz., the Sunday newspaper, I would like to submit four general propositions concerning the Sabbath, for which I challenge successful contradiction. They have doubtless been already heard in one form or another in the progress of this discussion, and may, therefore, seem unnecessary repetitions. But let me suggest to you what was suggested by the lawyer to the judge when the judge called his attention to the fact that he had already made one point eleven times. "Yes," your honor," said he, "but there are twelve men on the jury." These propositions need to be reasserted and emphasized and made unmistakably clear to correct the grave misconceptions and misrepresentations that are so often placed before the public through an interested press.

The first proposition is that *the American Sabbath is a civil institution, recognized and imbedded in our law as a conservator of public morals and as conducive to public order*. No contract is valid that is made on Sunday. No civil process is valid that is served on Sunday, except in extreme cases. The President is allowed ten days, "Sundays excepted," before the absence of his signature to a bill submitted to him allows that bill to become a law. In many such ways the Sabbath is in our law as a civil institution, recognized, provided for, and perpetuated.

The second proposition is that *the need of this day of rest is laid of God in the constitution of the body, and, therefore, the Sabbath is the most effectual shield thrown around the laborer, protecting his liberty, his health, his home, and guarding alike against the tyranny of capital and the license of anarchy*. One

of the most anomalous things in connection with this whole discussion is that laboring men should ever be found opposed to this Sunday movement. Let the exact nature of this question once be thoroughly understood, and honest, self-respecting labor will rise as a wall of adamant against the encroachments of capitalistic greed upon the Sabbath.

The third proposition is that *the claim of the Sabbath as a day of religious culture and worship is laid only on the individual conscience, and is not to be enforced by legal statute.* Let this be borne in mind and widely emphasized. Piety is not to be promoted by legislative enactment. It is no part of this Sabbath movement to make people good by law. We do not purpose to force religion down people's throats. Here is the ringing creed of well-nigh all Protestant Christendom: "God alone is Lord of the conscience; and has left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men." The cry of "bigotry," in connection with this Sabbath question, is, therefore, simply absurd.

The last proposition is, that while we do not seek by law to enforce the religious observance of the Sabbath, yet, "*every individual has the right to the enjoyment of the Christian Sabbath without liability to annoyance from the ordinary secular pursuits of life, except so far as they may be dictated by necessity or charity.*" Supreme Court, 40 Ill. R. 146.

And now, with these four propositions in mind as a basis for the special discussion, let us candidly inquire concerning the following points as connected with the Sunday newspaper: What is it? Why is it here? What is it doing? What are we going to do about it?

What is the Sunday newspaper? Let us be honest. The Sunday newspaper is not the Sunday religious or semi-religious paper; it is not the Sunday moral reform or semi-moral reform paper; it is the Sunday newspaper. Just that, and that only; only that and nothing more.

It is not the newspaper in partnership with Sunday to promote mutual interests and to share the profits. The only mutual interests that are promoted are those represented by that maxim of the boy in tossing up the penny: "Heads, I win; tails, you

lose." The profits all go to the newspaper, and Sunday stands all the losses.

The Sunday paper is simply the daily newspaper thrust into Sunday; published seven days in the week instead of six; unchanged as to its essential character. It is enlarged, indeed, — greatly enlarged, but neither revised nor reformed, and certainly not sanctified or glorified.

When the newspaper first appeared on Sunday it changed its clothes a little. It was padded with pious homily, as they pad the sacred concerts with "Sweet By and By" and the "Doxology in long meter;" but the wolf soon got tired of trying to look like a sheep, and now the wolf enters Sunday, a stark wolf, pure and simple, with scarcely a bit of the woolly fleece he put on when he was keeping up appearances. And you can see no difference between the Sunday and the Saturday paper, save as to magnitude. It is a great mosaic; a huge conglomerate of all sorts of material pertaining to the world, the flesh, and the devil. It is a vast blanket of information, some of it — a great deal of it — not inherently unwholesome; but all of it secular, worldly, of the earth earthy; and some of it — very often a great deal of it — vicious, pernicious, and unclean. It is just such a dish as we have served to us every other day of the week, except as to size, and it is seasoned and garnished and tricked out with every possible device to tempt the appetite and to gorge the social, literary, and sensational stomach. It is a sheet like unto the sheet of the Apostolic vision; like it in this, that it is a "great sheet" and "full of all manner of four-footed beasts and creeping things;" but unlike it in this, that it was never "dropped down from heaven" and of its contents it never could be said, "What God has cleansed." This is the Sunday newspaper.

Why is it here? Some say, "because the people want it." Well, this is a free country, and I would be behind no one in defense of personal liberty and the rights of the people. But let that doctrine be pressed — push it far enough; let it once be understood that what the people want the people must have, and we have begun to play sad havoc with our morals. The people out in Utah want polygamy; they would vote it to-day by

a rousing majority, but the government does not intend to let them have it. Down South they wanted slavery, and alas, the government was disposed to foster it and compromise with it; but in the thunder of our civil war, God said, "Let my people go." The anarchists of Haymarket Square, Chicago, wanted a larger liberty, but American justice took anarchy by the throat, and hanged it by the neck until it was dead, and buried it out of sight. And there is no prospect of immediate resurrection. Clearly, what the people want it is not always best that the people should have.

Then, again, thirty or forty years ago, there was no desire for the Sunday newspaper. Prior to our civil war there was scarcely a Sunday newspaper published in the country. The war led to the indulgence. And now that this appetite has been created by the Sunday newspaper through having taken advantage of a great national exigency, it turns about and says, "The people want it, and therefore it must be published," which would be very much like the saloon-keeper luring unwary feet to enter his gateway of hell, and rousing and stimulating an appetite for strong drink and then turning round and saying, "The people want liquor, therefore they ought to have it." By that process we could open the floodgates to anything. Again, it is pleaded as a reason why the Sunday paper is here, that it is a necessity of our time. It is claimed that the marvelous activity in every department of thought and effort, the press and rush of this busy age, the conditions of society, and the facilities of intercommunication, make the Sunday newspaper an indispensable adjunct and factor in our modern civilization.

But the Philadelphia "Ledger," the most widely circulated, and probably the most pecuniarily profitable paper in the second largest city in the Union, is not published on Sunday. It may be replied to this that "The Ledger" is only a local paper, confined chiefly to Philadelphia, and though it has an immense subscription list, the paper is made up mostly of "Wants," and therefore is not to be taken as an illustration. Well, there is Toronto, a city of no mean repute; it has no Sunday newspaper. "Yes," says New York or Chicago, "but Toronto is rural, a slow coach, country town — hardly in touch with the

times. No Sunday paper may do for Toronto, but it will not do for a city astir with modern enterprise and vast populations." Well, there is London. London is big enough, is it not? London is enterprising enough, is it not? It is five or six or seven times as large as Chicago; two or three times as large as New York. London could swallow Chicago, and only bulge a little on one side to show where it had stowed Chicago away. London's commerce sucks everything into it. London's enterprise has made that land, which is incomparably inferior to our own in water-power, shake with the thunder of her mills. London wealth determines prices the world over. London culture sets the standard of pronunciation for all English-speaking people. Why, even Chicago's roaring ram's-horn moderates its tone alongside the immense fog-horn of London. Surely, London is big enough. Yet London has no Sunday newspaper. Do not you see that the plea of necessity is simply an absurdity? No! the Sunday newspaper is here for the money there is in it; and there are men, decent and respectable men, — I grieve to say it, some professedly Christian men, — that are trampling on the Sabbath and despising God's law and weakening the bulwark of our free institutions because of the dollars that are found on that road. A success? Oh, yes, a splendid success. The Sunday newspaper is an immense success — and so was Nero; so was piracy on the high seas; so is the faro bank; so are the Sunday concert, the Sunday theatre, and the Sunday liquor saloon. But God pity the Christian stockholder in the Sunday newspaper, or the Christian publisher of the Sunday newspaper, or the Christian editor of the Sunday newspaper, or the Christian advertiser in the Sunday newspaper, who is congratulating himself on its great success.

What is the Sunday newspaper doing? In the first place, it is keeping an army of workmen from the rest to which they are entitled; a day they need and ought to have, in the interests of health, of good citizenship, and of morals. To urge, in reply, that the work on the Sunday paper is done on Saturday, is puerile. Why? Because it does not meet the issue. It is child's play, turning the hands on a clock. *Seven days' work takes seven days to do it in.* That disposes of half the meat in this old chestnut. The other half is adjustment.

Let us look at this matter a little in detail, for just here a good deal of dust may be thrown into our eyes. It is denied that the army of workers on the Sunday-publishing paper are robbed of their Sunday. The Chicago Sunday-publishing "Inter-Ocean" states the case thus: "The night editors, proof-readers, compositors, stereotypers, pressmen, and mailers leave the office from four to six o'clock Sunday morning, and for the greater part of Sunday are free." But "free" to do what? Simply to go to bed. Night toil demands day sleep. Work a man seven days in the week, or seven nights in the week, and by no hocus-pocus of figures or turning of the hands on the clock can you give him the Sunday that either his body or his soul requires. Because, forsooth, the newspaper office is quiet, for a good portion of Sunday daylight, have these night workers had their Sabbath? I trow not.

And how about the editorial writers? The "Inter-Ocean" says: —

With two exceptions, they leave the office on Saturday evening at six o'clock, and do not report for work again until Sunday evening. Now, everybody knows that leading editorials for a Monday morning paper do not need to be so "hot from the griddle" that they must be written Sunday night. If there were no Sunday paper, they could be written Saturday, with rare exceptions, and the men who do the heavy editorials would thus also have their whole Sabbath. And so all round. The Sunday labor on the Monday paper could be reduced to a minimum, and be put well on toward midnight.

Mr. J. T. Perry, of the "Cincinnati Gazette," when that was a Sabbath-keeping paper, put the case as follows: —

All miscellany, heavy editorial and commercial matter could be put in type before supper on Saturday, and an adjustment could be made so that no one but reporters assigned to necessary work during the day would fail of a complete rest for full twenty-four hours.

This, after all, is the root of the matter: this *complete rest for full twenty-four hours*. This, once in every seven days, is man's need and God's command; the gospel of the body and the gospel of the Scriptures; and because seven days' work takes seven days to do it in, no twisting of figures can free a Sunday

paper from the charge of keeping an army of workers from the day they need and ought to have.

In all this nothing has been said of the mob of newsboys, who count their biggest business gains on Sunday morning through the sale of papers under Christian conduct, only to go to some mission school in the afternoon to get a lesson on remembering the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Practice versus precept, example versus speech, gains versus godliness; which is going to come out ahead with the average newsboy in that struggle, while Christians on both sides are stimulating the contest?

But if the boys were not selling papers they would be doing something worse! That will not do. You must not send the boys to the ale-house to keep them out of the whiskey shop. You cannot set the boys to thieving to keep them from murder. He who said, "Thou shalt not steal," has also said, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy." To put the boys to trampling on the Sabbath in order to keep them from doing something worse is playing foot-ball with the ten commandments, and sowing dragon's teeth. But this is by no means the only count in the indictment against the Sunday newspaper.

I hold, secondly, that it is thrusting itself, whether wanted or not, into the faces of a Sabbath-observing people. One cannot step out of his house or go down the street on Sabbath morning in many parts of the city without being thrust upon by the cry of the newsboy. This is an offense to people who revere the Sabbath. And what right has one business any more than another to hawk its wares through the streets on Sunday?

I hold, thirdly, that the Sunday paper is pushing its way as a subtle, insidious temptation into our homes. The very silence of its appeal is a danger. It makes no noise, save by the roar of its special trains and the shouts of the newsboys. It can be put into the pocket, taken into the room, read in quiet. Herein it differs from the other agencies assaulting the Sabbath. The Sunday saloon, the Sunday concert, the Sunday theatre cannot be taken into our homes. They are tied to locality. They must be sought. But the Sunday paper is shamefully given the freedom of the city. It takes wings; goes everywhere. It seeks.

It need not be sought. And, entering by any one member of the household, it is there to tempt and demoralize all the rest.

I hold again that it is furnishing a hideous mélange for a Sunday morning breakfast-table. Looking over "The News Summary" published in the Monday paper, "Condensed from 'The Sunday Inter-Ocean,'" I find it made up of "Foreign," "Domestic," and "Local" news of the usual sort — political, social, criminal; "A Grand Nocturnal Pageant," "The Famous Common Law Divorce Case," "A Haul of Stolen Watches," etc. It is the daily paper taken into Sunday, greatly enlarged, but not revised or reformed. It has some excellent literary matter, but so has the daily, only less of it.

To be literally exact in this matter, let me cite the figures published by the New York "Mail and Express." These figures are made from an actual measurement, inch by inch, of the columns of the leading New York Sunday papers, which are certainly on a par with any Sunday publishing dailies in the country. On Sunday, November 11, of political, special, sensational, criminal and gossipy matter the "Tribune" published 83 columns, the "Herald" 81 columns, the "World" 112 columns, the "Sun" 86 columns, and the "Times" 88 columns. What a mass of stuff that is to begin and go through God's day with! We have too much of it on other days. Does not the better nature of every one of us cry out, "Give us a rest, at least one day in seven, from this unwholesome dumpage!" But is there no religious reading in these Sunday papers? Oh yes; here are the bits of lamb-like fleece, by exact mathematical measurement, furnished, on Sunday, December 9. The "Tribune" published 81 columns of political, special, sensational, criminal, and gossipy matter, *and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a column devoted to religion!* The "Herald" 84 columns, with $\frac{3}{4}$ of a column devoted to religion! The "World" 90 columns, with $\frac{1}{2}$ a column devoted to religion! The "Sun" 97 columns, with $1\frac{3}{4}$ columns devoted to religion! The "Times" 68 columns, with $\frac{1}{8}$ of a column devoted to religion! It would be difficult to imagine what possible effect that little homœopathic pill of "sweetness and light" could possibly produce alongside that vast dose of crime, worldliness, and sensationalism.

And this suggests another count in the indictment against the Sunday newspaper. It is tempting hundreds and thousands to stay away from the sanctuary, and making it manifold harder for the truth to reach those who go. Ruskin says, in view of the thronging activities of our times, the rush and roar of our busy life, the push and press and ambitions of trade, a minister on Sunday morning has just "thirty minutes to raise the dead in." The Sunday newspaper is another huge stone laid on that sepulchre, making it just so much harder to raise the dead. Think how the appetite must be whetted for the word of God by reading column after column of such a paper, seasoned by the most adroit reportorial caterers for the special delectation of literary and sensational stomachs.

Another count I bring is, that, not content with this city, the Sunday newspaper, by "thunder ball railroad extras" and "lightning flyers," is invading the peaceful Sabbath observance of cities and towns of the country for miles and miles away, and going with "banners flying," to disturb by "crowds" and "cheers" and "mobs of newsboys," the Sabbath of other populations. To do exact justice to this situation, let me quote from the "Inter-Ocean's" reportorial account of its own R. R. Special, Sunday, November 4, 1888.

TRAIN TO INDIANAPOLIS.

The ink on the papers barely dry, 15,000 copies of the "Sunday Inter-Ocean" were bundled into wagons and to the special railroad flyer.

Engines, tender, and a sixty-foot coach were all tastefully draped with the "Inter-Ocean" colors.

At the depot (Indianapolis) the train was greeted with cheers upon cheers.

Wagons bearing the legend, "The 'Inter-Ocean' always Republican," were skurrying hither and thither distributing the mammoth issue to eager purchasers.

A special envoy from the home office jumped into a hack, was hurried up Delaware Street to No. 641 — the home of protection's champion — and the Hon. Benj. Harrison had a toothsome dish to grace his breakfast in the shape of the "Sunday Inter-Ocean."

I do not know General Harrison personally, but I do not be-

lieve, from the well-established reputation he enjoys, that he even opened that Sunday morning paper, though it was impudently thrust into the privacy of his home by a Sabbath-breaking "Special Envoy."

Train to Springfield, the same day.

Crowds increased (at successive stations) until it seemed as if the entire male population had come down to the station to see the special, get their political Bible, and put up a modest Sabbath day cheer.

Their "political Bible! A modest Sabbath day cheer!" And a new nomenclature is furnished, to suit the new situation. These are ominous signs, and surely foretold displacement of both Bible and Sabbath, unless the American people pay heed to them.

All along the line could be seen evidence of the rallies and celebrations which have monopolized public attention.

This is in the heat of political excitement.

And now that the Sabbath had brought a lull in the storm of oratory and fireworks, the people were anxious to see the "Inter-Ocean."

Not glad of a day of rest? Oh no, they were "anxious to see the 'Inter-Ocean,'" in order that the fun might go on and the roar of political life be kept up!

The baggage car was decorated with flags and two large banners inscribed "The Inter-Ocean Special."

Fill that inscription out, and those banners would read "*The Moral 'Inter-Ocean' with its Sabbath-breaking special.*"

When the train arrived at Springfield it was greeted with a hearty cheer, which was soon drowned by the clamorous yells of a mob of newsboys, who soon bore great loads of the paper to all parts of the city.

That is the record, made by the most respectable and the cleanest of Chicago's Sunday-publishing papers, and copied from its own columns.

The shades of night were flying fast,
As through our Western towns there passed
A railroad train, all in a trice
Bearing aloft this strange device —
"Excelsior?" No! *Decensior!*

No wonder that train made "fast time," and "beat the record." It was on the down grade all the way to Indianapolis; and every man that had anything to do with it was on the down grade.

Lest this scene be thought exceptional, let me quote from the record of another "lightning flyer" sent out the following Sabbath.

Many a man was up before breakfast to get his political Bible.

At Springfield a yelling mob of newsboys was soon supplied and scurried off to the hotels and homes of the city.

Said one old gentleman at Springfield: "It may be that it is because this is Sunday, but I could n't help thinking about the place in the Bible where it says something about 'lovely appear over the mountains the feet of them that preach and bring good news of peace.'"

A paper like the "Inter-Ocean" does "preach" and certainly "brings good news of peace."

You'll find us reasonable souls and the "Inter-Ocean" won't lose anything by what it has done for us.

This is not the first time the devil has quoted Scripture to his purpose, and promised gains for service. Thus out of its own mouth, chiefly, the Sunday newspaper is condemned. This is the fearful indictment against it: that it is keeping an army of workmen from the day of rest they ought to have; it is educating an army of newsboys to trample on the Sabbath, and so counteracting the best influences that Christian people are trying to throw around them; it is thrusting itself into the face of a Sabbath-loving people as no other business is allowed to thrust itself; it is assaulting the Sabbath in quarters that are not reached by any other Sabbath-assaulting agency; and in this respect it is a most insidious and subtle evil, reaching a class of our community that the Sunday saloon and the Sunday theatre and the Sunday concert never touch, sweeping through the very best ranks of workingmen and even into the homes of religion; it is honeycombing society with false notions about the Sabbath; and it is deadening the spiritual sensibilities even of many of the people of God. The indictment is made, the evidence presented, the case submitted; and confident appeal is made, not only to Christian conscience, but to the considerate

judgment of manly and self-respecting labor, and to that broad catholic intelligence which believes that the best interests of society and the state are wrapped up in the preservation of the American Sabbath.

Meanwhile, what are the friends of the Sabbath going to do about it. Well, first of all, *we must get and keep a conscience into the warp and woof of which shall be woven the Divine authority of the Sabbath law*: "Remember the Sabbath to keep it holy." If we base the Sabbath on mere human expediency, we base it on sand, just as we would found honesty, if we adopted it simply as a "policy." This is no basis for the Sabbath to put it on the ground of mere expediency. I do not question the propriety of using this argument as a means of influencing a certain class of men. Many will join in this Sunday movement, and work heartily in the defense of Sunday as a rest day in the interests of health and morals and good citizenship, who will not come to the higher ground. But we can never permanently keep our Sabbath on a basis of expediency. The gospel of the body is clear and unmistakable. But the greed of capital will overtask labor, provided always further supply is ready to take its place. No, the anchorage for the Sabbath is in the fact that it is a *Divine institution*. God commands its observance. There it is in the bosom of his law, as given in the Decalogue. That is enough for any one who believes in God. As God appointed it, He has told us how to keep it. We must not divide it up and give Him a part only. "Remember the Sabbath *day*." Not the Sabbath morning, leaving the afternoon for recreation and desecration. "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy,"—not simply to rest. The Jews had loaded the day with traditions. Christ simply unloaded it of these, justifying works of necessity and of mercy. We hear a good deal of the need of a public conscience. But there is no possible public conscience apart from individual consciences. What we want is a good deal more of the *individual* conscience, and I venture to say, a *ministerial* conscience, a conscience *in the ministry*, that will guard sacredly all the interests of this day, and that will see to it that even the hem of the garments of the ministry is not touched with the taint of any question-

able Sabbath indulgence, so that month in and month out, year in and year out, the ministry will be consistently and unchallengeably free to declare God's word concerning this matter. Let us be rid of the taint, I say, of all questionable indulgences, and then take appeal from God's Word to every Christian conscience, to merchants and lawyers and legislators, who acknowledge the obligations of loyalty to Christ. Let us righteously rebuke the profanation of the day, and wakefully see to it that, while legislation establishing any form of religion is scrupulously guarded against, legislation *hostile to God's Sabbath law is unalterably kept off the statute books*. With a sweet reasonableness and with a firm conviction of the rightfulness of our cause, I am sure that, with anything like a united Christian sentiment and a united Christian effort, we can carry this cause and preserve our Sabbath. Oh, for a breath of the old Puritan! Doubtless he was sometimes too austere. Doubtless he sometimes looked as if all hope had been washed out of his face. I believe his Sabbath was a little too grim. But what men it made! Men of the martyr spirit. Men of heroic mould. Men of the stuff that is food for the rack and the stake. Men that had an almost infinite scorn for the reign of the turtle dove. You could trust them, lean on them, depend on them. They were great fearers of God, but they feared neither man nor devil. With Christ's gentleness wrapped round this unyieldingness, may we make the Sabbath fight and win.

NEW REASONS FOR RESTRICTING IMMIGRATION.

AN ADDRESS BY PROF. H. H. BOYESEN, OF COLUMBIA COLLEGE.

THE constitution of the United States breathes a sanguine spirit. It is founded upon trust in human nature. The spirit that was abroad in the latter half of the eighteenth century was that of Rousseau, and the minds of Jefferson and Franklin were deeply imbued with it. The gospel of the age was the "Contrat Social" with its new trinity of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," which we yet see inscribed upon the walls of the churches of Paris. The same intellectual movement which produced the French Revolution was also a strong coöperating factor in the American Revolution. When the founders of the American Republic stretched out their hands with a hospitable welcome to all the oppressed of the earth, it was in a large measure because Rousseau had them taught to believe in the inherent goodness of man. They took it for granted that the oppressed, no matter who they were and whence they came, were deserving characters, who needed only the liberty which the new republic offered them, to grow to the full stature of civic, moral, and intellectual manhood. That the newly liberated state needed a population to till its vast uncultivated domain was, no doubt, also an important consideration, perhaps the most important. But what is interesting to note is that the material need was reinforced by a philosophical enthusiasm for mankind, and a sublime faith in its future. *The eighteenth century knew little of the influence of heredity*, but believed with Rousseau that each man came pure and perfect from the hand of nature, and that it was his environment which spoiled and corrupted him. Rousseau held civilization — or, as he preferred to call it society — responsible for all sin, sorrow, and misery. It lay very near, therefore, to conclude that on a new continent, where the feudal institutions of the Old World had never struck root; where civilization, in the European sense, scarcely existed — humanity could pursue its glorious destiny unimpeded by the obstacles which in the older lands had blocked its way and clogged the path of its progress with blood and fire. Utopian dreams were in the air and pervaded literature; the savage in Chateaubriand is the type of nature's nobleman; and in Bernardin de St. Pierre's "Paul et Virginie," the perfection of bliss is realized on a desert island by two loving hearts, unconscious of the social barriers which separate them. It seemed perfectly rational to expect some startlingly new social development on this vast virgin continent; and it seemed only fair to invite all mankind, irrespective of race, to share in the blessings of this new civilization, founded upon liberty, justice, and humanity. It is, therefore, scarcely to be wondered at that *the*

first naturalization law which Congress passed, March 26, 1790, was monumental in its liberality. It offered citizenship to any white male applicant who had spent *two years* in the United States, provided he was of good character and was willing to swear allegiance to the constitution. But even at that early period, and in spite of the crying need of a population, this liberality produced a reaction. The sentiment gained ground that, at some time or other, the natural advantages of the country might suffice to attract a larger alien population than was desirable, without additional allurements on the part of Congress. The naturalization law of 1790 was accordingly amended by the act of 1795, requiring a residence of five years before citizenship could be acquired, and a declaration of intention two years previous to naturalization. Three years later, this law was superseded by the act of 1798, requiring a residence of fourteen years, which requisition remained in force only four years, being supplanted by the act of April 14, 1802, *making the term of residence five years. This law has never since been repealed.*

It must be inferred, from the frequency of Congressional acts relating to naturalization during the first years of our national existence, that the question was seen from the beginning to be one of vital importance. Although immigration on an extensive scale did not begin until the forties, when the potato famine in Ireland (1846-47) and the unsuccessful revolutionary uprising in Germany swelled the tide, the possibility of its increase until it might unfavorably affect the industries of the country, and subject its institutions to an undue strain, must have been vaguely foreseen by many; but that it should ever assume the proportion of a veritable migration of nations, amounting in a single year to more than three quarters of a million of people, and in sixty-seven years to fourteen millions and a half, was surely never dreamed of by the founders of the republic; and if it had been dreamed of, some effective safeguard would have been devised to protect their cherished institutions from the dangers to which they would inevitably be exposed in the hands of a semi-alien race, in conflict with an alien spirit.

The constitution of the United States was framed by men of Anglo-Saxon origin for their own government; and it presupposes the long political evolution to which that race has been subjected in the mother-land during eight or nine centuries. It presupposes the Anglo-Saxon virtues of moderation, self-restraint, and sense of fair play. It is only a high civilization which exhibits these civic virtues; and to impose free institutions upon a people which does not possess them, is to endanger the social order and bring the free institutions into unmerited reproach. There are no institutions which are so inherently excellent that they fit all nations; just as there is no diet so nourishing that it will agree with all stomachs in all zones and climes. *A republic can only be carried on by republicans* (I do not mean, of course, in the party sense), and if it is carried on by other than republicans, it will lose its original spirit and degenerate into a disguised despotism, retaining nothing of the republic except the name. *And a republican, gentlemen, is not made in a day, nor in a year — nor in fifty years. It takes*

generations of intelligent, self-restrained, and self-respecting ancestors to make a man fit to govern himself — fit to be intrusted with the guidance of a state, whose existence and progress depend upon his vote, and, above all, upon the sentiments that lie behind his vote. We see in France, to-day, what an unstable and insecure thing a republic is without republicans, or, perhaps, I should rather say, without the republican temperament. And the Gallic temperament, whatever it may become in the future, is not to-day the republican temperament. The republic is there a mere accident, a temporary truce of hostile parties, none of which has power enough to assume the government. The republic is in a state of perpetual anxiety regarding its existence, and has to strain every nerve to preserve order, to keep the hungry from flying at the throats of the prosperous. That the United States have hitherto been exempt from anxiety on this score, is chiefly due to the fact that prosperity has until recently been within the reach of the many, and there has accordingly existed no very strong inducements to plunder the few. In no less degree, perhaps, has it been due to the fact that the country has been governed, in the main, by its peaceful and conservative citizens, both of American and of foreign descent : although the alien element has, in national affairs at least, played a very subordinate part. But we have no guarantee that this state of things will continue to last. *A large proportion of the foreigners who come to us now are hungry malcontents, who arrive with the avowed purpose to overthrow our institutions.* A considerable number of them are men who, on account of moral or intellectual defects, do not fit into any orderly society, and who in consequence are embittered against all order ; men whom Europe is fortunate in getting rid of, and America correspondingly unfortunate in receiving ; men who are bent upon avenging here what they suffered there. There are at present unmistakable indications that unless some drastic remedy is applied to check the influence of this class of foreigners, the relation of political and economic forces which has hitherto prevailed will be reversed, and the future will be fraught with perils which it is the part of prudence to foresee, and which it is too late to avert when they are already upon us. It behooves us, therefore, to apply the remedy before the evil is beyond control — before the elements of discontent and disorder shall have transplanted to the New World the very conditions to escape which they fled from the Old.

What I propose to show in the present address is that, unless some such restrictive measure is before long passed by Congress, a crisis is at hand, in a not very remote future, which will seriously affect our national destiny. *The immigrant of to-day is not the same as the immigrant of ten and twenty years ago. He is, as statistics prove, largely drawn from a lower stratum of European society.* Before the days of steam navigation a considerable degree of courage and enterprise was required to induce a man to break up from his old home and associations, and seek an uncertain future in an unknown land, which the imagination pictured as little better than a wilderness. The mere sea voyage, in a small sailing vessel, with its attendant dangers, sufficed to keep the faint-hearted from contemplating so risky an

undertaking. Those who did migrate were, therefore, likely to be the strongest and most energetic — the very ones most fitted to grapple with the hardships of pioneer life on the border-line of civilization. As a matter of fact, the immigrants whom we received previous to 1840, when the first regular steamboat connection between New York and Liverpool was established, were of a very acceptable class, and increased our prosperity without perceptibly deteriorating our character. It was not until the year 1820 that a record was kept of arrivals ; but it is estimated that the entire immigration from 1796 to 1820 did not exceed 250,000, of whom the greater portion came from Great Britain and Ireland. A great many came under indenture, and were obliged to labor from three to ten years to pay the cost of their passage, which had been advanced by agents, until Congress, in 1819, passed a law which largely remedied the evils of this system.

The number of foreign-born in the United States, according to the census of 1880, was 6,679,943, and their present number is not far from nine millions. *There are, accordingly, about three times as many foreigners now in the country as there were Americans in the thirteen colonies at the time of the Declaration of Independence. Nay, more immigrants have arrived during the last seven years than the colonies contained.* If we count the children of aliens, we have at the present time an aggregate of more than fifteen millions, or about twenty-six per cent. of the total population. Rev. Dr. Strong, in his admirable book, "Our Country," estimates that, if immigration is left unrestricted, *our foreign-born population in 1900 will be over nineteen millions, and if the proportion of foreign-born to native-born children of foreign-born parents continues the same, we shall then have a total alien or semi-alien population of forty-three millions.* The undoubted fact, that the more prolific foreigner is continually gaining numerically upon the native, and year by year becoming a greater power politically and economically, contains an ominous augury for the future of the republic. But still more precarious becomes the outlook when we consider a circumstance not sufficiently emphasized by writers on this subject, namely, the recent deterioration in the quality of the immigration. *Any man, unless he be a pauper, can now obtain the paltry sum necessary for buying a steerage passage to New York,* and if he cannot, the chances are that he is so undesirable a character that it is worth while for the community to raise the sum to get rid of him. That this is actually done on a large scale in Ireland, England, and Switzerland, we all know, and no remonstrance from our government has sufficed to stop the practice. There are yet so-called benefit societies in Great Britain, whose object it is to reform Ireland by exporting the Irish to the United States ; and it is not very long since Lord Salisbury, in a public speech, declared that the solution of the Irish problem was assisted emigration. In other words, the only solution of the problem was to transfer it to the United States.

The Canadians, who have had their hospitality abused by such "assisted guests," have recently sent a vigorous protest against the continuance of this policy, and have, at the same time, imitated it, by "assisting" a large

number of the imported paupers across the boundary line to the United States. There is no possibility of preventing this, as long as we permit the belief to go uncontradicted that we are the natural cess-pool for the reception of the human offal and rubbish of the entire world.

It is but a few months since the Danish government pardoned a notorious and dangerous forger on condition that he should go to the United States; and to the United States he went. Whether our Minister in Copenhagen reported the case to Secretary Bayard, I do not know, but the Scandinavian papers were full of it. Nevertheless, as far as the public knows, nothing was ever done about it. The Danish government will be encouraged to repeat the successful experiment of exporting its criminals instead of entertaining them at public expense.

We have, indeed, a species of investigation at Castle Garden, but it is not carried on thoroughly, nor even in good faith. Occasionally a pauper is returned to Ireland or England, but a hundred are admitted for every one that goes back. As long as public opinion is not aroused on the subject, the officials can scarcely be blamed for interpreting the law in the laxest spirit. And public opinion is fatally sanguine, prone to the belief that whatever we do — whatever fatal blunders we commit — we shall come out all right in the end. It is supposed that God is personally responsible for the future of the United States, and that He cannot afford to let our experiment of self-government fail. But surely the same causes produce the same effects in this country as they do elsewhere? You cannot gather figs from thorns, or grapes from thistles, in a republic any more than you can in a monarchy. We know now that society is governed by laws as surely ascertainable as those of electricity and gravitation. It would, to my mind, argue no right trust in God to violate the laws, in the operation of which his power is made manifest, in the hope that He would interpose to save us from the consequences. What strikes me with amazement, whenever I undertake to discuss this question with my American friends, is their utter indifference or supine optimism.

It is the sublime but dangerous optimism of a race which has never been confronted with serious problems. Our national domain has seemed practically boundless, and we have never troubled ourselves greatly about the class of people who undertook to occupy it, as long as they added to our prosperity. But, gentlemen, even prosperity may be bought at too high a price. If material increase involves a menace to our institutions and a deterioration in character, it is, to my mind, too dearly bought. And can there be any question that such is actually the case? If, as is easily capable of demonstration, our political life sinks, year by year, to a lower level; if the men we send to our national and state legislatures exhibit a lower average of intelligence and morality than twenty or fifty years ago — does it not show that the constituencies which are responsible for their election are degenerating, and are gradually becoming unfit for self-government? Does it not show that the institutions no longer fit the people, or the people the institutions? If the lobby in every state capital, as in our national

capital, grows every year more powerful in its influence upon legislation, and bribery and jobbery of all sorts flourish, is it not an evidence of disease in our body politic, which, if not healed, sooner or later must assume a critical phase, and precipitate disaster? I am far from holding immigration responsible for all these evils, but that it is a potent, perhaps the most potent, coöperating cause, is, I think, beyond dispute.

In the city of New York, which has developed political trickery and corruption to the highest perfection, the foreign element, including the children of foreign-born parents, is 80 per cent. of the total population. *Out of every five persons you meet in the streets of New York, four are likely to be of foreign birth or the children of foreign parents.* The city had in 1880, 1,206,299 inhabitants, of whom 200,000 were born in Ireland; and if the ratio holds good which the last census seems to have established, that for every 100 foreign-born inhabitants we have 115 born of foreign parents, the number of Irish in New York city was, in 1880, 430,000, and must now be considerably over half a million. The Irish, therefore, roughly speaking, constitute fully one third, or about 33 per cent., of the population of the city.

Of natives of Germany there were in New York city in 1880 (including Austrians) 168,225; and counting Swiss and Dutch, about 175,000, and, adding to these 207,000 of German parentage, we get the total number of 382,000 Germans. All estimates regarding the growth of the city since 1880 must be more or less conjectural; but statistics of immigration show that during these years the Germans have gained upon the Irish, and have largely outnumbered them. Of the enormous immigration of 1882, which reached nearly 800,000, 250,000 (or nearly one third) were Germans, while the number of Irish was only 73,000, and has never in recent years exceeded 84,000. That a large proportion of the latter have, however, in accordance with their well-known urban tendencies, remained in the city, is quite certain, but yet not enough to make up for the great numerical preponderance of the Teutons. That the city to-day has a German population of 400,000, including children of German parents, is, I think, a very moderate estimate.

Among the other nationalities which contribute to our Babylonian confusion, no one was in 1880 sufficiently numerous to be entitled to special consideration; 30,000 Englishmen, 10,000 Frenchmen, 9,000 Scotchmen, 9,000 Bohemians, 7,000 British Americans and 7,000 Scandinavians, 12,000 Italians, 9,000 Russians, 5,000 Hungarians, 10,000 Poles, represent in the aggregate a vast deal of alienism, but are apparently too feeble to assert the special kind of alienism that is in them. It is, however, a noteworthy fact that since 1880 the immigration from the most undesirable of these nationalities has shown an alarming increase. The Italians have more than trebled their number, and the Bohemians, Poles, and Hungarians have powerfully reinforced and are daily reinforcing our constantly growing army of discontent and disorder.

But, I hear political economists urge, the immigrant increases the country's power of production and consumption; he brings money into this

country, he augments the nation's wealth. It has been calculated by the German economist, Friedrich Kapp, that each immigrant averages in value \$1,125 to the country which receives him. At all events, he has cost that amount to the society which has reared him, and loses the benefit of his productive labor. Another authority fixes the amount at \$800. According to these calculations, we gain annually, through immigration, the equivalent of a capital amounting to four or five hundred million dollars. But there is, to my mind, a serious error in computations of this sort. *It is not, by any means, sure that a man is worth the money which it took to raise him.* Uncharitable as the remark may seem, the man may not, on purely economic grounds, have been worth raising. A man is valuable only where he is needed — where his labor and the sentiments which he embodies increase the efficiency of the society to which he attaches himself. A pauper or a criminal is a drain upon the resources of the land; the anarchist, although he consumes food and manufactures, is not, therefore, a valuable member of society. By his sentiments, if not by his acts, he disorganizes the state and decreases its efficiency. And the ultimate loss which the United States may sustain by economic convulsions and the lowering of the grade of its civilization, through the importation of unassimilable foreign hordes, is beyond the power of any man to compute.

It is usually the poorest and the most worthless of the immigrants, and those who have come with no definite object except to get away from home: it is these who are apt to remain where they first land. We accordingly get in New York more than our fair share of the shiftless and vicious. We grapple heroically with the problem which their existence presents to us. Numerous charitable institutions struggle to relieve the most urgent wants, and private benevolence steps in where the institutions fail to reach. The Christian churches, both Catholic and Protestant, are doing a noble work in endeavoring to awake the dormant souls of these miserable aliens, who herd together in the filthiest and most malodorous quarters of the huge city. But it is often like pouring water into a sieve. If I were to tell you my own experience I might, perhaps, have the appearance of boasting. I can only say that it has been inexpressibly disheartening, though in that respect scarcely exceptional. My relation, however, to the immigrants of the Scandinavian nationalities has been exceptional. I doubt if there is another man in a private position in New York who has come into closer contact with the miseries which unrestricted immigration entails, and who has been the repository of more tales of alien woe than I.

It is as often the children of immigrants as the immigrants themselves who come to grief, because of their imperfect adaptation to the conditions of American life. My experience fully confirms that of Dr. Strong in this respect, and, reluctant as I am to say it, I hold the American common school largely responsible for the disasters which overtake many of those who have imbibed its teachings. Our public schools, admirable though they are in many respects, and Americanizing in their tendency, are, in my opinion, imbued with a false spirit. They unduly stimulate a child's ambition, and

foster to an unhealthy degree its sense of independence. "Every one of you, boys, has as good a chance of becoming president of the United States, some day as Grant or Lincoln had when he was of your age," I once heard a public-school teacher in Ohio say to his class. I marveled at the lack of judgment the man displayed. But I could not find a person in that section of the country who agreed with me. They all told me that that was the American spirit. It may have been, at a certain immature period; but it cannot remain so long. I believe a teacher should stimulate a child's sense of responsibility, his pleasure in doing even the humblest labor conscientiously, his pride in sound and honest workmanship; *his sense of duty towards God and man, not God's and man's duty towards him*. His rights he is very sure to learn, without the aid of a teacher. That liberty involves a redoubled responsibility, is never properly impressed upon the pupils; and those of them who have not inherited self-restraint and sober and moral impulses from their ancestors, are apt to become intoxicated with the idea of the unbounded liberty they expect to enjoy, and to rebel against all law and authority. As far as my observation goes, I should say that the alien child, or the child of alien parents, imbibes a dangerous spirit in our public schools, though it is not the schools alone that are to be blamed for the sad exhibit which the children of aliens make in the statistics of pauperism and crime.

If any one should take the trouble to make the acquaintance of the hoodlums and young roughs who infest all our large cities, he would find the great majority of them to be children of foreign parents. I have heard worthy German and Scandinavian fathers, honest and hard-working men, complain bitterly that they found it impossible to govern their children in this country, or maintain any discipline whatever in their homes. Their sons took to the street, no matter what they did or said to them; and if they were punished, they left their homes altogether. There is a spirit of irresponsible independence in the air, and it is unduly stimulated by boyish associates, by the text-books used in the schools, and by the political life, which also fosters an excessive sense of dignity, irrespective of intellectual and moral worth.

The alarming increase of this class of half foreign youthful roughs, with criminal tendencies, who in our large cities constitute the patronage of the saloons and all dens of vice, and the voting strength of the different halls to which they are attached, has always appeared to me one of the most dangerous results of immigration. To imagine that this class of people is an element of strength to the state and the country is certainly a most baneful delusion. A man is valuable to the state only in so far as he fulfills a useful function and has a definite place in the social organism. People of nomadic habits, without permanent employment, weaken the social structure, and by their mere existence indicate the presence of some grave disorder.

This country was until recently a fair realization of the aspirations of the German revolutionists of 1848. It was a democratic *bourgeoisie* — industrialism dominant and triumphant. It raised the third estate, the industrial

class, the middle class (in Old World parlance), to be the directing power in the state. It was the business man, and business interests, which decided national elections and foreign policies. But during the last ten years a new class — the fourth estate — the manual laborer, who had hitherto framed no political demands — has raised its head, and threatened to remodel the state in its interest. These attempts, which we all know create discontent among the class against whose power they are aimed, and the natural resistance and self-protection of the latter, create bitterness and disaffection among the fourth estate, who find their plans balked and frustrated. The great historical question at the present time is, accordingly, whether the fourth estate is or is not to take the place of the third, as the governing and directing power. Much as I should regret such a revolution, it is difficult to see how, with unrestricted immigration and universal suffrage, it is to be averted. *We have been accustomed to say that no man need starve in the United States, if he is able and willing to work. This was true ten years ago, but it is true no longer.* I have seen in New York city many families miserably destitute, through no fault of their own, and unable to obtain work of any kind. Skilled mechanics, who formerly supported themselves and their families comfortably, have through boycotts and strikes and the exactions of the Knights of Labor lost their employment, and have been reduced to starvation. I could fill a book with the stories such men have told me. They were mostly Germans and Scandinavians, men of frugal habits and accustomed to industry. That their lot is deplorable, there is no denying. And as long as immigration remains unrestricted, as long as five men enter for every one that is needed, confusion must occur, and suffering must be the result.

✓ As long as Castle Garden remains open, and an unceasing stream of immigrants eager and willing to work for anything they can get (as long as they can keep soul and body together) pour in through this unbarred flood-gate, and underbid the native laborer in all markets, it is the employer who is protected, and not the laborer. If the freight-handlers or cigarmakers or bricklayers strike (whether for adequate cause or not), there is usually no difficulty in filling their places with newly arrived recruits from Castle Garden. No wages are so small now that there is no one who will accept them. Hungarians who sleep on mattresses on the floor, and eight and ten in one room, who pick their dinners out of the ash barrels, and change their linen once a month, can manage to live on wages which to self-respecting American laborers would scarcely suffice to starve on. And what is more, the Hungarians will manage to save something. Competition in business often compels a manufacturer to engage the cheapest labor he can procure, because his rivals would otherwise be enabled to undersell and ruin him. He is sometimes obliged to discharge self-respecting workmen whom he would rather keep, and employ foreigners whose grade of living is lower, because his competitors are already benefiting by the cheaper labor. Wages thus show a tendency to reach the level where they represent bare existence on the lowest possible plane, and the laborers themselves, in their struggle

to procure employment, engage in a mutual competition to reduce the cost of living to the lowest possible figure. *The Labor Statistics of the Massachusetts Bureau for 1884 show that the average earnings of the heads of families working in factories were \$196 less than the actual cost of maintaining such families ; the difference, therefore, had to be made up by child labor.* Now if economic forces show this tendency, is it not evidence that something is radically wrong ? For surely no one can be blind enough to suppose that it is for the good of society, to reduce a large class of its members to a plane of living which must be degrading, and destructive of every higher instinct.

It has been urged that restriction of immigration would have an unfavorable effect upon business, by excluding skilled labor, for which we now, to a large extent, depend upon Europe. A native American who has gone through the public schools rarely takes up a trade, except as a temporary expedient. He hopes by his cleverness soon to be beyond the necessity of working with his hands. If he learns the printer's trade, it is with the idea of some day becoming an editor. If he becomes a carpenter or a mason, it is with a view to acquiring wealth as a builder or contractor for public work. If he is a conductor or an engineer, he expects to become a railroad president. Now, within certain limits, this is no doubt a laudable spirit, and as long as immigration furnishes a steady supply of men ready and willing to work with their hands, it is quite natural that the native mechanic, who has an advantage in knowing the resources of the country and the conditions of trade, should rise upon the shoulders of the rest. But, for every one who succeeds, how many hundreds are there who fail, because of this unbridled ambition ! Is it not due to this spirit of impatience at, and contempt for, slow and honest toil that so many speculators, gamblers, sporting men, and other anomalous characters fill our cities and endeavor to make a living out of the corruption of politics ? I feel confident that such is the case. It is, again, the spirit of the public school which bears a large share of the responsibility. And I believe that, when industrial training shall have been introduced instead of the present miscellany of accomplishments; when children shall acquire in the school a definite, useful, practical knowledge, fitting them, not for presidents of the United States, but for the work and the responsibilities of their lives in humble or exalted stations, in accordance with their powers — then we shall no longer have to depend upon Europe for our skilled labor.

It will possibly be inferred by some who have done me the honor to listen to this address, that I entertain a low opinion of foreigners. If I have conveyed any such impression, let me hasten to correct it. I do not believe that there is any peculiar virtue in American birth, or that Americans are, *per se*, superior to all other nations; but I do believe that they are better fitted than all others to govern their own country. They made the country what it is, and ought to have the first voice in determining what it is to be. In this alone consists their superiority. *It would be folly to object to the immigrated races, as races. It is as individuals that they are objectionable, if objectionable at all.* I know many naturalized citizens of German, Scandi-

navian, and English birth whose noble character and intelligent interest in public affairs would make them an acquisition to any country. In fact, the great majority of the immigrants of these races are, and have always been, useful and honorable men. The circumstance that we receive from Germany a considerable number of anarchists and socialists ought not to prejudice us against a nationality which has contributed such excellent elements to our population.

I hope that you will not put me down as a rabid Know-Nothing, whose bigotry has unsettled his judgment. I need scarcely say that I am myself a foreigner — a Norseman; or, if you like, I am an older American than any of you, for *Leif Erikson, a countryman of mine, took out my naturalization papers, in Massachusetts, nearly 500 years before Columbus set foot on this continent.* I spring from the parent stock, from which came Duke Rollo and William the Conqueror; and it is no effort for a man of my blood to enter into *the American spirit of constitutional liberty — freedom limited by self-imposed law — for that spirit first arose among the mountains of Norway, and spread from there to England and to America.*

A head-tax of \$20 or \$30, levied by the United States, would have the effect of excluding the great majority of undesirable immigrants, but it would also exclude a great many who might be regarded as desirable. Moreover, it would be amenable to the objection that it is undemocratic, because it would favor the comparatively well-to-do at the expense of the poor. In fact, there is no imaginable method of separating the sheep from the goats, nor of framing a law which would not be felt by many to be a hardship and an injustice. The mere lengthening of the term of residence required for naturalization from five to ten years would, I think, scarcely have any perceptible effect in lessening the number of arrivals; for it is not the prospect of political liberty which allures the immigrant to our shores nowadays, but it is the prospect of gaining an ampler and an easier livelihood. Nevertheless, the lengthening of the term would, on other grounds, be highly desirable, and I hope it will be done.

The plan of restriction which I proposed some years ago is by no means an ideal measure; but it will, if properly enforced, have the effect of shutting out the very worst classes; and it has the additional advantage of being perfectly feasible. *My idea would be that no immigrant should be permitted to land, unless he can exhibit a certificate signed by the American consul residing nearest to his home, testifying to his good character and showing that he complies with the conditions, whatever they may be, which Congress may see fit to impose.* In all European countries such information is easily accessible; the parish, communal, and police authorities usually being able to furnish all information desired, concerning the individuals within their jurisdiction. If the task of collecting these data were imposed upon the consuls, it would, of course, greatly increase the labor and responsibility of these officials; and would necessitate a considerable increase in their number. But as a consulate in all but the principal commercial cities is at present a sinecure, this objection need scarcely be regarded as a serious one. A weightier objection

would be the opportunity for bribery and corruption which such a law would offer to officials of questionable morality. But such opportunities exist throughout the public service, and must exist as long as human nature is what it is. If the proper care is exercised in the selection of consular officers, and if it were clearly understood that the policy of the administration favored restriction rather than indiscriminate hospitality, the object of the law would, no doubt, be accomplished in lessening the total number of immigrants and excluding the most undesirable classes.

In conclusion, permit me to reply to a criticism which no doubt will be made by many, and which lies near at hand. Here is a man, you will say, who, having himself accepted the hospitality of the American nation, proposes to close the door in the face of all those who wish to follow his example. If this were a mere personal question, with no wider bearings, I presume I should be liable to such a charge. I may say, however, that my father made the choice before me, having visited the United States as a young man, and brought me up in sympathy with American institutions, which he sincerely admired. I therefore found myself more at home here, when I arrived, than in the country of my birth. During the nineteen years of my residence here, I have exerted all my influence, in season and out of season, to make my countrymen good American citizens; to induce them to drop all quarrels and prejudices and religious animosities imported from the Old World, and to join heartily in labor for the industrial and intellectual development of this great republic. The Scandinavian immigrants have always been found on the side of law and order, and the counsel of the Chicago anarchists paid them a great and well merited compliment when he declared that he would not tolerate a single one of them on the jury. It is not, however, as a Norseman that I have spoken to you; but as an American citizen who is deeply attached to the country and its institutions, and who would avert, if he could, a danger which he believes to be threatening them. If I have in any wise exaggerated this danger, this is due to my zeal for the welfare of the republic, and my ardent desire that this noble experiment in self-government should not prove a failure. Macaulay prophesied the overthrow or dissolution of the American republic in the twentieth century because its constitution had too much sail and too little ballast. He predicted, as a preliminary to this dissolution, a state of things very similar to that which we are now experiencing. In optimism, which blindly hopes without taking note of actual conditions, lies our greatest peril, and he who can dispel this optimism will contribute to the security of the future. It is, therefore, a sign of the utmost significance when the Christian churches throughout the land become aroused to the necessity of grappling with these great and vital problems. They are not in themselves insoluble; but they require for their solution all the patriotism, the earnestness, and noble self-devotion which are found within the church of Christ. It is by this sign, and by this alone, that we shall conquer. — *From National Perils and Opportunities, or Discussions at the Washington Conference of the Evangelical Alliance for the United States, 1887.*

EDUCATION IN JAPAN.

THE good old times in Japan were between the ninth and twelfth centuries, when the Imperial court held sway in politics, letters, and social life. Feudalism had not yet arisen, the god-descended Emperor was not yet a banished *fainéant*, the latter-day hatred of foreigners was a thing unknown. The ideas and ideographs which had long characterized the civilization of China had been largely transferred to Japan and found a ready soil with the leisured class. But that class was a very narrow one, confined almost exclusively to the Imperial family in its various branches, and the court nobles and families immediately connected with them. The mass of the people knew nothing whatever of literature, and were patient toiling serfs, as a rule well-treated and contented.

The men of the period who affected literature confined their attention to Chinese, and they have left us very little of value. Amongst the ladies of the court, however, were many who cultivated the pure Japanese literature of the day, and have handed down to our times specimens of chaste, refined style, as well as life-like pictures of the manners of those olden times. The diction elevated, the language vernacular, the morals much purer than in later days, these old productions repay the student who has leisure to master their linguistic difficulties.

But troublous times came over Japan; the wars of clans put an end to the old pastoral, almost patriarchal age in which the Emperor was the father of his people. Fierce feudal strifes soon scattered the literary courtiers like small dust, and the Imperial head often rested on the pillow of poverty. The old light went out in the darkness of a middle age. Later on when the land had rest under the strong arm of the Tokugawa shoguns, in the seventeenth century, attention was again directed towards learning. Buddhist monasteries and scattered Confucianists had kept

the literary spark alive, and were ready to help in the renaissance. The learning of the nation, however, down to the recent opening of the country, was confined to the cultivation of the Chinese classics and to a certain extent of the Japanese classics; while the education of the common people was restricted to the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic. The invention of the *karia*, or Japanese syllabary, had made these rudiments of an education possible to the multitude, and to women who would have been left in ignorance if all literature had been confined to the Chinese ideograph. At the partial opening of the country to the treaty powers, considerable was done to introduce Western learning, but it was after the Restoration, in 1868, that the whole system of education was completely reconstructed on the models of Western countries, when foreign arts and sciences, languages and literature, were freely admitted and eagerly explored.

The new Imperial Government gave speedy and serious attention to educational matters.¹ In 1868, a provisional Board of Education was established in Kyoto, which at once reopened the schools founded by the old government in Nagasaki, Osaka, and other places which had been interrupted by the war of the Restoration, and when the disturbances had subsided the three large schools which had been founded in Tokyo were also resuscitated. Men of learning were invited from various districts to act as professors. Bureaus were established for investigation and compilation of educational and historical matters, as also a bureau of translation in connection with the schools in Tokyo. The Chinese classical school of Shoheiko, established by the old government, received a momentary impulse; Japanese and Chinese classical lectures were delivered, which court nobles, feudal lords, and public officials were *ordered* to attend at stated times. The business of licensing and regulating the publication of books was also intrusted to the educational authorities. In 1868 the above Shoheiko was organized as a university and constituted shortly after a Board of Educa-

¹ In the preparation of this article I have consulted *Annual Reports of the Minister of State for Education*, *Outlines of the Modern Education in Japan*, and other official documents published by the Educational Department, and in many places used their words.

tion, with power to control all educational affairs. Thus far attention had been confined to higher learning. Nothing or very little had been done for the furtherance of a general education. And what had been attempted had proved abortive on account of the still disturbed state of the interior and the clinging on the part of the people to the regulations of the olden times.

In 1871 the Board was abolished and a Department of Education was established with full powers of control. A commissioner was sent to Europe and America to investigate educational matters, whose conclusions were subsequently embodied in a report and published. At the same time a school for girls, a normal school, and museum were instituted, together with other measures for advance. In 1872 the first Code of Education was issued by the government, prescribing various regulations for grand, middle, and elementary school districts, school-district committees, bureaus of inspection, the appointment of special local officers, subjects of study for universities, middle and elementary schools, teachers and normal schools, pupils and examinations, students in foreign countries, school funds and fees and so forth. Attached to this document, by the special order of H. M. the Emperor, was a statement of the purpose of its promulgation as follows: —

All knowledge, from that necessary for daily life, to that higher knowledge, necessary to prepare officers, farmers, merchants, artisans, physicians, etc., for their respective vocations, is acquired by learning. Although learning is essential to success in life for all classes of men, yet for farmers, artisans, and merchants, and for women, it was regarded as beyond their sphere; and even among the upper classes aimless discussion and vain styles of composition only were cultivated, from which no practical use could ever be deduced. Much poverty and failure in life is owing but to these mistaken views. It is intended that henceforth education shall be so diffused that there may not be a village with an ignorant family, nor a family with an ignorant member. Persons who have hitherto applied themselves to study have almost always looked to the government for their expenses. This is an erroneous notion proceeding from long abuse, and every person should henceforth endeavor to acquire knowledge by his own exertion.

Some supplementary provisions were added regarding school accommodation for old religious sects, and as to students who were assisted by loans out of the public treasury. In order to carry out these theoretical reforms in actual practice, old schools were ordered to be closed. But this was carried out in so drastic a manner that much of value was destroyed, and the mode of introducing the reformed methods for a time did harm. This was much to be regretted, but infinitely to be preferred to a reform on paper which is never put into practice, for time and progress soon cure the mistakes of earnest inexperience. A Bureau of Inspection was next established, and as encouragement and help an appropriation of funds was made by the general government to supplement local school funds, in the proportion of nine tenths of a *sen* per capita of the population. In 1874-75, various changes were made in the *personnel* of the Department, and seven normal schools were founded in addition to the one in Tokyo to provide a supply of teachers for the elementary schools throughout the empire. Besides these seven, foreign language schools were opened to prepare students for higher institutions, where the arts and sciences were taught by foreign professors in a foreign tongue and also for practical pursuits. In 1877, however, the country felt the need of retrenchment, the appropriations for educational purposes were materially reduced, and with the exception of one each in Tokyo all these normal and foreign language schools were abolished, or handed over to local authorities and aided by reduced grants. It was felt that private and mission schools were supplying the training in foreign languages and that work was largely left to them.

The great schools of Tokyo had continued to flourish, and in 1877 two of the principal ones were incorporated under the name of Tokyo University with special departments in Law, Science, Medicine, and Literature. The Department of Education gradually took shape after many changes, and eventually approached a culmination of efficiency combined with simplicity and economy. In 1879 it was found that the practical working of the Code of Education was being carried out too rigorously without due reference to the existence of differences in various localities, and some popular agitation was aroused against its

provisions. It was forthwith repealed and replaced by another that went to the other extreme, so that many thought the whole matter was left to local option and thus arose neglect. Hence in 1880 a revised code was issued which appears to have struck the golden mean. By this code it was ordered that the school districts, as well as the elementary course, were to be fixed by the local authorities, but subject to the approval of the Minister of Education, and great care was given to the selection of school-committees. All other matters of importance, directly under control of the local authorities, were to be submitted for the approval of the Minister of Education, and matters directly under the control of towns or villages were to be similarly submitted to the governor of the prefecture or province. Adequate regulations were made to give effect to these provisions, local authorities put energy into their execution, and matters rapidly improved. The principles of education then established seem to be comprehended under the following heads, namely, the cultivation of moral character, the development of the spirit of loyalty and patriotism, and the acquisition of knowledge necessary for practical occupations. The following year various changes were made in the *personnel* of the Department, and an office of Prizes was added for the transaction of business relating to prizes to be awarded to meritorious *teachers* and scholars. In order to indoctrinate the country with the principles of the new Code, notifications were issued one after another relating to courses of study and regulations for all sorts of schools, and at the end of the year 1883 a convention was held of all the chiefs of local school offices, directors of normal schools, and others directly and indirectly responsible for the working of the system, at which the principal points were explained and discussed. The educational organization had now come into practical operation throughout the whole empire. In 1885 the organization of the Department of State for Education was again altered, largely reducing the number of officials. During the same year the Code of Education was again revised, with the purpose of lightening the financial strain caused largely by an inflated currency, and to make the systems still more simple. At the end of this year the whole organization of the government was altered and a Min-

ister of State was appointed for each Department. Mori Arinori, whose name is well known in the West, and who had formerly been connected with the Educational Department, was appointed Minister of State for Education with a revised arrangement of Bureaus. The following year, 1886, the whole system of the Department was again changed, and great alterations were made in the educational system by the issue of Imperial Ordinances affecting all the schools from the university to the elementary classes, by which it was supposed that imperfections and defects in former Codes were completely remedied.

The most important points in the alterations effected by these various ordinances are as follows: —

In regard to the university, the university hall was established.

As to normal schools, attention was directed to the development of the three characteristics of obedience, sympathy, and dignity. A higher normal school was established under the control of the Minister of State for Education; the expenses of pupils in normal schools were to be defrayed by the schools; and the subjects of study and the standard to be attained in normal schools were to be prescribed by the Minister of State for Education.

In elementary schools, the expenses were to be defrayed chiefly out of school fees, and course of study and standards were to be fixed by the Minister.

As to middle schools, higher middle schools were to be established under the direct control of the Department of Education, a limit was put upon the number of middle schools to be opened by prefectures and provinces, and the courses of study and standards to be fixed as above.

As to text-books for elementary and middle schools, only those approved by the Department were to be used, and those in normal schools were to be prescribed by the Minister of State for Education.

As to schools other than normal, only persons who possessed certificates issued by the Minister, or by governors of provinces and prefectures, were to be employed as teachers.

Various regulations were subsequently issued, and in order to

develop the characteristics of obedience, sympathy, and dignity in the pupils of various schools, military drill was much encouraged.

Viscount Mori, the present Minister of State for Education, is throwing great energy into the work of making the system, which in its present form is a thing of his own creation, a practical success in every part of the empire. He has made some alterations in his departmental bureaus, but there have been no fundamental changes of late, other than the practical outworking of the new system. That through these changes during the two decades of modern education in Japan there has been steady progress with comparatively few serious blunders, must be conceded. It is, however, to be regretted that the general government has thought it wise to retrench in educational matters while spending lavishly on army and navy, for which it is hoped there will never arise very much need. But the policy of Western nations towards Japan and towards each other makes this land feel that there is but very little stock to be taken in right that is not backed up by might. And so vast millions are expended on the argument of force, while for the moral and intellectual up-building of the nation the central government spends but very little over one million of yen annually, and less now than ten years ago.

C. E. EBY.

TOKYO, JAPAN.

FALSE HISTORY IN ROBERT ELSMERE.

HAVING lived through the period described in "Robert Elsmere," and visited Oxford in the midst of it, I have been able to find out the antecedents of Elsmere's theory of the Life of Christ. It originated in the Free Thinking movement which arose as a reaction against Puseyism and culminated in the once famous, but now forgotten, "Essays and Reviews." The actual theory was gendered in the brooding mind of Mr. Green, *alias* Mr. Grey, who carried the philosophy of Hegel, that the subjective mind creates the external universe, into religion, and accounted for the resurrection of Jesus by supposing that the love of certain Galileans for a carpenter's son in Nazareth made them fancy that he rose from the dead. The theory has fixed itself in the minds of the Arnold family, and a lady has given it wings as gay as those of an oriole, and now it is flying over the English-speaking and novel-reading world and drawing the admiring and in some cases the believing attention of tens of thousands of weak women and of nearly as many weaker men.

"The writers against religion," says Burke, "whilst they oppose every system, are wisely careful not to set up any of their own." Mrs. Ward is not to be charged with any such guilty carefulness. She is innocent enough not to see the weakness of her argument; she takes no pains to hide it under a bushel, and she sets forth the theory in a most attractive dress, which I must strip off that we may find what is the reality within. I labor under the fearful disadvantage that I have to conduct the contest not in an open gymnastic field, but in the boudoir of a beautiful and accomplished lady.

There never was so impotent an attempt to set up a new religion.

"Oh, that mine adversary had written a book!" cried Job. My cry is: Oh, that the old squire had published his book instead of keeping it wrapped up in a mist, where it looks so large. I believe it could have been easily answered. The objections all came from his German studies. The authoress should have told us that they have all been answered in Germany. They were published in England about the time the Arnolds were trained, and were answered immediately. I feel a difficulty in dealing with them. They do not consist so much in open charges as in whisperings. We all know that insinuations against character may be more difficult to meet than distinct accusations. In fighting with them one feels as if he were beating the air.

The objection is substantially this: Mr. Grey "remained a layman because it was impossible for him to accept a miracle." It is the argument of my countryman, David Hume, the skeptic, which has so often been sifted.

A miracle is not an event without a cause, which it might be impossible to prove, but an event with God acting immediately as a cause — this certainly a sufficient cause.

A religion which contains the preternatural "is doomed," says Matthew Arnold. I make the counter assertion that a religion which does not immediately come from God to man will never be received by man. It is not so easy to get rid of the supernatural. The natural gives clear proof of the supernatural. The order and design in the world is proof of a power above the world. Logic insists that the natural requires the supernatural to create or, if you prefer, to develop and to guide it, to give us these admirable forms of plants and animals and the progressions and providences of history.

But it is said that, in the early ages, people were inclined to believe in the supernatural, and invented miracles, and that, therefore, their testimony on this subject is not to be credited. I admit the premises, but deny the conclusion. The people at the time of our Lord were ready to believe in miracles. But I add, not in such miracles as are recorded in Scripture. Historians and travelers tell us what kind of miracles are invented among the nations. They are commonly great wonders, lights in the sky, monsters appearing on earth, strange occurrences. As a specimen, take those mentioned by Livy, the Roman historian, in a single book, xxiv. 10. A green palm is seen on fire in Apulia. It rained blood in the forum at Rome. The spear of a statue of Mars, at Praeneste, moved out of its place of its own accord. An ox spoke in Sicily. An altar surrounded by men in shining garments was seen in the sky. Armed legions of spirits appeared in Janiculum. In favor of no one of these have we the testimony of a single eye-witness. They have no worthy meaning. How different with the miracles of our Lord. We have the record by those who witnessed them. We have the testimony of the four evangelists, evidently truthful men, each giving his own account, and yet, all substantially one.

These were plain, unsophisticated men. Then we have the declaration of one of the great men of the world — altogether independent of his inspiration — a scholar, a writer, an actor of great practical wisdom. Paul, once so strongly prejudiced against the Crucified, assures us that he saw Christ in the flesh, and that he was overcome by Him. The Arnolds evidently feel a sensitive shrinking from the honest, sturdy, outspoken apostle. This novelist tells us he was no reasoner. Those who can reason themselves know that in the Romans and in all his epistles he is one of the most powerful reasoners that ever put together premises and conclusion. At times he makes a digression, but it is as the man who steps back a few feet that he may gather power to clear the chasm.

Every man who reads the Gospels has a miracle set before him in the discourses of our Lord, which for sublime doctrine and pure precept, for grace and elevation of sentiment, for faithfulness and for pathos and for tenderness, for indignation against sin and pity for the sinner, for knowledge of the human heart, and love to men, women, and children, transcend all that

the highest intellects have done in Greece and Rome, and, as spoken by a Galilean peasant, are themselves a miracle.

The common Christian has not just to prove a miracle against the infidel. All that he has to do for his own conviction is to find that Christianity came from uneducated men in Galilee. This granted, the miracle follows ; and he is constrained to say, "Thou hast conquered me, O Galilean !"

"What think ye of Christ? Whose son is he?" We are obliged to think of him, and we have to answer the question — Whose son is he? Whence does he come? We may suppose that he, a mechanic in Galilee, uttered all these truths, the Sermon on the Mount, and the Parables, and we have already a miracle ; or we may suppose that some fishermen on the Lake of Galilee, such as Peter, James, and John, devised all these discourses and deeds, or imagined them, and we have still a miracle. Or, if we may adopt a more refined theory — evidently that of the lady novelist — and suppose that there was a wonderful carpenter's son in Nazareth, and that a body of fishermen on the lake constructed the Life of Christ out of him ; and we have a still more astounding miracle, with nothing resembling it in the history of the world.

Take one supernatural event — the resurrection of Jesus. We have as full proof of it as of any event in ancient history, say the death of Julius Cæsar, which every one believes in. We have as clear evidence that these four evangelists wrote the Gospels as that Cæsar wrote the Gallic Wars, or that Xenophon wrote the Memoirs of Socrates. But the grand proof of the truth of our religion lies in the combination of evidence. We have a treble cord, which cannot be broken. How have men of science established the doctrine of the uniformity of nature? By an accumulation and combination of observations in all departments of nature. It is in the same way that we prove that there is a supernatural system in the midst of the natural, and fitting into it. Round the life and death and resurrection of Jesus we have a body of conspiring evidences. There were antecedents and there are consequents. We have the anticipation in the history, types, and prophecies of the Old Testament. Then we have the results flowing from the belief in the resurrection of Christ, the preaching of the gospel, the spread of Christianity in all countries, the production and fostering of all that is good in art and history, in the elevation of morals, in the establishment of schools and colleges and hospitals, in raising the status of the working classes, in the comfort imparted to poor and afflicted ones, in the converting power of the grace of God, in the slaves of the wildest passions sitting at the feet of Jesus clothed and in their right mind. All these constitute, from first to last, a unity, a system ; he who would overthrow it will have to attack, not the mere outposts, but the consistent whole. It is a bounteous river-system, with its waters flowing over the waste places of the earth, but issuing from the throne of God in heaven.

All these miracles are worthy of God and adapted to the state of man ; with a few exceptions they are wrought to deliver from pressing evils in our world, from disease, from sorrow, from sin. The grand end of the

whole is the redemption of the soul, for which the great men of the world have labored, but have failed of their end.

Nor let it be urged that the Jewish and heathen worlds were so predisposed towards the miraculous, that the early Christians had only to proclaim it to find all men believing it. For it, is to be remembered that the Gentiles got it from the Jews whom they hated, and the Jews from the Galileans whom they despised.

More persuasive, if not more convincing, we have what are called the internal evidences ; the suitableness of Christianity to man's nature and want, to his felt weakness and his sinfulness for which an atonement has been provided, as bringing life and immortality to light, and as rolling away the great stone that closed the tomb, and opening the grave that the spirit may arise to heaven.

But the gentlemen and ladies who support this new religion bred in Oxford, tell you that you may have all this great and good in Christianity, and leave out the miracles. Unfortunately for this theory, the miracles run through and through the four gospels and constitute an essential part of the whole. There is not a single chapter of the eighty-nine chapters which constitute the Gospels in which there is not something supernatural recorded or implied ; except, indeed, the few chapters such as Matt. v.-vii., which are filled with discourses which are themselves miraculous. The story begins with a supernatural birth and closes with a supernatural resurrection. Between them are innumerable supernatural cures. "They brought to him the sick, the maimed, and the blind, and he healed them all." There is the constant overthrow of the powers of evil, and three detailed cases of a resurrection from the dead. All the parts are joined in a unity. The garment is woven throughout, is without seam, and cannot be divided. It is all offered to us, but if we do not accept the whole we cannot have any part. It all comes from God ; but if you would tear out the preternatural from it, Christianity could no more live and have living power than the body of man could after you have torn out bone and nerves and brain.

There are people tremulously asking, What is to be the effect of all this ? Some are reading the skeptical parts of the story with the same feeling as Catherine had when her husband told her that he had lost his faith in a real and living Christ, and are trembling as they do so. We may consider its influence on various classes of people.

We know how it has been received by Unitarian students and younger ministers. The younger and abler men are not contented with their present position, and they are anxiously inquiring whether they cannot better it without falling back into the old orthodoxy. "Unitarianism of the old sort is, perhaps," says our novelist, "the most illogical creed that exists, and certainly it has never been the creed of the poor." No scholar or man of shrewd sense believes that Channing's creed can be found in the New Testament. The younger men are looking out for something new. You remember that Robert, when he died, committed his new religion to a Unitarian minister. They and Heber Newton are finding much in the book to

hold out hopes to them. Let me tell them that they will be greatly disappointed if they expect this to be a godsend to them. The older, the more sincere and thoughtful Unitarians, especially fathers and mothers, some of whom have spoken to me on the subject, may well look on what we may now call *Elsmatism* with deep anxiety. It places their young men and women on a sliding scale, down which some of them may slide into Agnosticism, which holds that we can discover no truth in religion. Nothing that has occurred will so try the sect, and it will probably send a portion of them to Phillips Brooks and help to let down others of them into the depths of nihilism.

Over those who have a fixed and intelligent faith, this book will have no effect even though they read it and admire Catherine, and be as greatly charmed with the provokingly interesting Rose as Langham was. Their first feeling may be "they have taken away the Lord." But this will only make them look out for Him, and find that the risen Lord appears to them with new power. Perhaps they will henceforth give less time to the reading of such novels.

But this reconstructed Christianity is to charm the working classes. I admit that the laboring classes have too much fallen away from Christian worship. I fear that there is more of this defalcation in this country than in England, Scotland, and Ireland, where I know of tens of thousands of parishes where the great body of the common people are to be seen devoutly worshipping in the house of God on the Sabbath. It is not so in many places in this country. The responsibility of this, and a fearful responsibility, lies on the churches. One of the first duties of the churches is to devise a means of recovering the laboring men with their wives and children. "To the poor the gospel is preached," and ministers must see that this is done, and that families are won by constant visitations among them.

Meanwhile *Elsmatism* is not fitted to do this. Of all proffered religions it is the least fitted to gain the laboring man. Some simpering ladies or gentlemen may be beguiled by the gliding, spotted serpent that beguiled Eve, but those who earn their bread by the sweat of their face are not likely to be so deceived. With them everything is real: their cares and privations, their joys and sorrows, fears and hopes, are real; and they must have a reality in their religion. They are not much addicted to the reading of romances; they feel that the kind of life there pictured is not a life for them. They would at once see through the ghostly fiction which Robert Elsmere presents to them. They would tell you that the men who earned a living by fishing on the Lake of Gennesaret were not likely to let their subjective faiths create objects which have no existence, and then worship them. I believe they would reject with scorn this fiction if presented to them, and call it a faith in ghosts. They have no taste for what is offered them so philosophically, "an unknowable reality beyond phenomena." They are not to be satisfied with a flower when what they need is food. If this fiction be pressed upon them, I am sure they will speedily, with their hard hands, crush it into a thousand pieces. What they want is a reality,

a loving, sympathizing Saviour, who toiled as they have toiled, and suffered as they have suffered, who died as they have to die, but who has also risen from the dead and brought up his people with Him.

But the reconstructed religion may reach and reform the discontented, the dangerous classes, the revolutionists, the secularists, the socialists, the dynamitists. Robert is pictured as laboring among these. I have visited such classes. I am bound to testify that even in the most horrid dens of iniquity, the abodes of burglars and murderers, I was never treated rudely when I spoke of one who died for sinners. I believe they would receive kindly, and even gratefully, one who treated them manfully and without condescension, as Robert Elsmere is represented as doing. But as to his creed, I know how they would treat it. Such men are commonly sharp enough and shrewd enough — shrewder in some things than our novelists or novel readers — dreadfully suspicious, and sharp to detect deception ; and if you told them that Jesus was created by the fancies of Galilean fishermen, I am sure they would laugh in your face, and if you insisted on their believing your doctrine, they would resent it as an imposture which you meant to lay upon them, and if you did not retreat they might tear not your creed, but yourselves into pieces.

We are told that the New Brotherhood still exists and grows. Perhaps there are some Americans who are hastening to go by the first trans-Atlantic vessel to see the grand experiment. It might be a pity to tell them that no such institution exists in London or anywhere else on this globe. But let them go and seek for it. They will find two or three charities in East London set up by accomplished people to improve the degraded classes by lectures, music, bath-rooms, and varied entertainments, but without any religious teaching. The tendency is so far good, though they are not regenerating the region. They do not propose to teach the creed of Robert Elsmere. The visitants will fall in with a more powerful agency. They will find men and women laboring to reclaim the ignorant and the lapsed in the darkest dens of our great cities, and in the wildest regions of cruelty among the heathen, but they will find that those thus employed have all been impelled by love to Him who came from heaven to earth to seek and save that which is lost. — *New York Ledger*, January 5, 1889.

JAMES MCCOSH.

PAGAN IDOLS OF ENGLISH MAKE.

DOES England *love* India? Or does she merely *value* that province of her flag?

In the year 1600 Elizabeth commissioned a company of London speculators to make money out of the natives of India, means not specified. Charles II. and his successors sold, and resold, to that company permission "to make war and peace on the native princes." The Georges furnished many soldiers for war, few statesmen for peace in India. The nation shouted praise to Clive and Hastings for armed subjugation of that kingdom of gold and gardens between the snowy springs of the Ganges and the tropic plains of the Carnatic. The argosies of trade, meantime, doubled the Cape laden with spoils from the princesses of Oude to make them the spoils of the princes in Leadenhall Street. Between 1833 and 1858 Parliament gradually retired the semi-private company of merchant invaders, retained their advantages, reserved the native peoples for "taxation without representation," and crowned Victoria empress of more than the empire of Tamerlane. And to-day, under the conqueror's title to all lands, she gathers an annual ground-rent and tax upon native industry of almost a round three hundred millions of dollars.

The question recurs: During these three hundred years in the rise of England and the fall of India, has England marched under the command: "Go ye all into the world and preach the gospel!" or under a self-made command to go and gain the whole world for herself, leaving the gospel to become her camp-follower, or tarry among her moss-thatched castles, at pleasure? Christ's kingdom or England's — which to enlarge? The Cross or the rupee — which her motto? Has her *purpose* been elevation of the bottom millions — and for their own sake — or the pulling down of the top handful — the mogul, the nizam, the nabob, the rich begum, and others? — to export Christian civil-

ization from Europe, or import heathen jewels from Asia? In one word, my question is not what the religious result of England in India, but what her impelling *motive* has been — has that been missionary, or mercenary?

My answer is “mercenary,” — money the object, Christ the incident. True, the Christian religion has followed England into India, but England has not led it thither. It has traveled, not in government ambulance, fed and clothed by act of parliament, but alone, on foot, armed with the Bible and a lunch-basket, and lodging by the roadside — always the pilgrim of private enterprise (most of it American) — the apostle of a personal devotion, not of a government conscience. Indeed, through many years of the reign of the East India Company, as agent of the British crown, Christian missionaries were *excluded* from India; and only within a lifetime has this English wall to keep the Word *out* of India been broken down. True it is, too, that the greater portion of the current exactions from India is left there in the forms of railways, telegraph lines, forts, wagon-roads, and the like. But it is chiefly to improve the crown property — to make the rice-field and the silk-loom of the subject native tributary to British commerce, glory, supremacy, and to confront him with a siege-gun on short notice, if, away in the Punjab, he revolts under the Buckingham harness, and attempts “home-rule.” It is simply the landlord of the manor putting his rents into new barns and better fences. It is not a gift to the tenant, but, as the re-investment makes his holding more enjoyable, so the master is likely to raise the rent. Even that pit-tance of the tax remaining in the form of a chapel and a rector at so-called “government expense,” is spent for the edification of the foreign agent and trader, not to carry the message of Christ unto the devotees of Brahma, or Buddha. English taxation in India supports no missionaries in India.

But why these questions? Why this persistent doubt whether, in totally eclipsing the continent of India, the remote little planet of the sea has positively set the candle of Christianity in the midst of the dark places, subduing heathenism as industriously as she has subdued the heathen? Well, a brief look for the higher motive in her Eastern politics of the past is

suggested by astonishment over the apparent absence of that motive there at present, as attested by current history.

The idols of India are of English manufacture.

This fact indicates an official, parliamentary indifference to the spiritual interest of the Indian subject; and perhaps the reproach has not before claimed the attention of the Christian public of this country, certainly not largely.

By the proxy of a sister, whose word and observation are worth at least my own, I am lately returned from British Burmah, after eight years of service in its Baptist mission fields. Hence I write in part as holding her pen, and with a missionary's praise for England's arms as the pioneer, and the guarantor of peace, in those fields, but also as having the wealth of traffic for her motive, and making all roads of traffic lead to London. The sleepless pathfinder for the missionary, England certainly is, but not with the prayer, that from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, his feet may *find* the path.

It is this lust of trade that has led England to permit, if not encourage, her domestic artisans to fashion, and her speculators to ship into India, the idols — the mock-gods — worshipped by its native millions, till the path of the gospel is rough with stumbling-blocks bearing a Christian trade-mark. With more than two hundred millions of ardent devotees to be supplied with all grades of gods for hut, palace, and pagoda, — painted blocks to be adored in the zenana and on a voyage, after a famine and before a fight, — India affords a large market for the idol industry. The field is a temptation to climb by pulling down which enterprising John Bull has not been able to resist. Brother Jonathan's obeisance to the almighty dollar, crossing the Atlantic, becomes John Bull's adoration of the pound sterling.

It is not an unusual occurrence for an East Indiaman from Liverpool, just through the Red Sea and the shadows of Sinai, to touch at Madras and Calcutta, then tie up at Rangoon, at each wharf landing a missionary from her cabin, and unloading a crate of graven images from her hold. Perhaps this is in pursuance of the queen's Indian proclamation in 1858, "that none shall be in anywise favored, none molested or disquieted by rea-

son of their religious faith and observances, but all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law." Hence her ships, bearing the evangel of "our God," must bear also the offspring of the British tool-box, that "all shall alike enjoy."

Open that Rangoon crate, tenderly tear away the shavings and the cotton packing, help into the light the dumb, feeble troop of gods, "images made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things." They are of wood, stone, and metal, and are supposed to be of the most adorable pattern, and the most propitious. First lifted into the Burman jobber's booth, they gather dust till the traders from the North row down their cargoes of oil, rice, and indigo, that fresh and rare English Buddhas, new Gautamas, may sail up the Salween and the Irrawaddy, thence to pass into the towns and jungle houses on the heads of peddling old women, and be purchased for a rupee, prayed to at all seasons, and danced about in the full of the summer moons. Meantime, the single-handed missionary gathers round him a feeble group of Burmans, or Karens, and accounts himself happy and of good report if, within the year, he persuades a dozen to pay unto the God of Sabaoth.

Yes, does England love the India whose image-worship and all its relations she thus fosters for a trade shilling? That the gods which are "the work of men's hands" come of Christian parentage — nominally so, at least — is one of the knottiest strings the mission worker has to unsnarl on her way to the pagan heart. Tah Ding says to the lady teacher: —

"You Inglo trade-man sella me wee wood god for two anna — say him smart god, deucey good fellow! Den you miss'n'y folk tella me, No; wood god be stick — poo' stick — true God be spirit — wonder power — writa book, de book, Book o' Life! Now, how Tah Ding know whichee white-face lie — big man as sella lot gods for rupee, or you queer little manning as give 'way God for no rupee, Book too, an' smila wen man take 'em?"

"Why do the heathen rage?" Well, puzzled by such conundrums, they have full cause to rage. The real wonder is that their rebellion against such Christian contradictions does not extend to expulsion of both the idol-peddler, and the colporteur

of Christ. Perhaps I write with a narrower knowledge of this abuse than I should possess ; but is not the presumption as definite as observation could make the proof, that the golden calf worshiped by England in India she does not refuse cutlets from in 'China or Zululand? Whenever pence make shillings, and shillings pounds, is not Trade the prince in Parliament?

Beyond the eight years, I do not know how long this cultivation of idolatry — this fence against evangelization — has obtained, or why this traffic in idols for India has awakened no more comment than the importation of tinned meats. Perhaps there is a feeling in the nation whose keel is in the sea that commerce is not a thing of conscience, or that, the idolater being sure of his graven image from some source, the Englishman would be foolish to leave the trade to the native. At any rate, it being established that the sovereignty of the so-called most Christian nation on the face of the globe permits its home subjects to urge upon its heathen dependents the symbols of the lowest idolatry on the face of the globe, may not the surprised Christian sense of this country persuade the upright queen of fifty years to add to her crown the jewel of annihilation for this traffic in idols? I think so.

But again, the governing race in India flatters the marketable gods, and profane the God of the missionary by forgetting to "remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy." There is no Sunday in its calendar of public works. For instance, under the maternal form of government which rocks that people in its arms, all street-making and mending, country path-hewing, railway and telegraph construction are the works of government employees ; and they are pushed without resting on the first day of the week. Thus the agents of the British crown hold up before the sharply observant idolater an object-lesson long as a railway-track to teach him that the missionary is a mistake. So the prejudice of the pagan and the example of pretending Christian civilization pull down, pull together, and against the uplift of the vast contributions to build under India the gospel foundation.

Likewise, openly and persistently many Englishmen holding local authority in India discourage the soldiers and their civil

followers from attendance upon religious services conducted by "the Yankee missionary." The bent of government service still seems mercenary and on a plane below recognition of the money value of Christianity at all times, and of the usury England gathers on the millions of dollars annually set at work in India by pious "Yankees." So the native scoffer, beholding the foreigner in shoulder-straps scoff too, feels in harmony with enlightened greatness, and often passes beyond moral reach of the soldier of the kingdom to come.

Even profanity and obscenity of speech, public drunkenness and social impurity — those old school-masters of iniquity in example — have an Anglican following that becomes a strong leading of the native mind and body into corruption. And crowning all these vicious facts, there comes to the Christian worker in India the conviction that heaven would be nigher to the Hindoo, if the Saxon of evil habit were farther off.

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CURFEW JESSELL: THE HISTORY OF A SOUL.

BY DR. JOSEPH PARKER, CITY TEMPLE, LONDON.

CHAPTER III.

CURFEW was right when he told Mr. Bruce that he had just been in London, but the information must be expanded a little if we are to make further acquaintance with Curfew's mental and spiritual condition. Curfew had been introduced to a most eccentric thinker at the house of a common friend in one of the suburbs of the metropolis, and had become deeply interested in the venerable man's way of looking at things. It is hardly to exceed the fact, indeed, to state that the old man and the comparative boy had fallen deeply in love with one another, and in a sense had become necessary to each other's completeness and happiness. The eccentric thinker spoke an archaic English, which admirably suited the manner of his thoughts, and invested them with the kind of natural authority which even skeptical minds cannot but respect. When Curfew next called upon Clarence Upfield, that erratic thinker was saying or reading aloud, —

"When the Canaanites built Beth Hogla" —

"Built what?" said Curfew, creating an interruption not at all displeasing.

"Beth Hogla," continued Mr. Upfield, "the House of the Revolver, a temple built to the heavens, they omitted the Living One and thought only of the medium, hence they said reproachfully" —

Curfew burst in with a strong condemnation of the Canaanites and all other Biblical *ites*.

"They traced the motion of the earth to the agency of the heavens, and called their idolatrous temple the House of the Decliner, and another temple they called Beth Marcaboth, the House of the Chariot, but Jehovah reigneth, let the earth revolve."

"Amen," exclaimed Curfew, with the affected flippancy which disguised his real thought, and by which he happily kept many curious minds at bay.

"The universe being in the form of an onion" —

"Come," said Curfew, "if you don't wish to be taken for a lunatic" —

"A Pelusian mystery, my boy, perfectly sane; a deflection of the Hebrew root which gives us our word 'heavens,' gives us also our word 'onions,' which the Persians worshiped as the emblems of their God — the heavens."

"Not a bit of connection can I see," said Curfew.

"Truly," rejoined Mr. Upfield, "we can only see aright when our eyes have been made clear by the light of his arrows, and the brightness of the gleam of his spear. But take the root and stem of an onion to represent the poles of the celestial sphere, when it is transversely or diagonally cut, it will exhibit the same number of circles as the ancients understood the heavens to be divided into by the courses of their orbs."

"What blessed donkeys the ancients must have been, after all," replied Curfew.

"My boy," Mr. Upfield tenderly said, "you are out of tone this morning. What aileth my best heart?"

"I have come for you, Mr. Upfield; you must go back with me. The parish priest has undertaken my case, and I want you to see him and advise me. My father and mother want very much to see you—certainly my mother does. I am taken for a heretic, or even a Dissenter, and you cannot imagine how much importance is attached to my sublimities. Come away."

"Fear not," said Mr. Upfield, as he prepared to accompany Curfew. "Have confidence in the sevenfold darts of the Divine Word: the tents of Cushan may be under trouble, and the curtains of Midian may be disturbed, but God's throne is machined upon the heavens, the conflicting ethers are the instruments of his strength, and the firmament is the expansion of his power."

A father's plaint: We are in a curious state at our house now. Things are becoming more and more bewildering. Curfew has brought his London friend, and I declare that I never saw or heard anything like him in all the world. My wife takes to him wonderfully, as I am sure old Mrs. Bligh would have done, but for my part, not being a Bligh, I don't mind saying I am rather afraid of him. He seems to be always mooning and dreaming about something, and to be making tremendous calculations about the universe, and to care no more about regular hours than if he had never seen a clock. What on earth he believes, or aims at, or is expecting, would puzzle a wiser head than mine to find out. To think that my boy, my only boy, should have fallen into such hands! Grandmother Bligh might have loved old Upfield, but Grandmother Jessell would soon have shown him the way back to London. At the same time I am bound to admit that the old man so wonderfully repays a good wash-up that I am surprised he does not wash regularly. What eyes the old fellow has! When he looks at me he seems to be looking at somebody a million miles behind me. All this is very uncanny. I don't like it because I am practical, and I do not care what size the stars are or how they keep on their wheels. I do hope Upfield will not get Curfew into his neglectful ways, for that would trouble my wife more even than his queer notions are likely to do. The Blighs might be peculiar, but they were the most particular people about cleanliness and regularity I ever knew. Old Mr. Bligh was a pattern of punctuality. I have seen him drop a swallow, whose body he was taking to pieces, and run like a boy when he heard the call-bell ring. Whatever will Upfield do with Mr.

Bruce ? Their meeting will be like a battle. Mr. Bruce feels everything so much, because he is so very nervous, I am afraid he will have a fit, and then who would be held responsible ? Old Upfield would not shed a tear if all the persons in the church fell down in a fit together. I call him a sort of atheist. I suppose he is what they mean by a Dissenter, a kind of harum-scarum fellow, who thinks the church is not the right way to heaven. I hate all such tricks. If Curfew had been a little bit wild, he might have sobered down, and come to take an interest in the property and been made the chairman of the Guardians, or he might even have become the chairman of the Quarter Sessions ; but he is ruining himself, and I blame the Blighs for it all. Look at poor Miller's girl, somewhere in London, no doubt. Poor fellow, it broke his heart. If Curfew had got wrong in that way he might have come right again, as I have just said. Poor Miller ! I do not mean to die as he did, because my boy has gone wrong in his head ; but I might have done it if it had been a girl.

Whilst the father was thus moralizing, Curfew was in the library with Mr. Upfield, who was assuring him that "matter as such has no weight." This went dead against Curfew's reason, and led him to try to lift the library table in refutation of the absurd theory.

"Quite right," said Mr. Upfield. "Fragments of the earth have what is called weight, but the earth as a whole cannot have any because its gravity tends to the centre of the mass."

"Here he comes," exclaimed Curfew, disregarding the philosophy. It was even so. The Rev. Walton Bruce was at the door, and Curfew trembled with delight. The ecstasy, however, was as short as it was sudden, for the moment Mr. Upfield saw Mr. Bruce, he turned to his papers and became absorbed in thought. The conversation was thus forced upon Curfew, when he had intended to have watched the humiliation and discomfiture of the clerical interlocutor. A brief reference to the former conversation was hardly necessary to enable so abrupt a speaker as Curfew to strike a point of origin wherever his fancy wanted one.

"I like," said he, "to study the comical side of God."

"My dear sir ?"

"That is the fact, I do assure you."

"You speak blasphemy, Mr. Jessell. You shock me !"

"Do you mean to say that God is not the greatest comedian ?"

"Sir ! I cannot remain ! I must go ! Never did such shocking blasphemy startle my ears before ! I wonder you are not struck dead !"

"I don't think my meaning is so dreadful as you suppose it to be ; so, if you please, stop a moment until we come to explanations. Did you ever see a kitten on the top of a pole, trying to clutch its own tail ?"

"The question is frivolous, Mr. Jessell ; I owe some respect to my office."

"But did you ever see such a thing ?"

"I may have done so, but it must have been in very early days and under circumstances I cannot recall."

"Well, I can never look at a kitten in that attitude and believe that its Maker did not laugh heartily when He made the kitten."

"This is revolting!" said Mr. Bruce.

"Did you ever visit any well-stocked zoölogical gardens?" Curfew continued.

"Yes, to admire the wonders of nature, to admire and adore."

"So have I. The comedy is perfect there. I have seen a bird five feet high standing on one leg, and looking so awfully solemn that people have burst into laughter the instant they caught sight of it. Do you suppose God intends them to do anything else? I have no doubt in the world that He laughed when He made that bird. Look at a monkey; could God have made a monkey without laughing all the time He was doing it?"

"This is a vale of tears, and a dying world," said Mr. Bruce in his strongest official tone.

"Possibly; but as long as these laughable objects are in it, we are quite right in laughing at them. Funnily-shaped animals are Divine jokes. A bird with a beak bigger than the rest of his body is God's way of setting riddles. A cage of monkeys illustrates God's way of playing at charades. Don't frown at me, Mr. Bruce; I am not saying anything but the sober truth. Now think of it, and you will see I am right."

Mr. Bruce would have left the house at this moment but for the entrance of the elder Jessell, who had purposely kept out of the way until he supposed the worst of the controversial storm had blown over.

"Mr. Jessell," said the clergyman, "your appearance is opportune. I am simply bewildered. In fact I am stupefied. I can hardly tell the difference between a straight line and a crooked one."

"There are no straight lines," interposed Mr. Upfield. "Straight lines are impossible."

Mr. Jessell and Mr. Bruce simply gazed upon one another in stony despair. "Perhaps," said the clergyman with a sneer, "you will try to persuade us that there are no circles."

"Circles are impossible," added the redoubtable Upfield, "the fairest of them is but a rough polygon."

This was more than could be borne, in fact it was sheer insanity; measures ought to be taken at once to get Upfield safely back to London, and safely kept there if possible. The old gentleman said:—

"Know ye not that Deity proceeds by geometry? Know ye not that the bible of the multiplication table is inspired by the Living One, and is both an eternal thought and an eternal necessity? Know ye not that the chariot of God is drawn by steeds of light?"

The result of this burst of interrogation was to send Mr. Jessell right out of the room, and make him literally groan in the open air. It was too bad. His only boy, too. But it was the Blighs, no doubt of that; Curfew was Grandfather Bligh over again. The Jessells had always been on the side of common sense. But as for these darts and chariots, and no straight

lines, and all mixed up with the multiplication-table : it was just as sure to bring a bad name on his house — Mr. Jessell had got thus far when Curfew found him, and said, "My dear father, do be quiet; do you know that every groan you heave alters the general level of the Atlantic?" This was more than mortal man could endure. Mr. Jessell ran down the garden path, and moaned in an agony of woe.

CHAPTER IV.

MR. UPFIELD was soon back in London. His last assurance to Curfew was that one day "refraction itself will drop its singularity, and stand out as only a sub-example of common dynamics." Curfew said he was willing, and indeed the sooner the better, "But," he added, "you have left me a battle to fight here in which one of the parties must go to the wall." "Beware," replied the departing heretic, "of all clerical persons who do not know the planetary psalms, clayheads who know not the many mansions of the Father, and hold no commerce with the angels."

"You mean that delightful *pater in deo*, the parish priest?" No answer was given. Short and enigmatical were the maledictions of Mr. Upfield, for he was just saying that "the motion of a planet becomes so accelerated when it reaches the lower apsis of the ellipse," when the train rolled away to the all-absorbing and all-neglecting London.

As to the apprehended fight, Curfew's fears were groundless. There was, however, one interview with his mother which he had not calculated upon, and which he welcomed with delight. Heretic or no heretic, Curfew was passionately fond of his mother. This is not a bad sign in any man. Is not the sweet mother, so full of yearning and sympathy, the very image of God to us? Does she not always touch our trouble with a skill learned in heaven? My heart aches with a kind of bitter joy as I ask the question, because the inquiry brings up the image of the mother who always loved me back from my own wanderings and prayed me back from my own despair. Surely she plays the mother still, even in the household of the angels! For mother to be anything but mother, in any of God's worlds, is impossible. Mrs. Jessell was a motherly-mother on account of her great heart, her overflowing sympathy, her gentle pity, all ennobled by an imagination which refused to accept even the horizon as a final boundary. How, then, did such a woman come to marry Mr. Jessell? Precisely because she was such a woman. Without such a heart ruled by such an imagination she would not have looked at him, notwithstanding his respectability and his substance. Who can tell what any woman sees in any man? What does the vine see in the trellis? Her womanliness is its own inspiration, so much so that the apparent mistakes she makes in the choice of life-companionship may be but confusing aspects of that sacrificial spirit which at once foreshadows and glorifies the instinct of motherhood. Within the parochial Mr. Jessell there was another Mr. Jessell whom she loved, and now doubly loved because Curfew was his son.

"But, my boy, tell me all you know about this man. I was certainly interested in him, and you have no occasion to be ashamed of him; but you must admit, Curfew, that he is eccentric."

"Very."

"Perhaps even a little insane — that is — well — yes — insane?"

"Mother," said Curfew, "I saw you understood my friend" —

"Well, no, dear, there you are wrong" —

"Not a bit of it; I don't mean you understood his words; I know very little about his words myself; but you understood the man, the man's soul, the music that breathes in him — you 'rose' to him; you seemed to have met him in some other world."

Mother and son were silent awhile.

"I feel sure he is not taking you on the downward road, Curfew."

"You don't know what you owe that man, mother. I love him. In a sense, I worship him. I never knew the bigness and the grandeur of things until I knew him. Mind, I don't understand his words, but I am lifted up by his magnificent inward life" —

"He is good, then, as well as singular — as well as deep."

"The best of men. The very kindest of souls. Imposed upon seven days every week in the year. Mother, through him I understand something of the Son of God!"

What! Flippant Curfew hesitates. Madcap Curfew dries away quick tears. Priest-despising Curfew looks the upward look which heaven calls prayer.

"I am so glad to hear it, Curfew. I am not surprised."

"I know you are not. You are akin to him in soul. There is a spiritual heredity, — a whole family in heaven and on earth."

"Your father is afraid you are giving up good things."

"I am just beginning to realize them, mother. I see men as trees walking. I put on a good deal of the Philistine to hide my feeling. That is how I have frightened Mr. Bruce. That man needs frightening. He is not a messenger from heaven. He opens no kingdom. He carries no burden of the Lord. He is a shadow, not a light."

"But, my dear, he is a most respectable person."

"Infinitely too respectable," said Curfew. "Respectability never did anything for the world. A man must 'receive' sinners if he would save them; he must sometimes be mistaken for a sinner; he must love sinners because of their very sin."

All this warmed the mother's heart, for she saw its best meaning, and recognized Christ's gospel in its unfamiliar form of words. After a moment's happy silence, Curfew said, "Mother, will you pray with me now just as you did when I was a little child?"

The Rev. Walton Bruce had been so staggered that it was impossible for him to settle down to parish work without first seeking the sympathy

and counsel of a brother clergyman. But even here he was only reminded of the loss he had sustained by the death of his nearest clerical neighbor, who had lived and died without ever opening his mind to the reception of an idea. The Rev. Cyrus Ayre had an unutterable veneration for godfathers and godmothers, and on that veneration had established himself in the confidence of the whole parish of Buttersfield. Talk who might about the origin of species, the Rev. Cyrus fell back with holy trust upon godfathers and godmothers, and often piously asked himself what they had promised and vowed for him in his baptism. That was the comfort of his life, and had been the stay of his death. His devoted housekeeper told afterwards that the good man was "took off just as he was saying godfa—." As to his fate, therefore, who can doubt? And now the parish was in the hands of a priest comparatively young to be a vicar, and wholly unknown to the Rev. Walton Bruce, beyond the rumor that he had been trained originally for the ministry of another communion. His hope was that the mantle of Ayre had fallen upon the shoulders of Bell, and that, consequently, godfathers and godmothers occupied their place of honor in the parish. In this hope Mr. Bruce called upon the Rev. Boston Bell, with a view to the solace of his feelings and the relief of his embarrassment. A brief introduction sufficed to open the conversation.

"As to godfathers and godmothers," said Mr. Bell, "they are mere names and symbols; the age has outgrown them."

"But we are bound by the record, my dear sir."

"Yes and no, Mr. Bruce. No record can bind living men on religious questions and progressive sciences. Mark you, I do not deny the record, nor in any way discredit it; the record is simply superseded; in its own day it did its own work; for the future it must be reckoned dead and gone."

Mr. Bruce felt dead and gone also. He put out his hands, but found nothing to rest them upon. He looked out, but a thick mist hung over the fields. He looked up, but the ceiling of the vicarage was covered with the smoke of years. And Mr. Bruce, be it remembered, had come for comfort!

"Mr. Bell," said he with unfeigned earnestness, "what does it all mean?"

"Progress. We are going on, Mr. Bruce. We must follow the truth. The banner is being borne up the mountain."

"Do you mean to say, then, that the church is about to come down? Is the church of our fathers to come down? To be thrown down?"

"Never! Forms of the church will come down. Aspects of the church will change. Officers of the church will pass away. But the church that loves truth and does good is indestructible."

This only increased the mystery. Mr. Bruce could understand a church holding its ground, or a church being violently shaken down, but could not grasp the idea of a church dying into some nobler life, or passing out of identity by the imperceptible process of growth. There is a ghostliness about progress which some minds can never appreciate.

"What wonder," sighed Mr. Bruce, "that we have comets and judgments! I wonder we have not ten thousand more."

"Why?"

"All this going on. Men shaking off everything. All is changing, and on every hand change, change, change."

"Nothing is changing that is worth keeping. God takes pleasure in his unchangeableness, so ought man. Be hopeful of the young, Mr. Bruce. Give them field-room. Don't meet them with suspicion, but let them have plenty of sunshine, and in the end all will be well."

Boston Bell's religion was not an importation which his soul had agreed to take charge of in return for certain wages or rewards expressed in the promise of heaven, a place where the soul would have nothing to do but consume the good things which had been gathered on earth. His religion was not in his soul, his soul was in his religion. Boston Bell was therefore considered by many to be a reckless person, hopelessly unsafe as a spiritual adviser, and shamefully indifferent to the heterodoxies which were multiplying around him. All the neighboring clergy had undertaken to maintain and defend the recognized Faith, and here was a man who actually left the law of gravitation to take care of itself! This reckless Bell assured himself that God was over all, and that God had undertaken to fulfill a purpose, and having faith in God, in that great faith he found great peace. But to have been popular with the clergy he ought to have been in a chronic fever of fear lest God would be worsted in the battle. The fever of the neighboring clergy could be expressed in terms of meteorology, and thus they vindicated their claim to be the defenders of the Faith, whereas Boston Bell left the whole issue of life's thought and life's tragedy in the gentle and mighty hands of God. Was this indifference, or fatalism? Was this selfishness, or indolence? Neither. It was earnestness well-directed. It was a philosophy which prevented him spending his strength on the wrong objects and thus wasting it. If a man should sit up all night to see the seed grow, would he be wise, faithful, helpful? If a man should wind up an eight-day clock every night, would he be industrious or wasteful? Would he be wise or foolish? If a man should lie awake all night lest the sun should not rise in the morning, would his wakefulness be piety or otherwise? Boston Bell noticed that many men were profoundly orthodox in the metaphysics they did not understand, and profoundly heterodox as to the providence which made every day a revelation of the Divine Throne. In the blessed assurance that God had undertaken to save the world, Boston Bell found rest and music and joy.

CHAPTER V.

THE comfort which Mr. Bruce could not find in the progressive Mr. Bell, he found, in some measure, in Mrs. Oldbody, a worthy parishioner who never changed an opinion, and never opened a book; a religiously nervous

parishioner, who lived by the fixed calendar without ever asking why, and who assumed the simple fact of the universe without wickedly inquiring into its constitution. Mrs. Oldbody had her quiet amusements, like all other civilized persons, notably a love of whist, which reconciled her to damp weather, and always made her willing to welcome any three visitors, whatever the pretence upon which the visit was founded. It is said by loose-minded and incautious persons that more than once Mrs. Oldbody was on the point of asking Mr. Bruce himself if he would "take a hand," but the story must be received with reserve, being founded almost wholly upon the simple fact, which might occur in any reputable house, that Mr. Bruce once found a pack of cards upon her drawing-room sofa, and looked at it vaguely, as if with mingled wonder and innocence. His look might have expressed mere curiosity, or the insular ignorance of an Englishman, or the fascination of a religious baby; certainly it does not supply sufficient basis for the malicious report that Mrs. Oldbody ever even thought of asking the vicar to "take a hand." Whenever any audacious person spoke upon the religious excitements of the day, whether represented by new preachers, new books, or new missionaries, Mrs. Oldbody would say: "Better not meddle with things that are too high for us, — Mary, dear, get out the cards, and we'll cut for deal." But everybody cannot avail themselves of Mrs. Oldbody's peculiar solace, a reply which Mrs. Oldbody would retort upon with the remark, "So much the worse for them." The vicar is now in conference with the lady.

"It is young Jessell who is giving me all this trouble, Mrs. Oldbody."

"I don't wonder, sir; I have been a good deal disappointed with Curfew. A year or two back I thought he was a very nice boy. He used to come in and take a — take anything that might be going — anything, one may say. He was so good-natured, and would always play dum — I mean he was remarkably agreeable."

"Got so many new and absolutely unintelligible views," said the vicar.

"It is just pride and vanity, Mr. Bruce. Why are not people content with the Prayer Book and Bible? I am sure I want nothing else. What do they want to be at? — Mary, dear, get out the — yes, dear, get out the tea, and Mr. Bruce will stay."

"He is breaking his father's heart, I fear," the vicar remarked.

"But not his mother's, I'll be bound," Mrs. Oldbody interposed. "Mrs. Jessell is very peculiar. I have nothing to say against her. But do you know, I think she will rather encourage Curfew in this kind of wildness, and be rather proud of it; don't you know what I mean?"

"I know too well, Mrs. Oldbody, — alas, too well."

"I feel for you, sir, for of course anything of that sort, like poor Mr. Miller's case, in the parish" —

"Just so," the vicar interrupted, "that is the very point I have to consider. That is what I thought of in the case of my dear aunt, who, you remember but for a most merciful providence, might have expired in a public conveyance!"

When the vicar touched upon the subject of his dear aunt and the coach, his feelings soon became stormy and his agitation increased.

"But your venerable aunt" —

"She was but sixty-two, Mrs. Oldbody, at the time of her lamented decease." Mr. Bruce was personally sensitive about sixty-two.

"Just so. She looked more, and would no doubt have become venerable had her valuable life been spared. Now, your dear aunt, Mr. Bruce, could have given good advice to young Curfew. None better."

"Very true, Mrs. Oldbody, very true. To the last she had a strong aversion to new ideas, new speculations, new hobbies of all kinds. Of course she had casually heard of what is wickedly called 'modern thought ;' quite casually — and it pained her very soul. I am sure she daily expected a judgment. But as you were saying, Mrs. Oldbody, it is the parish I have to think of. A clergyman is not at liberty to think of himself alone. He not only lives in the parish, but *for* the parish, ridicule the prepositions who may."

"The who, sir?"

"A grammatical term, Mrs. Oldbody, of a totally harmless nature, at the same time as useful as it is expressive. Presently some other person will be starting up with new ideas, and the parish will become a bear-garden, and the Vicarage itself may become an object of contempt" —

"Oh, Mr. Bruce!"

"Quite within the bounds of possibility, my dear madam. There is no limit to the audacity of such men as young Jessell. A person, madam, who has, I assure you, entirely lost my confidence. Mrs. Oldbody, I have no wish to alarm you, but as a matter of fact I could now, at this very moment, make the blood curdle in your veins!"

Mary Butler, Mrs. Oldbody's niece by marriage, and now her resident companion, was made most uneasy by this last remark, but her ill-concealed vexation was thought to be quite natural.

"Nothing of a criminal nature on the young man's part, sir?"

"That depends, Mrs. Oldbody, upon what you mean by criminal. The word may be variously interpreted. I call it criminal. I do not scruple to call it intensely criminal. What do you think of God being described as a comedian?"

"A what, Mr. Bruce? Mr. Bruce, do explain!"

"You may well ask me, dear madam. I do not exaggerate when I say, Mrs. Oldbody, that in one brief night I could blanch your hair."

Mrs. Oldbody's hair was already white, but rhetoric, when it takes to metaphor, however feeble, is not limited by facts.

"Then there is something criminal, after all? Something like poor Miller's case?"

"I'll answer for it there is not," said Mary, with nervous decision.

"Not criminal in any penal sense," the vicar pursued, eying Mary with new interest; "not at all analogous to Miller's case. No — no — I admit that, but, my dear ladies, I appeal to you both; what do you think of the Divine attributes being mocked?"

"By whom?" Mary inquired with recovered composure.

"By young Jessell, Miss Butler. The observations upon that subject which he made would simply drive reason itself to distraction. My very sleep has been taken from me. We are undoubtedly at this moment upon a brink. I can compare it to nothing but a brink, and for my part, I cannot pretend to have formed a very favorable opinion of brinks."

"Nor I," said Mrs. Oldbody; "we have all heard of the brink of ruin, but never did we expect to come within a mile of it."

"My dear lady," the vicar instantly remarked, "we are now upon it. We are looking over it. We are slipping down it. The church itself is on the slippery move. The steeple reels. Mrs. Oldbody, I could, without breach of confidence, paralyze you from head to foot."

Mary retired. Mrs. Oldbody took time to think, and then said: "There is nothing in the papers, I hope, Mr. Bruce? Such as there was in poor Mr. Miller's case, you know?"

"The papers, madam, contain nothing, can indeed contain nothing, so paralyzing as I can relate. My dear lady, I could send a tremor through the earth on which we sit."

"Oh, do relate it, Mr. Bruce, for nothing is so bad as suspense. Not that I am curious, but suspense kills me."

"It is to the clergy, madam, that I refer—to my own cloth—in a sense, to my own flesh and blood: in short, to a neighboring vicar—do not be startled—and if I intrust you with the name of Bell, you will not violate my confidence?" The vicar lay back a little, and expected results. "Note, please, how delicately I put it,—the name of Bell."

"I never did like the name of Bell," Mrs. Oldbody added sympathetically, "for in Mr. Oldbody's time we had a wicked gardener of that name,—a most wicked man he was, he must have forged his references—who sold vegetables out of the garden, and twice in one year asked in a most abrupt manner for an increase of wages. I am thankful to say that year was his last."

"Madam, that was bad enough. Far be it from me to aid and abet what are called democratic sentiments"—

"Oh, Mr. Bruce, do you mean to say there are any such sentiments?"

"Madam, they abound; they are rampant; they seethe and boil; they foam and bubble"—

"Oh, where? Mr. Bruce, do in confidence tell me where?"

"Everywhere, madam. Naturally most of all in our large towns, principally in manufacturing districts. Long chimneys and short consciences go"—he was about to say hand in hand, but in this instance the metaphor was too violent—"go together: swing together. Smoke and disloyalty are sworn allies; I say sworn allies; blasting furnaces, and"—

"Oh, Mr. Bruce, do hold yourself in check."

"I said I could paralyze you, Mrs. Oldbody; I knew I could blanch you; I was about to say, blasting"—

"Oh, Mr. Bruce, shall I touch the bell?"

"You may well inquire, madam, but I pray you hear me out. I desire to be heard. I pray to be allowed the relief of expression. I need sympathy ; I die for want of it ; want of sympathy crushes my soul ; I am the despised vicar "—

"No, sir, no," said Mrs. Oldbody ; "there you overstep the line. No one despises the vicar of Overton. No, no ; but I must ask one thing as a favor, Mr. Bruce ; don't, if you can possibly help it, let anything get into the papers."

"Not for worlds, madam ; not for ten thousand worlds, nor for twice ten thousand !"

"I mean the awful language you have just employed. That is the very word our wicked gardener was so fond of when he was angry."

Mary here returned, and the current of the conversation was broken. She remained but a few minutes, however, and immediately on her leaving the room, Mrs. Oldbody rose to assure herself that the door was closed, coughed softly, and then confidentially addressed the bewildered vicar.

"What I tell you, Mr. Bruce, must never get into the papers, — in particular not into that wicked paper the '*Local Flag*.'"

"On that, madam, take my word of honor."

"I fear that my niece and Curfew Jessell have a secret correspondence in hand."

"Madam, am I amazed ? Do I look amazed ? Have you blanched me ?"

"The thing about it, sir, which gives me most anxiety is that it is written in what they call shorthand, so that I cannot make out a word of it. Curfew used to play dum — I mean that Curfew was very silent. But I little suspected what he was thinking about, and what they were plotting"—

"That is the right word, Mrs. Oldbody, and when the word is right, stick to it. Oh, yes, plotting — wicked, wicked plotting."

"Of course you know she is only my niece by marriage, and I have no wish to say anything against a man who has been in his grave ten years, at least, ten years come Michaelmas ; at the same time he took in a number of books and papers which I never cared for, in fact, I never understood. But I must say they had a very unsettling look, not at all as if they could comfort anybody."

"Mrs. Oldbody, it is not too much to say that mysteries abound. Mysteries multiply. Mysteries darken the air."

"They do, Mr. Bruce, and what is this shorthand but a wicked invention ? It looks wicked. There's nothing English about it. I call it the sort of stuff one sees on foreign tea-caddies. I say so. It is as if a hen had walked over the paper in wet weather."

"And what you say is right, Mrs. Oldbody, but the whole thing is of a piece, and government cannot too soon interfere. The cankerworm is in this parish. We are even worse than Sodom and Gomorrah, and judgment must come. What with comedians, and zoölogical gardens and dramas

and novels, that young man has made my head swim ; we shall next be hearing of gambling and thimble-rigging, conjurors and card-sharpers " —

" Oh, Mr. Bruce, do you really think so ? "

" At any moment, madam ; nothing would surprise me ; I am so hardened, madam, that surprise is now impossible ; when things once begin to spin round and round, and the very sun and moon seem to be signs upon a gigantic teetotum, who can tell one day from another, and who can be sure that the very church itself is not, one may say, all in a whirl and a buzz ? "

" Mr. Bruce, I feel something coming on. I see something stalking up and down in the air."

" And well you may, Mrs. Oldbody. A good deal has already come on me, and more is coming. Mrs. Oldbody, can you take a word in confidence ? May I deposit a secret in the urn of your honor ? "

" Mr. Bruce, water may run up hill, and ducks may say their souls are not their own, but a secret I will never part with. I look upon a secret " —

" Enough, Mrs. Oldbody. Enough."

" Yes, sir, according to the common saying, enough is as good as a feast."

" Quite so, madam ; I think we ought to make more of such old sayings than we do ; but what I was going to say is that young Jessell had the impertinence to call me a dramatist ! *Me*, madam, *me* ! Was I wrong in saying I could paralyze your very soul ? "

" My dear vicar, are we not, one may say, in the valley of delusions ? "

" Madam, we are in the pit of dismay."

" Just what I was reading about the day before yesterday, and what I dreamed about last night, came as true as " —

Mrs. Oldbody always broke down at parallels and became weak as other women, nor could the vicar help her at this time, for his narrow but powerful mind was in a whirl, and the universe was nothing but a troubled cloud. The two souls looked at each other in mute grief, for the things of ancient time were despised.

" Mrs. Oldbody, in hours such as this, my comfort is in the churchyard."

" Not yet, my dear vicar. For God's sake, do not say it in my hearing ! "

" This very moment, madam, and I must hasten to its soothing solaces. I cannot help it. I must go. I must go alone."

" Oh, Mr. Bruce, let me get you something. I will get you something."

" No, madam, no ; amongst the quiet dead I shall feel at rest."

" But consider, sir, what the papers will say if anything should happen ? Remember poor Mr. Miller's case."

" You misunderstand me, dear madam. I merely seek to be tranquillized by communing with those whose lot fell in happier times, who loved the church and trusted her, who knew their duty and did it, who never asked a question, and therefore never feverishly expected an answer. I am at home amongst them. They lived comfortably, and they died happily, as in many and many an instance I can officially testify. To their peaceful companionship I now betake myself. In their society my heart will be quieted as with a balm."

"You won't harm yourself, will you, sir?"

"Have no fear, Mrs. Oldbody; are not five sparrows sold for two farthings?"

"That I really cannot tell you, sir."

"It was so in ancient times and sacred places, and the value is likely to be the same to-day."

"There would not be much profit made upon them, sir."

The vicar was too deeply affected to reply. To have been in some cowardly way compared to a zoological garden, or to have had his name flippantly associated with a menagerie, had cast a mean and degrading reflection upon himself and his spotless ancestry. To have been connected with the churchyard would have been professional, even though wanting in geniality, but to be thought of in association with what was little better than a wild beast show, and to be told in an insolent tone to go to it for illustrations respecting Providence, was more than clerical human nature could either tolerate or forgive.

When Mr. Bruce retired, Mrs. Oldbody fell into monologue and said many things unconnectedly. Connection was never the strong point in Mrs. Oldbody's garrulity. "We shall have the Miller case over again," said she. "Poor man; I suppose he really was blind; I hope he did not deceive himself; why should a man deceive himself by thinking he is blind when he is not blind? And that wicked boy! Oh, that shameful deceiver! But still I blame the daughter. I always thought her flighty. So is Curfew. One would think their native air did not agree with them. . . . Whatever could he mean about the sparrows? It was very odd he should go on so. Why does he not tell Mr. Jessell to put a curb on Mrs. Jessell? Poor Mr. Oldbody used to put a curb upon me, I know, or at least try to. Women were made to suffer. . . . I must really go out."

[*To be continued.*]

THE WOMAN'S NATIONAL COUNCIL.

AN ADDRESS TO THE ORGANIZATIONS OF WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE International Council of Women, held at Albaugh's Opera House, Washington, D. C., March 25 to April 1, 1888, convened by the National Woman Suffrage Association, addressed by nearly one hundred women from seven different countries, and representing fifty-three national societies, was the first attempt to unify the spirit and method of the world's organized womanhood. Under the nine general topics of Education, Philanthropy, Temperance, Industries, Professions, Legal Conditions, Political Conditions, Moral Education, and Organization itself (as the essential prerequisite of the most effective work in all these lines), a representative body of women took grave counsel together, and, without one dissonant note, the mighty chorus of harmonious purpose sounded through the civilized world. It is perfectly safe to say that never before did the nation's womanhood by a single demonstration so impress its thought, its sympathy, and its purpose upon the public mind. This proved the well-nigh resistless power of associated effort. It was the harvest of forty years spent in seed-sowing; the hour was ripe for it; an earlier effort would have been premature if not impossible.

The chief outcome of this great meeting was a still wider evolution of woman's work. A permanent International Council was projected (to which none but National Councils can be eligible as auxiliaries), and a National Council for the United States was formed (to which none but National Associations within the United States can be eligible as auxiliaries). The names of the officers of the National Council are affixed to this address. The purpose of this National Council is thus stated in its constitution:—

We women of the United States, sincerely believing that the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater

unity of thought, sympathy, and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the family and the state, do hereby band ourselves together in a confederation of workers committed to the overthrow of all forms of ignorance and injustice, and to the application of the golden rule to society, custom, and law.

The report of the committee that submitted this constitution contains this additional statement : —

We are strongly in favor of such a federation, believing that it will incalculably increase the world's sum total of womanly courage, efficiency and *esprit de corps* ; that it will widen our horizon, correct the tendency to an exaggerated impression of one's own work as compared with that of others, and put the wisdom and experience of each at the service of all.

The cosmopolitan character of the Council is shown in Article II. of its constitution, which reads as follows : —

This Council is organized in the interest of no special propaganda, and has no power over its auxiliaries beyond that of suggestion and sympathy ; therefore, no society voting to become auxiliary to this Council shall thereby render itself liable to be interfered with in respect to its complete organic unity, independence, or methods of work, or be committed to any principle or method of any other society, or to any utterance or act of the Council itself beyond compliance with the terms of this constitution.

These terms relate wholly to the conditions of membership, which are as follows : —

Any society of women, the nature of whose work is satisfactory to the Executive Committee, as to either its undoubtedly national character or national value, may become auxiliary to this Council by its own vote, and by the payment of a sum amounting to half a cent yearly per member, in addition to a triennial payment of twenty-five dollars,¹ into the treasury of the National Council, not later than three months prior to its triennial meetings.

¹ As all societies in the National Council are given equal representation in that body by its constitution, without regard to the size of their membership, the general officers of the Council have unanimously decided to recommend a change in the constitution at the first meeting of the Council, in 1891, by which a uniform triennial fee of \$100 shall be substituted for the annual and triennial fees above mentioned ; and the general officers will assume the responsibility of admitting societies to membership on this new basis, if preferred, until such amendment can be passed upon at the first meeting of the Council.

Article III. reads as follows: "The officers shall be a President, Vice-President at Large, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer. Each President of an auxiliary society shall be *ex-officio* Vice-President of the National Council, and the President of the National Council shall be *ex-officio* Vice-President of the International Council. The five general officers, with the Vice-Presidents, shall constitute an Executive Committee, of which seven members shall make a quorum, to control and provide for the general interests of the Council.

The meetings of the National Council are to be triennial, and the committee of arrangements for them is composed of the Executive Committee and one delegate chosen by each auxiliary society as its representative.

The address is sent to all national organizations of women, earnestly inviting them to become auxiliary to the Council by formal action at their next executive session, to be reported to our Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Indianapolis, Ind.

The leading object of this new movement is to aggregate all local societies *having the same object* into national societies eligible to auxiliaryship in the National Council of Women. For instance, the clubs organized by women in all the leading cities have thus far been isolated, but it is hoped that a convention will be called within a year to form a national federation of women's clubs; the influence of individual clubs would be increased by coming into such a federation, and the federation would be eligible to auxiliaryship in the National Council. The same is true of the women's protective agencies and many other excellent societies that have been organized, locally, but not as yet generally.

It is confidently anticipated that all national organizations of women will within the next two years become auxiliary to the National Council, and be ready to participate through their representatives in the first triennial meeting of the Woman's National Council, to be held in Washington in the spring of 1891.

We also suggest the unification of all local societies into women's councils for each town or city, and the aggregation of

all state societies into state and territorial councils, that this general plan of solidarity may be made helpful to the utmost possible degree, bringing women of all sects and sections into mutual acquaintance, efficiency, and fellowship. The simplicity of the plan is one of its chief advantages.

The local council of women would be made up of the presidents of all societies of women in a given locality, and might have a headquarters of its own, with an office secretary, and hold meetings quarterly. This council would naturally enter unitedly upon such lines of work as all the societies could agree upon. The state council would naturally hold meetings annually. It is believed that such a plan of interaction, combined with the organic independence of each society, will broaden the outlook of individual members and lead to larger mutual toleration between organizations heretofore separate, and to a great degree non-sympathetic; that it will do away with the overlapping of plans that now leads to much waste of time and energy, and that its influence would be sufficient to secure almost any local reform either small or great.

As an illustration of the practical working of the plan, it may be stated that such a council of women might, if it were the general desire, arrange for petitions from all societies of women in any given town or city asking that women should be placed on the school board; on the different boards intrusted with the care of public institutions for the defective, delinquent, and dependent classes; asking for the admission of women to membership, and to an official standing, also, in local, county, and state organizations, such as press associations, medical associations, Sunday-school and ecclesiastical associations, etc.; asking that the doors of such schools and colleges as are not yet open to women may be thrown open for their admission; asking for gymnastic and industrial training for girls in the public schools; asking for better protection for the home, and more judicious penalties for all crimes against girls and women. In short, local and state councils might take the same action in local and state affairs that the National Council will take regarding institutions and movements of national character and scope. It will be readily seen that greatly added force will

come from any such movement, whether local, state, or national, when it is backed by the *united* societies of the locality, state, or nation, and that with a small expenditure of money and time, all these societies, while carrying on separately their own individual work for which they were organized, may also do an immense work for womanhood at large along the lines on which all can agree to unite in sympathy, influence, and effort. To carry out such plans on so large a scale will require time, but there is every reason to believe that the women of the nation will persist in a quiet but intelligent endeavor, having in view the ends herein stated, until success shall crown their great but altogether practicable movement.

Already the organizations of women in Chicago have formed a local council, and a similar movement has been inaugurated in Philadelphia, Detroit, and Providence. Ohio and Kansas have organized state councils.

Such unification of all local and state organizations will at once illustrate on a small scale what on a large scale the National Council is expected to accomplish for the welfare of humanity. But it is to be distinctly understood that under the constitution of the National Council only national societies of women are eligible to membership therein.

A form of constitution for local and state councils, and other hints and helps for organizing, will be furnished on application to Mrs. May Wright Sewall, Indianapolis, Ind., Corresponding Secretary of the Woman's National Council.

Editors, writers, and speakers are all earnestly requested to further with their respective facilities the plans herein stated. But we here address ourselves especially to the leaders among women, urging upon their prayerful thought the possibilities of blessing bound up in the organized womanhood of our country ; a country which surpasses all others in its bewildering danger and ineffable hope.

Women have never yet united in large numbers save for good purposes ; it is safe to predict that they never will. Their isolation one from another is in the interest of brute force ; their combination means the dominance of peace and spiritual power, the purification, protection, and coronation of the home ; and

home is the shrine for whose sacred sake all that is good and true on earth exists. Happy are we who live to see the day when the women of our native land are clasping hands with a purpose so high and in a unity so holy, which may God bless.

FRANCES E. WILLARD, Evanston, Ill.,

President of the Woman's National Council.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Rochester, N. Y.,

Vice-President at Large.

M. LOUISE THOMAS, 680 Lexington Ave., New York City,

Treasurer.

MARY F. EASTMAN, Tewksbury, Mass.,

Recording Secretary.

MAY WRIGHT SEWALL, 843 N. Pennsylvania Street, Indianapolis Ind.,

Corresponding Secretary.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE VOICE FROM THE CROSS. A Series of Sermons on our Lord's Passion by eminent living Preachers of Germany, including Rev. Drs. Ahlfeld, Baur, Bayer, Couard, Faber, Frommel, Gerok, Hähnelt, Hansen, Kögel, Luthardt, Mühe, Mullensiefen, Nebe, Quandt, Schrader, Schröter, Stöcker, and Teichmüller, with Biographical Sketches. Edited and translated by WILLIAM MACINTOSH, M. A., F. S. S., Mitglied des deutschen evangelischen Schulvereins; author of "Through Doubt's Dark Vale," etc. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1888. 12mo. Pp. 265.

This volume is a significant sign of the times in the world of religious thought. It is a collection of searching, thoroughly evangelical sermons from highly trained men in eminent positions in Germany, which is yet too commonly supposed to be almost exclusively under the sway of merely rationalistic theology. These discourses from Berlin and Leipzig are not surpassed in scholarly orthodoxy by any that are heard in authoritative places in Edinburgh, or London, or Boston, or New York. The book is one of the many proofs of the decline of rationalism and the growth of an aggressive evangelical spirit in the pulpits of a nation whose universities are the foremost in the world.

To test the volume at a strategic point, we place on record here an extract from a discourse by Professor Luthardt, of Leipzig, which shows how far sound German theology is from supporting the hypothesis of probation after death, or the incalculably dangerous doctrine that it may sometimes be safe for a man to die in his sins.

When our life is at an end the sum will be added up. Life is like a great reckoning. We add figure to figure, plus and minus; at last the final calculation is made. It is the judgment of the individual. It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment.

In whatever way we may die, it is certain that death places us in the immediate presence of God. This life is full of disappointments and self-delusions. Our feelings have disappointed and deceived us, throwing a veil over the pictures of the world, so that it is only with difficulty that we recognize ourselves and the truth of things. *At death the veil is torn in pieces and we are placed in the presence of pure truth where there are neither delusions nor deceptions.* Then the product of life will be drawn up, clear and distinct, as a sum in the arithmetic of life. This will be our judgment after death. (Page 231.)

In another volume, Professor Luthardt, in yet more emphatic language, has taught the severe Biblical truth, to which sufficient prominence is not given now in many pulpits, that decisive probation is limited to this life.

We may deceive men, we may delude ourselves; but in God's presence every

deception vanishes, and all self-delusion ceases. . . . Who will be able to bear the presence of God, the presence of inflexible truth? Only they who have here become the friends of God. For the great distinction will be between those who have been his friends and those who have lived without Him. But this is decided in this life. "It is appointed unto all men once to die, but after this the judgment." (Heb. ix. 27.) That is to say, the decision takes place in this life. We are not to comfort ourselves with the hope of being able to retrieve there what we have neglected here. The very purpose for which this life in the flesh is bestowed upon us is that our lot may be therein decided. The design of the manifold trials and duties of this life is, that through them and in them we may seek and find God. Though the moral consciousness of a man may seem to have been ever so slightly developed, though the life of an individual may have been passed in ever so dream-like a manner, — there is still that in the depths of every man's heart which is decisive. It is the fact, whether God has or has not been the portion of his soul, which will determine his eternal lot; for he who has not found communion with God here will not attain it there. (Luthardt, Professor of Theology, Leipsic University, *Apologetic Lectures on the Saving Truths of Christianity*, Edinburgh edition, p. 300.)

COLLEGE STUDENTS AT NORTHFIELD; or, A College of Colleges, No. 2. Containing addresses by Mr. D. L. Moody; the Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, M. D., F. R. G. S.; the Rev. Alexander McKenzie, D. D.; the Rev. John A. Broadus, D. D., LL. D.; Bishop Hendrix; Mr. Henry Clay Trumbull; Prof. W. B. Harper, and others. Edited by T. J. SHANKS. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell. 1889. 12mo. Pp. 296.

This volume, with its predecessor entitled "A College of Colleges," should be in the working library of every university undergraduate. Among the various beneficent works into which Providence has led Mr. Moody through the gateway of his flaming religious faith, none are more remarkable in plan or execution, or apparently destined to greater usefulness, than the colleges at Northfield and the summer conventions of students held there for Biblical study. We noticed a year ago the volume recording the results of the students' convention of 1887, and we now gladly publish an outline of the results of the assembly of 1888.

During the spring of 1888, Mr. Moody, for the third time, sent an invitation to the members of the College Young Men's Christian Associations throughout the United States and British provinces to come together, at his home in Northfield, Massachusetts, for Bible study, and for conference about Christian work. They responded heartily. The gathering was held in the first part of July in the buildings of the Northfield Seminary. Mr. Moody not only opened these buildings for the use of the students, but also gave his time, energy, and minute supervision to make the conference successful.

About four hundred students were present from over ninety colleges. Every leading college in the United States and Canada was represented. As was expected, the colleges in the East sent the largest delegations. Yale led with nearly forty men. Oberlin, over five hundred miles distant, sent over twenty; and Cornell, Princeton, and Amherst were represented by delegations fully as large. The South and Canada were more widely represented than ever; but the Western delegations were no larger than those of last year.

The most notable feature in the attendance this year was the strong delegation from the European universities. There were twelve representative men from the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Utrecht. The American students gave them a most hearty welcome. Their manly bearing, their thorough consecration, and the great emphasis which they laid upon *living the life*—upon carrying religion out into all the little and great duties and relations of life—made a lasting impression upon all who came in contact with them. They also gave many suggestive hints about holiday mission work among all classes of society. They in their turn received benefit from the conference; for they went home to their universities firmly convinced of the need of a stronger and more practical organization for religious work in their individual colleges, and persuaded also of the great benefit to be derived from intercollegiate cooperation in religious work. Besides the students, there were present many pastors, professors, prominent Association workers, and leading philanthropists.

The corps of speakers was representative and able. Mr. Moody presided at the leading meetings, which were held at ten A. M. and eight P. M. He was at his best. His sermons on the Holy Spirit, the Atonement, Daniel, Qualifications for the Christian Worker; his short talks on methods of Bible study and of Christian work; his question-box, packed with sound spiritual advice;—all these were a source of constant inspiration. The Oriental sidelights of Henry Clay Trumbull, and his thrilling testimony and appeal on personal work, will never be forgotten. Dr. John A. Broadus gave five of his famous expository sermons. Not only did they make a deep impression because of their subject-matter, but they also convinced the young men present of the tremendous power of expository preaching. Bishop Hendrix, among other addresses, had one of peculiar power and appropriateness on laymen as factors in religious work. Dr. McKenzie, of Cambridge, deeply impressed the college men with his profound thought and eloquent language. Professor W. R. Harper, of Yale, although present but one day, succeeded in making such an impression upon the students with his address on the inductive system of Bible study—accompanied with an illustrative analysis of the Book of Amos—that the method will be introduced by a majority of them in their colleges. The Rev. J. Hudson Taylor exerted a deep spiritual influence on the entire conference. His command of the Scriptures, his unwavering faith in them, and his remarkable trust in God combined to make him a man of uncommon power.

An hour was spent each morning in discussing the best Association methods. These conferences were conducted by college secretaries C. K. Ober and J. R. Mott. They were greatly assisted by the general secretary of the International Committee, Mr. Richard C. Morse, state secretaries Hall of New York, Gordon of Connecticut, Humphrey of Indiana, S. M. Sayford, the college evangelist, James McConaughy, general secretary of the New York City Association, and other noted Association men.

Every day at sunset a missionary meeting was held "on the little hill just back of Mr. Moody's house." These meetings were conducted by student volunteers.

The delegation meetings were among the most helpful features of the encampment. They were held each day, and usually after all the other exercises. Each delegation had one of these daily meetings; or where the delegation was too small, a number of colleges combined to hold one. They met in some private room or tent, or under some tree. In these meetings the men discussed and prayed for the work of their home colleges. The influence of these little gather-

ings cannot be overestimated. They bound the delegates of each group together, and sent them back to their colleges a unit in spirit and in determination to stand together in carrying forward the religious work during the year. Already the influence of these meetings can be traced in the different Associations.

This year for the first time the entire afternoon was given up to athletic sports. Baseball, cricket, football, tennis, swimming, rowing, tramping — in fact, all the principal forms of outdoor recreation, were heartily carried on. Several afternoons were devoted to contests between the different colleges. The athletic department was under the direction of Stagg of Yale, Cowan of Princeton, and Torrey of Harvard.

Among the many immediate beneficial effects of the conference this year only a few can be noted : —

1. Every delegate received a decided spiritual quickening, which manifested itself in the home churches and wherever the delegates spent their summer, and is already being felt in their colleges.

2. The continued emphasis laid upon the importance of the Word of God in college sent a majority of the delegates back to their colleges resolved that there shall be far more Bible study in them than in the past.

3. The need of a perfect organization was realized by scores of the Associations represented. The reports of the different Associations showed that those which are most thoroughly organized have done the most effective work.

4. The key-note of the conference this year was *individual work*. All the meetings converged on this one point. As a consequence, every delegate solemnly pledged himself in secret to do far more for the Master in his future hand-to-hand contact with men.

5. The conference impressed all, as never before, with the breadth and wonderful possibilities of the College Young Men's Christian Association movement, having for its object the salvation of all the young men of the world.

DEPARTMENT OF SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE INSTRUCTION IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, OF THE UNITED STATES AND WORLD'S WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION. Annual Report, October, 1888. By Mrs. MARY H. HUNT, National and International Superintendent.

One of Mrs. Hunt's suggestive sayings is : "The star of hope for the Temperance Reform hangs over the school-house." Her success in persuading twenty-five state legislatures and the National Congress to pass laws making scientific temperance instruction compulsory is one of the most remarkable and encouraging events in current American history. We very gladly make a portion of her last report a part of our Record of Reform.

Twenty-five state legislatures, besides the national government, have made Scientific Temperance a compulsory school study in their respective States and Territories, covering more than two thirds of the whole population of the United States.

The following classification of the States, with the aid of the symbols, shows the existing situation of this legislation in the entire country.

N. B. — EXPLANATION OF MARKS. — (*) The star signifies a penalty attached to the enforcing clause of this statute in the State or Territory to which it is affixed.

(†) The dagger signifies that the study is required of all pupils in all schools.

(‡) The double dagger signifies that the study is required of all pupils in all schools, and is to be pursued with text-books in the hands of the pupils.

(||) The parallel indicates that this study is to be taught in the same manner and as thoroughly as other required branches.

(§) The section mark indicates that text-books on this topic used in primary and intermediate schools must give one fourth of their space to temperance matters, and those used in high schools not less than twenty pages.

(¶) The paragraph indicates that no teacher who has not passed a satisfactory examination in this subject is granted a certificate or authorized to teach.

States having Scientific Temperance Education Laws.

| NEW ENGLAND STATES. | | Enacted 1887, { * † ¶ Minnesota, } Penalty permis- sive. | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|--|--|
| Enacted 1882, Vermont ; amended | 1886, adding * † § | Enacted 1885, Wisconsin † ¶ | |
| " 1883, New Hampshire ¶ | | " 1885, Kansas † ¶ | |
| " 1884, Rhode Island † | | " 1885, Missouri ¶ | |
| " 1885, Maine † ¶ | | " 1885, Nevada. | |
| " 1885, Massachusetts † ¶ | | " 1885, Nebraska † ¶ | |
| " 1886, Connecticut ¶ | | " 1885, Oregon † | |
| | | " 1886, Iowa * † ¶ | |
| | | " 1887, Colorado * † | |
| | | " 1887, California * † | |
| | | " 1888, Ohio * ¶ | |
| MIDDLE STATES. | | TERRITORIES. | |
| Enacted 1884, New York † ¶ | | <i>All brought under the Law by Act of Congress of 1886.</i> | |
| " 1885, Pennsylvania * † ¶ | | Idaho * † ¶ | |
| " 1887, Delaware † ¶ | | Montana * † ¶ | |
| SOUTHERN STATES. | | Arizona * † ¶ | |
| Enacted 1885, Alabama † ¶ | | Washington * † ¶ | |
| " 1886, Maryland † | | Dakota * † ¶ | |
| " 1887, West Virginia * † ¶ | | New Mexico * † ¶ | |
| " 1888, Louisiana * † § ¶ | | Dist. of Columbia * † ¶ | |
| WESTERN STATES. | | Wyoming * † ¶ | |
| Enacted 1883, { * † § | { Penalty indef- nite. | Utah * † ¶ | |
| Michigan ; | | Alaska * † ¶ | |
| Amended 1886, { | | | |

Accepting the admitted estimate that the entire present school population of this country is 18,000,000, two thirds would be 12,000,000 children, for whom law has provided the education in favor of total abstinence that results from learning the nature and effects of alcoholic drinks and other narcotics.

As in many localities these laws are being well enforced, we may safely say, millions of children are now being thus trained to intelligent sobriety. One of the greatest obstacles to an honest enforcement is happily being removed. The badly-graded and otherwise imperfect text-books are being revised to contain the full truth against alcohol and other narcotics, and graded to the capacities of all pupils in all schools.

The action of Vermont in 1882 in passing the first Temperance Education Law, soon followed by New York, the Empire, and Pennsylvania, the Keystone States, and by the National Congress in 1886, has proved to be the adhesive power of a mighty example, drawing the whole country together under the banner of compulsory Scientific Temperance Instruction in public schools.

These four combined victories settled affirmatively the answer to the question, May we teach this study? But they by no means settled the second and more important inquiry, What shall be taught the children of this country as Scientific Temperance?

While there existed books which treated of alcohol only, this subject, when our first laws were enacted, was an unwritten science in the form specified by the legislation, viz. : as "The nature and effects of alcoholic drinks and other narcotics in connection with the several divisions of relative physiology and hygiene."

The first step towards the right answer to the question, "What shall we teach?" was the publication in 1884 and 1885, by one of the great school-book publishing syndicate houses, A. S. Barnes & Co., of the well-graded series of books called the Pathfinders. These books contain the full revelations of modern science against alcoholic drinks and other narcotics, in connection with relative physiology and hygiene, and were indorsed by this Department. They went immediately into many schools. Every attempt to prove false their statements concerning alcoholic drinks and other narcotics has been a failure.

Other publishing houses and authors, not apprehending the object of the movement, about the same time issued badly-graded text-books with an excess of technical physiology, and evasive and deficient temperance matter. These, to our great distress, were pushed with unusual vigor into the schools under our new laws. Active opposition on our part to these books, and persistent refusal to indorse any that fell below the standard of the whole truth against alcohol, graded to the capacities of all pupils, cost us the book-war, but was essential to our getting something better. "To have faltered" would have been more than "sin." It was a battle for the truth against a great evil, and for the childhood of a nation.

The next great advance was the adoption, in 1886, of these same indorsed Pathfinder books by the national government for the schools under its control, and by the District of Columbia for all its schools, including the national capital, for it showed publishers of weaker books that there was an influential market for better ones.

The passage of the amendment of the Vermont S. T. I. law, in the autumn

of the same year (1886), requiring "one fourth the space of primary and intermediate books of this kind to be given to the nature and effects of alcoholic drinks and other narcotics," was the next advance. Michigan, in an amendment of her S. T. I. law a few months later, followed Vermont's example in this respect, and Louisiana added the same feature to her new law enacted in 1888. The imperfect books being thus outlawed in these States proved a new incentive to their publishers to revise them.

Last autumn the National Superintendent of this Department, and her Advisory Board, formulated, in the form of a petition to publishers, a syllabus of what the various grades of text-books on Scientific Temperance should teach. This was signed by over two hundred eminent American citizens, and forwarded to all publishers, promising "public and authorized indorsement" if they would revise their books to conform to these standards.

This petition, thus signed, was the noblest consensus of opinion our country can produce, sustaining the petition we had taken in demanding total abstinence teaching, adapted to grade, for all pupils in all schools of this land. The following persons were chosen as a committee to conduct the correspondence of these petitioners with the publishers: Albert H. Plumb, D. D., Daniel Dorchester, D. D., William E. Sheldon, Joseph Cook, and Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, Chairman.

In response to this, during the past year nearly all the publishers have expressed the desire to have their books revised on condition that the National Superintendent of the Scientific Department of the W. C. T. U. would revise them, or supervise their proposed revision. There were from twenty-six to thirty books to be thus remodeled—a gigantic task. Gratitude over the prospect that thus the full truth against alcoholic drinks and kindred narcotics was not only to be popularized, but was to go to the children, was only shaded by a glimpse of the enormous burden of gratuitous work and responsibility it involved.

The coöperation of the highest chemical and medical authorities on these special topics was secured, by exhaustive examinations of their printed works and more personal aid. In these investigations prolonged access was had to the largest medical library in the world, situated in Washington, D. C.

There is now every prospect that one year hence the desired revision of all these books will be nearly, if not quite, complete.

The publishers better understanding the movement are coöperating with us in securing a worthy temperance text-book literature.

For the benefit of the thirteen States that are yet to secure this legislation, we add here the often-repeated advice: Do not take a weak and easily-evaded law; better table such and try again. A law that cannot be enforced is worse than no law.

The following specifications should not only be clearly stated, but be emphatically mandatory in a statute of this kind.

First. The branch should be described as "The study of the nature of

alcoholic drinks and other narcotics, and special instruction as to their effects upon the human system, in connection with the several divisions of the subject of *relative* physiology and hygiene."

Second. That the study shall be pursued with text-books in the hands of all pupils old enough to read, and taught orally from text-books in the hands of teachers to all who cannot read.

Third. That this branch shall be studied as thoroughly as geography and arithmetic.

Fourth. The law should specify that this study shall be pursued by all pupils in all schools under state control.

Fifth. That the text-books used for imparting the specified instruction shall give not less than one fourth their space to the consideration of the nature and effects of alcoholic drinks and narcotics, and the books used in the higher grades shall contain at least twenty pages of matter relating to the same subject.

Sixth. The examination of teachers in this branch should also be specifically required.

Seventh. A definite and specific penalty for non-enforcement that can be easily applied should be a feature of every Scientific Temperance law ; otherwise it is mere advice, and its enforcement subject to the will of local school boards.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY THE REV. DR. J. W. CLOKEY, D. D.

55. *What is the severe truth as to the actual condition of morals among our young men, taken as a mass, East and West, North and South, in the United States?*

The remarkable pamphlet published after years of study by the Rev. Dr. Clokey, of New Albany, Indiana, entitled "Dying at the Top," has been sent to us by its author in reply to our inquiries as to the actual morals of our young men. As a record of expert opinion, we publish here the following highly significant testimony of this specialist.

Our country seems to be a hive of young men. The census of 1880 reports for our whole land a male population of twenty-five and a half millions, and the one fourth of that number are young men from 18 to 30 years of age. Young men between these ages form one sixth of the entire population of our thriving cities, and those from 21 to 31 almost half of our voting population.

It has been estimated that there are 1,500,000 men employed in the railroad business of the United States, a very large majority of whom are young men.

There are 250,000 commercial travelers making their tours over the land, 60 per cent. of whom are young men. A recent memorial to the Interstate Commerce Committee, from members of the amusement associations, states that there are five hundred organizations of circuses, theatrical and minstrel troupes and the like, in our country, and that, in one form or another, 75,000 persons are in their employ. And who that is acquainted with these combinations does not know that young men make up their rank and file.

Thousands of our young men are doing splendid service for Christ and humanity in the ministry, in the Sabbath-schools of the churches, and in the Y. M. C. A. In the latter association alone there is a membership of nearly 130,000, most of whom are young men. The outlook in our collegiate institutions is exceedingly encouraging, so that, outside of home, there is no safer place for a young man than in an American college. In Park College, Missouri, almost every student is a professing Christian. Of the 574 students in the Academic Department of Yale University in 1886-87, 247 were members of evangelical churches. The March number of the Monthly Bulletin of the University of Michigan, states that of the 1,563 pupils in all departments in that University, 805 are professing Christians. Of the 2,131 students in Presbyterian Colleges in the United States, 1,415 are

church-members. Six hundred of the 1,200 young men in the nine colleges of Virginia are members of the Y. M. C. A. The interest among the students of the country in Foreign Mission work is truly wonderful, and omens well for the future. Two of Princeton's young men have been making a canvass of our colleges and seminaries for the names of pupils willing to become foreign missionaries. They have heard from 92 institutions, and in these are 1,525 persons who are willing to go to a foreign field, all but 300 of whom are young men.

Still, the fact remains, and it is an appalling one, that, if the Christian life is taken as the standard of judgment, our young men as a class are in an alarming condition. The national committee of the Y. M. C. A. has sent out a printed statement, in which I find that but five per cent. of the young men throughout the land are members of churches; that only fifteen out of every one hundred attend religious services with any regularity, and that seventy-five out of one hundred never attend church at all. That is, putting the number of young men at about one eighth of the population, of the 7,000,000 in the United States, over 5,000,000 of them are never, or practically never, inside a Christian church.

Dr. Strong also quotes Dr. Dorchester as saying, that though the evangelical church-membership in the country at large numbered in 1880 one in every five of the population of the United States, yet in Colorado it numbered but one in twenty; in Montana, one in thirty-six; in Nevada, one in forty-six; in Wyoming, one in eighty-one; in Utah, one in 224; in New Mexico, one in 657, and in Arizona, one in 685.

From such statistics as the above, which might be multiplied indefinitely, it is plain that the estimate which allows five young men out of every hundred for membership in the church is not too low.

To the above discouraging statements must be added this other, that, of the young men who are in the communion of the church, not more than one half of them can be relied on for anything like active service in evangelical work. The churches over the country that have their young men neither in the prayer-meeting nor Sabbath-school are legion.

Here, then, we have 75 out of every hundred young men in this country who do not attend church; 95 out of every hundred do not belong to church, and at least 97 out of every hundred who are carrying no cross and bearing no burden for the redeeming of the world to Christ and his church.

In short, the young man of our day is substantially figured out as a factor in Christian evangelization, and were the whole population to come to his standard, the church would almost be figured out as a factor in the moulding influences of this great land. From the Christian standpoint, this state of things is simply astounding, and will stagger the most hopeful for a speedy evangelization of our country.

It may be remarked that in most of the above estimates the Catholic Church has not been mentioned, and the question be asked, Do you intend to exclude her young men from the ranks of the Christian army? By no means. When a young man is found consecrated to his Catholic worship,

he is counted among Christians just as are those who are consecrated to Protestant service. Indeed, so far as attendance on church services is concerned, Catholic young men average better than Protestants. The priests can command observance often where Protestant pastors cannot secure it by persuasion.

In the matter of statistics, estimates cannot be made among Catholics as among Protestants. The boys are all confirmed at an early age and are regarded as church-members all through life, no matter what may be their characters, and the Catholic priests are reticent on the subject, so that nothing can be determined through them. But the same agencies that are at work to estrange Protestant young men from their church, are at work among those of Catholic homes. Owing to the fact that the adherents of Catholicism are largely foreigners, the tone of spirituality among its young men is lower than with the Protestants; hence the fact of such a large percentage of the convicts in our jails and penitentiaries being of Catholic persuasion. To an observer it is plain that the Catholic Church has lost tens of thousands of her youth from her communion. Lapsed Catholics are found everywhere, especially among the men. They do not go over to Protestantism, but land in the world, where they retain the bias of their early education without its devoutness. It is no uncommon thing to meet young men of Catholic families who never attend any church, who utter no prayer and have never read the Scriptures. It is because Rome feels this hegira from her communion through the liberalizing influences of our country that the present system of separate Catholic schools is so rigidly enforced. It was an alarm measure growing out of the conviction that the whole fabric was in peril. What is true of the young men of Protestant and Catholic homes is even more true among the Hebrews. Time-honored Judaism is fast losing its hold on young men, and they are going almost *en masse* into infidelity.

No one who has not given attention to it, dreams of the prominence of the young man in the criminalities and corruptions of the day. It has been estimated that there are 100,000 tramps and vagrants in the United States who sustain themselves by begging from door to door. The vast majority of these are young men. Said a sheriff, when asked what proportion of the tramps he fed during the winter months are young men, replied, "All of them." A conductor spoke of the bands of vagrants he would often see from his train as he would be passing from city to city, as "camps of young men." After the murder of Jennie Bowman in Louisville, the first arrests were of tramps. Six were taken up at one time, the oldest of whom was twenty-seven, and the youngest nineteen. Our dead-beats, and swindlers, and shovers of counterfeit money; our gamblers, and rapists, and burglars, are mostly young men.

This condition of things grows more dark and foreboding when we learn that crime in our country is increasing with greater rapidity than the population, and that it is having its largest increase from the youth of American homes. In the reformatories of the United States there are 10,000 boys,

ranging from seven to seventeen years of age, most of whom have been committed for the same crimes that are sending adults to the penitentiaries. Pennsylvania, for the year ending September 30, 1886, had more children in its House of Refuge and Reform School than it had convicts in both of its penitentiaries.

Without considering the saloon in connection with American politics, its social influence is enough to condemn it forever. As a class, saloon-keepers in our country are of the lowest characters. They are impure, profane, irreligious, vulgar, and often criminal; and their saloons are like themselves. In no place, as here — outside of the bagnio — is the atmosphere so saturated with all that is vicious and corrupting. Here one meets with the world's filthiest characters, filthiest pictures, and filthiest conversation, because here congregate society's filthiest souls. The American saloon is the rendezvous of thieves, and cut-throats, and gamblers. Bumpers, tramps, dead-beats throng round them as flies around the paper prepared for their destruction. Here it is are planned our prize-fights. Here come the distributors of obscene literature to ply their wretched traffic; here come the "boodlers" to arrange for the corruption of our elections — here, in these "Pest Holes" of Infamy. Yet it is a lamentable fact that the principal patrons of the saloon are young men. Into a single saloon in Cincinnati, passed 252 men within an hour — 236 of whom were young men. In New Albany, Indiana, in one hour and a half, on a certain evening, 1,109 persons entered nineteen of seventy-six saloons, 983 of whom were young men and boys. C. H. Yatman stood on the streets of Newark, N. J., one day, and in five minutes counted sixty-two young men going into one saloon. He passed his watch to a friend, and asked him to stand and count for thirty minutes. In that time 592 entered the saloon, most of them being young men. Yet this was only one of hundreds of saloons in that city. The two following are from Richard Morse's "Young Men of our Cities." "A city of 17,000 population, 3,000 young men; 1,021, over one fourth, entered 49 saloons in one hour one Saturday night." "A city of 38,000 population, 6,000 young men; on a certain Saturday evening 10 per cent. of them visited seven of the 128 saloons."

In Milwaukee, on a certain evening, 468 persons entered a single saloon, nearly all of whom were young men and boys.

The extent to which the external form of licentiousness, known as the social evil, has become prevalent is awakening serious apprehensions for the future of American society. If prostitution undermined and ruined Greece, and Egypt, and Rome, and Venice; if, in a spiritual sense it has enervated the Latin races of the Continent, our modern enterprise and our multitudes of churches will not save us, if this same vice is allowed to capture our youth.

Slavery, while it existed, degraded the negro women. Their degradation threw off the white men the restraint that social equality begets in the presence of white women; and negresses, in the South, took the place of the houses of prostitution in the North. Thus it happens, that while the

white men of the South degraded the negro women, they, now in their turn, are degrading the whites through their young men and boys. A clergyman, who was born in the South and knows its people well, said that twenty out of every hundred mulatto women are mistresses of white men and boys, and "society does not seem to care much for it."

The agencies at hand for saving the boys, and reclaiming young men, so far as they will allow themselves to be reclaimed, are abundant, if they are only *pushed*. The air is full of reform. Movements to redeem are legion. Soul-saving tracts and periodicals fly like snowflakes through the air. Sabbath-schools, temperance organizations, W. C. T. U. and Y. M. C. Associations throng round us on every side. All they need to turn this country over to Christ in another half century, is for our Christian people, and our sober, earnest business men, to hold up their hands and assist them in their work. They are bound to conquer if those who hold the munitions of war will only promptly and generously supply them. Men of wealth never had such opportunities for "laying up treasures in heaven" as they have to-day; and with the increased opportunities come increased responsibilities. In such a crisis as we are now in, to withhold from any movement that aims at making the world better, our personal influence, and our wealth, is criminal in the extreme.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

DELPHI is for sale. The Greek Government offers to Americans for \$80,000 the right of making excavations on the site of the Temple of Apollo, which for a thousand years was the seat of the most famous oracle of the classical ages. The opportunity is an inspiring one. Professor Schleimann's excavations on the site of Troy and elsewhere, the German excavations at Olympia, and the Greek at Athens have opened a new era in the study of buried antiquity. France, Germany, and England have each had schools of explorers in Greece for some years. For the last six years the United States have been represented by a school founded at Athens by contributions from American colleges, which send in succession an annual director to oversee a small corps of explorers. An endowment of \$100,000 is needed to secure good quarters for the school, pay the salary of a permanent director, and equip his assistants. A quarter of this sum has already been subscribed in Boston. New York and other cities ought surely to make up the remainder with proud alacrity. In case the offer of the Greek government is accepted, one of the chief tasks of the American School at Athens would be to make excavations at Delphi. Besides the Temple of Apollo, there stood here the hall in which the Amphictyonic Council met, one of the earliest bonds of Greek confederation.

The modern village of Castri contains only about six hundred inhabitants. Much of it would need to be removed in the progress of adequate excavations. The railway from Athens now runs to a point near Castri. It is hoped that within a year Athens will be in railway communication with the cities of Europe. The Castalian spring bursts out from the foot of stupendous precipices at the southern base of Mount Parnassus. It supplied holy water for the Temple of Apollo. The vicinity of this spring is known to have been covered with temples, shrines, and statues. An olive orchard surrounding a Greek

monastery — in which the present writer once spent two or three days very memorable to himself — now skirts the Castalian edge of the mountain. A Persian host was once repelled from Delphi by rocks supposed to have been thrown down upon them from the precipices above the Castalian spring by Apollo. Earthquakes have shaken from the giant heights so many loose fragments of rock that the ancient ruins are buried deeply, and the village of Castri itself has often been near destruction. It seems certain that excavations at this renowned spot will be greatly remunerative to classical learning. If Americans do not grasp quickly the honor of conducting this work, it is likely to fall into the hands of the French, the Germans, or the English. If young men are to be taught in our colleges to value properly Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, and Socrates, it is incalculably important that our university museums should be enriched by memorials of the illustrious ages of Greece.

ON Wednesday, January 14, the great Sunday Rest Petition was presented in the Senate. It had been pasted by States, on streamers of red cloth, as flags of warning. Except when a State had only a very few petitions, they were divided between its two Senators. Their secretaries brought them from the Senate post-office to their desks in advance of the opening of the Senate, and almost every desk was decorated with one of the rolled-up red flags, not of anarchy but of its antidote. The Senators eyed these bundles curiously, but seldom with levity. Those consigned to the Senators from the banner States, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, and Michigan, were formidable loads for the pages. This is not the end but only the beginning of petitioning. Probably not one half the friends of Sunday rest have yet sent in their names. The Seventh-day Adventists, whose chief aim in life seems to be to break down the American Sabbath, are circulating a misleading counter-petition, which gives the impression that it is the religious observance of the Sabbath which the great petition asks Congress to promote, whereas nothing is asked beyond such protection of Sunday rest and public worship in the domain of the national government as has been afforded in nearly all the States from

the beginning to citizens in the domain of state governments. The success of the Sunday Rest Movement is further indicated by the increasing misrepresentations and attacks of the strange allies of the Saturdarians, the saloonists, and Sunday papers. The Field Secretary of the American Sabbath Union, the Editor of our Department of Church Work, has opened headquarters at 320, E. Capitol St., Washington, D. C., where he is ready to receive and supply petitions.

BALLOT-REFORM is now under discussion in the legislatures of nearly all the Northern States. Massachusetts has adopted the Australian system of secret voting. This plan has long been in successful operation in Canada. It is effective in preventing bribery, because managers of elections will usually not pay for votes unless they can themselves oversee and make sure of the delivery of their purchase according to contract. Bills embracing the substance of the Australian system are now in various stages of progress in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Indiana, Missouri, Maine, Michigan, Illinois, South Carolina, and Alabama. The Australian system of balloting is often considered complicated, but the following account given in a letter to the New York "Nation" of January 10 of the operations of that system in Halifax, Nova Scotia, will show that it is both simple and efficient in its working details.

In Canada the Australian ballot system has been in force for the past fourteen years. We have grown familiar with it, and what astonishes me most is how any one can call it complex, or having once seen it, could possibly endure to work with any other. It was adopted in the Dominion, in 1874, and for the provincial elections of this province a couple of years later. The first election held under it in this city was in January, 1877. I was one of the presiding officers there. Since that time we have had fully a dozen elections, provincial and federal, and at every one of them I have spent the day in some capacity, either as presiding officer or candidate's agent, inside a polling-booth, generally in a city district, but sometimes in a rural one. Possibly a description of the practical working of the act may be interesting to readers in the United States.

Our nominations are now in the simplest form. Twenty-five electors can nominate a candidate by nomination in writing, provided a deposit of \$200 accompanies it. This sum is forfeited in case the candidate fails to poll half the vote of the successful candidate. If only as many nominations are made as there are seats to be filled, the returning officer returns them as elected

by acclamation. If more, he issues a proclamation that a poll will be held, and containing the names of the candidates in alphabetical order, with their occupations and residence. The day of polling is fixed by the act for the seventh day from nominations. Then the returning officer proceeds to make his preparations for a poll. Of course he has known long beforehand whether or not the regular parties intend making nominations, and has made his preparations accordingly. The district has already been divided off into polling-sections by the revising barrister who makes up the electoral lists. These polling-sections must not contain more than 300 electors, and in practice (here at least) it has been found most convenient to keep them smaller than 200. These small polling-sections are the most effectual safeguard against disturbance and disorder yet discovered.

In each of these sections the returning officer hunts up a conveniently situated house or shop to serve as a polling-booth, and arranges the space inside so that one portion is completely guarded from observation, both from inside and outside. Then he appoints a presiding officer and a clerk for each district. He swears in the presiding officers and furnishes each with his ballot-box, a certified list of the electors in his district, a poll-book, a supply of ballot-paper and lead pencils, and a number of printed directions (given in a schedule to the act), directing voters how to mark their papers, which the presiding officer sticks up about the booth. A constable is appointed for each booth. The booths open at nine and close at five. A little before the time of opening the presiding officer and his clerk arrive. The former swears in the latter. The agents, if they are wise, will also take care to be on hand sharp on time. Each candidate appoints two agents in writing. In practice the appointment is left with the committee of the district: the candidates sign a number of blanks, the committee arrange who are to be agents, and fill in their names. Of these two agents one requires to be sworn not to reveal the names of the candidates for whom any of the electors may mark their ballot-papers in his presence. This is for the protection of the illiterates and other incapables. The sworn agent is obliged to remain in the booth till it closes. The unsworn one can go in and out, and practically serves as the medium of communication between the sworn man and his party outside. Each agent of course has been "posted" by his district committee, and furnished with a list of electors marked with hieroglyphics to designate "for," "against," "doubtful," "dead," etc., etc. The presiding officer, poll-clerk, constable, and agents are the only persons allowed within the booth. There are no provisions preventing persons congregating about the polling-booths — a matter which I see most of your correspondents attach great importance to. There are one or two provisions for the suppression of disorder, conferring the powers of a magistrate upon the presiding officer, etc. But in practice it is found that the small polling-district and the secret voting do away with all temptation to riot. In former times here, with open voting and a few large sections, we had furious fights about the booths. Now the only signs of a booth are three or four men talking about the door and a couple of cabs drawn up. There is nothing to

do outside, and the "worker" who could find no better employment than standing all day outside a booth watching the voters go in and out the door would not find much appreciation of his services in the party. Last of all, the presiding officer opens his ballot-box, exhibits it to the agents in the manner of a stage conjurer, opens the slide, locks the box up, and deposits it on the table.

These preliminaries over, the constable is directed to open the doors, announce the poll open, and admit the voters one at a time. One enters and presents himself at the table. The presiding officer asks his name, and looks to see if it is on his certified list. If it is not, as sometimes happens, the voter goes off to hunt up the right district ; but this seldom happens. If the name is on the list, the poll-clerk enters it on his book, with the occupation and a number, and if no objection is taken by the agents, the presiding officer hands him a ballot-paper. The ballot is in a form prescribed in the act. Here is one of the official papers from the last Dominion election in this city :

| | |
|---|---|
| Election for the Electoral District of Halifax, 1887. | |
| FULLER. | |
| I. | H. H. Fuller, City and County of Halifax, Merchant. |
| JONES. | |
| II. | Hon. A. G. Jones, City and County of Halifax, Merchant. |
| KENNY. | |
| III. | Thomas E. Kenny, City and County of Halifax, Merchant. |
| STAIRS. | |
| IV. | John F. Stairs, of the Town of Dartmouth, Manufacturer. |
| | |
| | |

The portion below the perforated line is the counterfoil. Its use is to counteract the device mentioned by your Louisville correspondent, viz., putting in a blank and bringing out the official paper. The presiding officer puts his initials on the back of the ballot so as to be visible when the paper is folded up. The poll-clerk numbers the voter on his poll-book, and the presiding officer puts the same number on the counterfoil. In practice I have always found it the best plan to fold the ballot before handing it to the voter, and tell him to fold it in the same creases. He is apt to fold it up in such a tangle that it is necessary to open it to tear off the counterfoil.

The names on the ballot are required to be printed in alphabetical order. There is no envelope. At first we had them ; but they were after one trial unanimously voted an unnecessary nuisance, affording an opportunity to

commit frauds such as your Louisville correspondent describes. If no objection is raised by the agents, the voter retires with his ballot, into the screened-off apartment, where he finds a table, a couple of lead-pencils, and, pasted on the wall, the official directions how to mark his ballot. He puts a cross to the right of the name or names he wishes to vote for, taking care not to cross the lines or to mark more names than there are seats to be filled. Then he folds up the paper and brings it back to the presiding officer, who looks at the number on the counterfoil to see that it is the same paper that the voter received, and then tears off the counterfoil and puts the ballot into the box. Then the voter must leave the booth.

Of course things do not always go as smoothly as this. Your voter may be unable to read. If so, he declares his inability and his desire to have his ballot marked for him. The officer swears him to the truth of his statement and retires with him, accompanied by the sworn agents, to the private compartment, where he marks the ballot for the names told him by the voter ; or a man may come forward claiming to be some one whom you have been instructed is dead or away. Thereupon, you, being an agent, act according to circumstances. In the last resort, you can ask the officer to put the oath to him. You can also challenge and swear on suspicion of bribery. It is not common to do either without just suspicion, as retaliation is inevitable and unpleasant. The poll-clerk makes a minute in his poll-book opposite the voter's name of whether he voted, and of any objection, and whether he took the oath or refused it.

At five o'clock the poll is closed, the box opened, and the votes counted in the presence of the agents. If any paper appears marked so that it is not clear for whom it is intended, or for more names than there are seats to fill, or with a "distinguishing mark," any agent can take an objection. Thereupon a number is put on the ballot, and a record of the objection made in the poll-book, and the presiding officer has to decide whether to count it or reject it, a record of which decision is also made. Then the presiding officer puts the ballots for each candidate — those spoiled, those rejected, and those unused — into separate envelopes and puts them back into the box. He makes out a statement, for which official blanks are provided him, showing the votes cast for each candidate and the number rejected ; gives one to each candidate, keeps one himself, and pastes one in the back of his poll-book. Then he and his clerk swear before some justice of the peace, who has been notified to be on hand, that they have duly discharged their duties ; and a certificate of this oath also goes in the back of the poll-book. Then poll-book and voters' list go into the box, the box itself is locked and sealed and taken back to the returning officers.

There seem to be a good many details here, but in reality they are very simple and very few mistakes are made. You want honest and fairly well-educated men for presiding officers. On the practical working of the system :

(1) As to secrecy, there can be no two minds. No one can have the least notion how any voter has marked his ballot.

(2) As to preventing disorder, it is equally effectual, both outside and inside the booths. Election day with us has become absolutely one of the quietest days of the year until night.

(3) As to simplicity of working, there can be no just complaint. There was a little difficulty at first, though nothing like what was predicted. But now very few mistakes are made or votes thrown away. Even the illiterates nearly all learn to mark their ballots without making mistakes.

(4) As to preventing bribery, it is not such a success as we should like. It has done a good deal; nevertheless, the most of our bribable electors, especially in the country, make it a curious point of honor to vote the way they have been paid to. As a preventive of corruption, the Corrupt Practices Act, taken from the English act, with its speedy trial by a judge sitting in the constituency, is far and away more effectual than the ballot.

HALIFAX, N. S., December 28.

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE, Editor of the "North American Review," was one of the earliest advocates of Electoral Reform in the State of New York. In the January number of his periodical he has the following timely and trenchant remarks on "The Next National Reform."

It is a waste of time to discuss whether this or that party is the greater offender in any given election. What we need is not a victim or a verdict or a palliative, but a preventive. No temporary remedies will suffice. It should be an uncompromising crusade against political knavery — a war to the death — as it was a war to the death against American slavery.

No legislative remedy for the prevention of fraud at elections will prove effective unless it provides for two essential features: an absolutely secret ballot and the assumption by the national, state, or municipal governments of the essential lawful expenses of candidates. But an act that secured these factors would deal an immediate death-blow to political corruption at the polls.

In first taking up this vital question, in lonely earnestness, some few years ago, and in drafting the first bill for the new Electoral Reform in New York, it seemed to me that a remedy so radical would demand years of agitation. Yet to-day it is the battle-cry of the Empire State. To-morrow it bids fair to become a practical issue of reform throughout the Union. Honest men, without distinction of class, creed, or previous condition of servitude to political bosses, unite in demanding this reform, and I cannot refrain from again presenting the more salient features of the great issue.

Under the existing system of balloting in New York State, which is a sad and striking example of some of the worst methods prevailing in the United States, there is and there can be no adequate protection against the most shameless perversion of the popular will. No official verdict can be trustfully accepted as the true popular verdict. Any one who doubts this fact can assure himself of it on any election day in New York city by an early

visit to the polls in the populous districts, especially in the lodging-house centres. There will present itself to the astonished gaze of the uninitiated the strange sight of voters marched to the polls in squads of two, three, and four under the direction of a trained party "worker." In order to secure the proper casting of their ballots, those "independent" voters are there required to hold up their right hand exposing the ballot in that position until cast. The "consideration" is generally five dollars, sometimes lower, but often as high as ten dollars. Mr. Henry A. Gumbleton, who has given considerable attention to this matter, estimated the lodging-house population of New York city, on October 1, 1886, at eight per cent. of the entire city electorate. Let it be borne in mind that a really secret ballot would provide for and enforce the secret marking of ballots furnished by the State. No one but the voter would be allowed to enter the compartment provided for marking his ballots, and the arrangement would preclude supervision by the present class of vote buyers or their representatives. In these circumstances no candidate could be induced to pay for votes the casting of which must be accepted on faith; for, being unable to see the "goods delivered," the machinations of unscrupulous candidates would be relegated to the past. Our political Othello's occupation would be gone.

Having disposed of the question of secrecy, which involves mainly the questions of bribery and of the undue influence of the employer over the employed, the next best safeguard lies in the printing and distribution of ballots at public expense. It is clear that such a provision will at once dispose of many expenses that cannot be claimed as really necessary. The present system furnishes the excuse for innumerable "assessments" under cover of "necessary expenses" demanded for "workers" and ticket peddlers. Under this method the actually necessary expenses are so excessive in metropolitan districts that poor men are practically debarred from election to any high office within the gift of the people without mortgaging their official acts in advance to the persons or organizations that defray their campaign disbursements.

Nothing but a new law, honest in its provisions, and honestly enforced, can guard the people against the inroad on popular government which unscrupulous organization menaces to-day.

The Southern question can find no better solution than in the rigid enforcement of the law at the ballot-box, and while such rigid enforcement of the laws in the election of all public officers may call for time and be beset with serious difficulties at the outset, there can be no question of the constitutional right of Congress to enact laws for the fair election of Congressmen from every State in the Union. It will be for the Fifty-first Congress to determine whether or not it will assume this grave responsibility.

EDUCATIONAL interests in the year 1888, in the United States, are represented by several important events, among which the most prominent are the school controversy in Boston, resulting in

great excitement and in a triumph at the polls for the integrity of our public school system ; the adoption of the kindergarten system by the Boston school board ; the development of the plans for Clark University of Worcester, with G. Stanley Hall as president ; the experimental introduction of manual training into the public school system of New York city ; the opening of the Pratt Industrial Institute of Brooklyn, with Walter S. Perry as art director ; a very decided increase of the salaries of teachers and superintendents in several New Jersey cities ; the retirement of James McCosh, D. D., LL. D., Litt. D., from the presidency of Princeton University and the election of Professor F. A. Patton as his successor ; the retirement of President Barnard from the presidency of Columbia College, and the election of Professor W. H. Payne to the presidency of the university at Nashville ; the gift of \$1,000,000 by Daniel Hand of Connecticut, for educational purposes in the South ; the establishment of the great Roman Catholic university at Washington with an endowment of \$8,000,000, the meeting of the National Educational Association in San Francisco with its superb entertainment ; the development of the plans for the Leland Stanford (Jr.) University of California, with its princely endowment of \$10,000,000 ; and the opening of the Lick Observatory with the most powerful telescope in the world.

FRENCH CANADIANS are becoming so numerous in the manufacturing centres of New England that it is a matter for public congratulation that there is now among them an excellent French Protestant College. This institution was planted first at Lowell, but was lately removed to Springfield. Its purposes and needs were set forth at fitting services in the latter city in an eloquent address by the Rev. C. A. Amaron, in which we find the following highly significant passage on Romanism and Protestantism in Canada.

By reason of a state of things now existing in the province of Quebec, and which we French Protestants deeply deplore, about 1,000,000 of our countrymen have been driven from that rich and boundless country, Canada, into the United States. Of these some 300,000 are in New England, and 175,000 in Massachusetts.

These multitudes, controlled by a wise, far-seeing clergy, are made to be-

lieve that the customs, manners, traditions, methods of education and religious beliefs which for three centuries have prevailed in Quebec and made the Province what it is, are very good and all-sufficient. They are preaching, in season and out of season, that for a French Canadian to abandon any of these is to be recreant to his nationality. They are therefore putting forth herculean efforts to graft them on your Puritan soil, with the determined purpose of perpetuating them here through the French Catholic parochial school, and the French press, and thus in time convert New England into a New France. And while thousands of Americans, who have not given the question a moment's serious thought, laugh at such pretensions, the French Catholics are working with might and main with the following forces in their favor:—

(1.) A steady and ever increasing immigration from Canada caused by the heavy burdens imposed upon the people, the ties, the compulsory pew-rent system, the taxes, etc. (2.) A fabulous increase every year by birth, the Canadian race being the most prolific of the world. (3.) A constant diminution in the number of New England American homes of the type you need to preserve your nation, and an alarming paucity of children in these few homes. (4.) The emigration of a large number of American youths to the West and other parts. (5.) And finally, a nation unaware of the presence of these disintegrating forces, or indifferent to them, and thus satisfied to leave the problem alone in the indefinite hope that it will solve itself. . . .

In the case of the French Canadians it can be unmistakably predicted that, unless you help us to reach them, not to-morrow, but to-day, by the gospel of Christ, the bulk of them will be neither in the Church of Rome, nor in American churches, but in the church of Satan. History will repeat itself; it is repeating itself. Rome complains bitterly that it has lost some 18,000,000 of its adherents in this republic. And yet but a comparatively small number of these are in your churches. They are in the masses of the unchurched.

Now what will become of New England when these 300,000 French people have slipped out of Rome's hand?—and here I take no account of the Irish who are undergoing the same change.

If you do not help us now with the money we need to equip ourselves for this great work of edification, you and your sons will have to spend thousands and thousands to protect your business interests, and save them from the lawlessness which has visited other parts of this land.

It was to help to save this large French population from irreligion, it was to replace in them the phase of religion your institutions are instrumental in destroying, it was to bring them *en rapport* with views which prevail here and into sympathy with the great principles which govern this nation, that we laid, amidst untold trials, hardships, discouragements, and toils, the foundation of this French Protestant College. Among all educated nations the college has always been considered a mighty power to form men and women, and especially the Christian college.

THE Rev. George A. Gordon, of the Old South Church, Boston, in a recent week-day discourse has the following powerful passage on the anti-supernaturalistic teaching of "Robert Elsmere."

In the name of that faith in God to which the book urges, in the interest of that service to humanity to which it calls, in reverence for that love between souls, and between souls and their Maker which it glorifies, we may contest the completeness, dispute the adequacy, controvert the sufficiency of its interpretation of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

There is, in the squire, the man of intellect, the scholar and thinker. . . . His moral nature is a complete explanation of his intellectual negations. He may talk about testimony ; but even of the bare facts of Christian history he is a disabled and incompetent student. Christian facts cannot be understood apart from Christian ethics ; the outward occurrences cannot be comprehended except in connection with the purpose and spirit of Jesus Christ. The vulgarity, the brutality of the squire's nature, is a fixed impediment against all progress in the understanding of any religion. There is a beam in his eye. He is blind to the soul of every great movement for the help of his kind, of every great reform ; above all is he blind to the soul of Christianity. With such a character it is no wonder that he cannot even get the faintest glimmer of an insight into the moral grandeur of the Christian faith. It is indeed a marvel that a character of such moral obtuseness should have exerted an influence so decisive over Elsmere ; that a man so absolutely unqualified to pronounce judgment upon the sacred things of faith should have been able to overturn the belief and shatter the convictions of an intelligent Christian. It is only to moral monsters like the squire that Christianity is an affair of *mere testimony*. The testimony cannot be fully weighed apart from the character and mission of Christ ; apart from the character and moral purpose of his witnesses. For all this the squire has no more sense than a mole for the splendor of sunrise.

The testimony for miracle is insufficient. It is insufficient on the alleged ground of the universal preconception in favor of the miraculous at the time that Christ lived. That such a preconception existed we admit. That it was universal we deny. That men have learned to observe only in these last days, seems monstrous egotism. That the disciples of Jesus were not clear, shrewd, practical, unimaginative men seems hard to entertain. That the vast intellectual transformation wrought upon them by the influence of their Master should have served only to make them victims of delusion is incredible. There is nothing adduced in this book to show the testimony of Christ's disciples to be untrustworthy, except the fact that these men lived when all sorts of stories were believed. The world that was so credulous yet produced in Aristotle a consummate observer. The credulous world did not prevent his advent and services. The credulous world could not gull a band of men, whom the greatest Teacher in all history had enlightened, into believing that fancies were facts.

Weak in logic and strong in rhetoric and imagination is the characterization of Paul given in this novel. It is indeed an astonishing remark. I think it would have amazed Athanasius ; and it is generally supposed that he had some skill in dialectics. I think it would have amazed Augustine ; and it is widely believed that he knew how to reason. I think it would have elicited a grim smile from Edwards ; and it has hitherto been admitted that he knew something about an argument. Listen to Paul's version of the testimony to the resurrection of Jesus. Watch the precision of his statements. Mark the evident seriousness and conscientiousness of the man. Ponder his weighty words, and then see if you can entertain the idea that Paul was not anxious to escape from delusions and to help other men to escape ; see if you can believe that he was not rigorous and conscientious in receiving and in giving testimony on a matter so momentous : "Now I make known unto you, brethren, the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye received, wherein also ye stand, by which also ye are saved ; *I make known, I say*, in what words I preached it unto you, if ye hold it fast, except ye believed in vain. For I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures ; and that He was buried ; and that He hath been raised on the third day according to the Scriptures ; and that He appeared unto Cephas ; then to the twelve ; then He appeared to about five hundred brethren at once, of whom the greater part remain until now, but some are fallen asleep ; then He appeared unto James ; then to all the apostles ; and last of all as unto one born out of due time He appeared unto me also. . . . Whether then it be I or they, so we preach and so ye believed." That is Paul's version of the testimony. In view of the character of Christ, in view of his enlightening influence upon his disciples, in view of their good sense and honesty, in view of the fact that their persistent assertion of the risen Lord meant social ostracism, a life of persecution and a premature and violent death ; in view of all these things, I ask which is the more credible conclusion, — that the faith created the fact — or that the fact of Christ's resurrection created the faith ? Shall we explain the supposed fact by the faith, or the faith by the historic fact ?

This is my main contention against the book. The coincidence in Jesus of unusual power over nature with his Divine character seems to me a thing entirely harmonious. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody has somewhere finely said that as we listen to Christ's words and look at his life, it seems no longer strange that a voice like his should wake the dead.

Were I as certain as I am of my own existence, that a miracle had never taken place in the history of the universe, I should still retain my faith in the divinity of Jesus Christ. When I consider the effulgent beauty of his character, when I reflect upon his perfect sympathy with the righteousness of God and the moral possibilities of men, when I survey the changes He has wrought in the condition of mankind, when I look at the vitality of his influence to-day, and take into account the abundant promises of an immeasurable influence upon the future, when I think of Him as a fact in time, as a

spiritual phenomenon in the history of the race, the explanation of his person offered by Robert Elsmere seems weak, unworthy, and even contemptible.

If God has a supreme gift to make to the world, He can do it naturally or supernaturally. The natural and supernatural are simply methods. If it could be shown that the Supreme Gift came not by the supernatural method, then He came by the natural. For the Supreme Gift is here. Jesus Christ is a fact and not a theory. . . . Even on the denial of the miraculous in his life, I hold that the idea that there is in Jesus Christ the incarnation of the Divine Son, the Eternal Word, the Creative Reason, is the only idea sufficient to account for his character and power.

SENATOR DAWES of Massachusetts has made the great cause of international justice much his debtor by these brave and timely words in the "Forum" of January on the now famous and infamous provisions of the Chinese Exclusion Bill.

In 1888 the United States have enacted that no Chinaman, being a skilled or unskilled laborer, shall come into this country at all, and if any such Chinaman, already a resident here, shall go out of the country he shall never return. And whoever helps such a Chinaman across the line is liable to the penitentiary for the offense.

The phraseology of the Exclusion Bill, it will be observed, is "Chinese laborers, skilled and unskilled." It is not a law aimed at "bad men and women" escaping or driven from their own country and seeking a home here, and against whose malign influences self-preservation compels us to legislate. It excludes the good as well as the bad. Only two things are required to bring a foreigner reaching our shores within the law. He must be a Chinaman and he must also work for a living. Come he from any other country, or come he from China in any other garb or for any other purpose than to labor for his bread, he is welcome. We have not sought to justify this legislation by the plea of self-protection against the evil effect upon ourselves of the character and habits of Chinamen, for if a Chinaman has never "labored" at home and will pledge himself to remain idle on our soil, he may come here unmolested. If he will but array himself in purple and fine linen, or travel up and down the land with an army of adherents at his heels, keep a gambling shop where no work is done, or even worse houses, if worse there be; do anything or nothing that man aspires to or indulges in which may not be defined as a pursuit which "laborers, skilled or unskilled," follow — if he will do any of these things, no obstacle is interposed to his free entrance into, residence in, or departure from and return to this country. Even bad women, coming of their own motion, would find nothing in this legislation preventing them.

Chinese laborers were in the way of laborers of other nationalities and must be got rid of. "Sand-lotters" like Dennis Kearney began the movement, demagogues took it up, and politicians carried it forward. It would not do to put exclusion upon the ground upon which Mr. Seward based it in

his approach to the Chinese for a modification of the Burlingame treaty, namely, the necessity of keeping out "coolie laborers, criminals, prostitutes, and diseased persons," for that would be of general application and must be enforced at Castle Garden as well as at the Golden Gate. Indeed, recent investigations have demonstrated the absolute need, if immigrants of either of these four classes are to be excluded in the interest of good morals, free labor, or the safety of life and property, that the work must begin, and in earnest, too, on the Atlantic coast and among the immigrants of other nationalities who are crowding our Eastern ports. . . .

When the Chinese come to know that by the enactment of the bill referred to not only are all Chinese laborers who have never been in the country, but all others in China who, under a treaty pledge of safe return, left all their effects and wives and children and parents here, are forever shut out, the disturbance can only be measured by the manly spirit which this test will prove to exist in that government and people. But whatever course the Chinese government may take, this chapter in the history of our diplomacy and legislation cannot fail to meet the condemnation of calmer and more unprejudiced times. The descent from the high plane of national tradition and policy to this low level has been rapid and easy and the recovery may be slow and difficult, but if it does not come the republic is sure to suffer irreparable detriment.

In 1884 we women of the White Ribbon in convention assembled said we would lend our influence to the party that declared for prohibition, and sent our plea to each of the four parties at its national convention a few months later. Only one — the Prohibition party — so declared. We have kept our word so far as that party is concerned, and when any other party will declare for prohibition we will support it just as heartily.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

In view of the proposed purchase and control of the Panama Canal by the French government, the Senate of the United States has passed a strong resolution reaffirming the Monroe doctrine.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. III.—MARCH, 1889.—No. 15.

BRITISH IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

WHAT is meant by Imperial Federation? What are the aims of its advocates? How should it be viewed by the people of the United States?

The British Empire may be said to consist of three divisions: the islands of Great Britain and Ireland, the self-governing colonies, and the crown colonies. With the crown colonies this paper has nothing to do. Federation concerns them but only indirectly and remotely. At present the Parliament of the British Islands is the sole supreme legislative authority in the empire; and the sole supreme executive consists of the body of ministers possessing the confidence of that Parliament. The Queen, the head of the empire, can do no wrong, but she acts only through ministers, who are understood to be fallible, and who retain office only so long as they command a majority in Parliament.

The Dominion of Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, and the Australias are the greatest of the self-governing colonies. They had a system of representative institutions, combined with an executive appointed in whole or in part by the crown, almost from their infancy; but only within the last half century have they emerged out of that condition of partial pupilage, into something approaching political manhood. The evolution was not without disturbances and even conflict. In 1837 the Provinces, then known as Upper and Lower Canada, actually broke

out into little rebellions, not to obtain separation from the mother country, but to obtain for themselves the British system of Parliamentary government by responsible ministers. The rebellions were easily put down, for the mass of the people did not move in either case, but all that the rebels had sought was granted soon after. The North American Provinces were practically told by Her Majesty's ministers that they were free to govern or misgovern themselves, though a right of veto over their legislation was preserved in order that Imperial rights might be safeguarded. British statesmen having once learned that colonists would be satisfied with nothing less than self-government as the birthright of British subjects, colony after colony thereafter received home rule as soon as the people of the colony showed any eagerness to be enfranchised or to be no longer dependent on the colonial office. Now, in the groups I have named, only Natal and Western Australia are without complete responsible government. The principal links between a self-governing colony and the mother country are—the Queen or a common head, common citizenship represented by the flag, a governor appointed by the Queen's ministers, the right of veto, the right on our part to appeal in important matters to the Privy Council,—the supreme judicial authority in the empire,—and the duty on the part of the British government to defend us should we be attacked. These links prove that we are still part and parcel of the empire. Colonists everywhere are quite aware and quite proud of that. They cheer the flag; sing "God save the Queen" enthusiastically; are loyal to the Queen's representative and to their own constitution, modeled on that of Britain; rejoice in the success of the army and navy; have little or no thought of separation; but at the same time they believe, as the people of the Southern States believed thirty years ago, that they are free to secede whenever they like. They have reasons for this faith that the South had not. Apparently they get nothing from and give nothing to the mother country; they contribute nothing towards Imperial expenditure; they have nothing to do with the supreme functions of government; they have no voice in making peace or war, or even in making treaties that concern them-

selves, except by courtesy or special arrangement. Commercially, Great Britain is treated by them as if she were a foreign country, and she puts them on the same plane with foreigners. According to free trade there are no nations. Clearly the present condition is not one that has in it the elements of consistency or permanency. It is a condition of unstable political equilibrium and that always engenders an uneasiness and a restlessness and doubt as to the future most unfavorable to harmonious development. Its only explanation and defence is that it is a transient stage in a long process. It is the result of our political growth, but we are still growing and the clothes that fit us to-day will cramp us to-morrow. Men everywhere are beginning to feel that the present condition is unsatisfactory. They demand that the nominal union shall be made real, that for every privilege there shall be a corresponding responsibility, for every right a corresponding duty, for every burden a corresponding share of power. These men are called Imperial Federationists. They are in no hurry, and have no objection to be called nick-names. They think that five millions of Canadians, for instance, ought not to be satisfied much longer with political dependence or inferiority, and that they are as competent to share in the supreme work of government as three millions of Scotchmen or five millions of Irishmen.

What are their aims and plans? They have no cut and dried scheme. Some of them therefore dislike the term *Federation*, for it implies that they are in favor of a federal system and no other. Some of them also dislike the term *Imperial*, as it has a flavor of *Absolutism*. Britain has never been an empire. It has been a free commonwealth for centuries. But they care little for names. They love their flag and every bit of ground over which it floats. The British commonwealth is one now. They would make it indivisible. Their first motto is, "The union must be preserved." Their second, "In order to its being preserved it must be made effective." As to the best means or measures to be taken, they are not yet unanimous. Besides, they know very well that these must vary with the times and seasons. The day President Lincoln told influential deputations that emancipation of the slaves would be a measure politi-

cally inexpedient, they went home denouncing him as lukewarm. A week or two afterwards he issued his famous Proclamation of Emancipation. They then called him inconsistent. He was neither the one nor the other. He had always been in favor of the principle. That was the great point; and that was enough till the fullness of time came. The dreamer or enthusiast does not know when the people are ready for a change. The statesman does. But dreamers and enthusiasts have work to do. They help to educate the people. The democracy rules now, without question, in Great Britain and in every self-governing country, and it must be educated before any great political change can be effected with safety. All true education is rather slow, though the rate of speed depends on circumstances. In peace, opinion matures so quietly that there may seem to be no movement of thought at all. In times of political excitement, men's minds are open. They receive new ideas and are ready to act upon them with little delay. In war crystallization into fixed resolve or action may take place like a flash of lightning.

With regard to the steps that should be taken, the opinions of Unionists seem to me to be clarifying on certain points. There are common interests to defend, and there should be a common fleet. Each colony now has its own disciplined militia. The maintenance of an Imperial army would depend on the relation of the crown colonies to the central authority and on the general policy adopted by the empire as a whole. India of course has always paid its own military budget. There should be a Senate or Imperial Council, in which all the countries included within the commonwealth would be represented according to population or contributions or both, whose consent would have to be obtained before war, peace, or a treaty was made. Finally, there must be commercial discrimination. This proposal will provoke opposition in various quarters, but it is an indispensable plank in the platform. English economists will at once ask, What do you mean? would you propose a tax on bread? do you think that the workingman will vote for "the small loaf"? are we to reconsider our decisions on free trade? To all which our answer is, Yes, if you choose to put it so, that is

what we mean. Free trade is a good thing, but there are other things as good and better. The life of the nation is more important. It may be, too, that the only way in which to bring about free trade is by first caring for that which is of most importance. The old corn laws in England were bad. They were in the interest of one class in the community. Class legislation never assumed a more odious form. Besides, the possibility of getting wheat cheap was guarded against, for the home supply was inadequate and the tax rose as the price fell. But Federationists propose a measure in the interest of the whole community at home and abroad. The language about cheap bread and the small loaf is really an insult to workingmen. It indicates that they need nothing more; that they are paupers fed three times a day on bread. English workingmen think tea and sugar, beer, tobacco, and other things as necessary as bread, and those are taxed. In Canada and the United States coal, salt, wool, blankets, rice, medicines are as necessary as bread, and workingmen insist that those shall be taxed. They are willing to make commercial treaties with foreign nations on the *do ut des* principle. Apart from treaties they discriminate in favor of themselves and their fellow-citizens. Why? Because the nation is to them a unity, a reality almost as sacred as the family. We discriminate in favor of our own families, without fancying that we show thereby that we do not love our neighbors.

See how this applies to the case in point. At present Britain is over-populated. Every one feels it a duty to promote emigration to other lands no matter what their flag. It seems to be thought that the best thing a man can do for his brother is to help him to expatriate himself, and that the best wealth of the country is a nuisance. A horse, says Carlyle, will bring in any market a fair price, but a man is not only worth nothing, but the country could afford him a round sum would he simply engage to go and hang himself. Is there not something radically wrong here? Such a state of things might be borne with if it could not be helped. But there is as much room within the British Empire as there is within the United States for all sons of the soil able and willing to work. Has a country no duty in this matter? Britain says to her sons, it makes no dif-

ference where you go, provided only that you go far enough away. You may renounce your allegiance; you and your children may surround yourselves with a Chinese wall and refuse to trade with us; you may treat us as enemies, but we shall continue to treat you as if you still helped to bear our burdens. That may be magnificent, but is it sense? Can we afford even in trade to disregard such a fact as the nation? Free traders now are asking this question. Colonists now are saying, What good comes to us from our connection with the mother country? If, for instance, we went to the United States, we would have the same advantage that we now have, and also protection for our industries against all the world. This being so, why should we pay anything for Imperial purposes? The commonwealth does nothing for us. Why should we do anything for the commonwealth? Sentiment and interest are twin guides of life and should pull in the same direction. At present, sentiment is on one side, interest seems to be on the other. Dissatisfaction is the result. The Federationist proposes to unite these guides. He says in brief, Let Britain admit freely everything that her own citizens at home and in the colonies produce, but impose a tax of five to ten per cent. on the same articles coming from other countries. In return, the self-governing colonies will discriminate proportionally in favor of her manufactures. When this is done, those who leave the mother country will naturally go to lands where they are under the old flag and where the flag means something that will come home to them in every-day life. Each man will feel that he is better off because he is a British citizen. This is what is meant by the commercial plank in the platform. Not that that plank or any other has yet been agreed upon, but the time is coming.

How will the people of the United States view this projected union of the British commonwealth? The great republic is a very big country, with a vast population, most of them accustomed to think and speak freely, and some of them apt to speak without thinking. Different opinions may therefore be expected, and some foolish utterances for which all due allowance must be made. Two or three ready speakers are criticising the project unfavorably and as the question is not likely to interest

the mass of the people, the hasty voices of a few may be mistaken for the sober thought of the many. But the more the subject is considered, the more clearly will it be seen that it moves along lines with which the people of the United States must sympathize, and that it is in accordance with their highest thought and conscience, — the real forces that determine the permanent policy of a great Christian nation. You can have no sympathy with Secession. You are not likely to mistake Copperheadism in any form for the silent unconquerable spirit of loyalty that animates the true citizen. What would the break-up of the British commonwealth mean? Communities in different parts of the world without a future and as powerless in this age of great and growing empires as the republics of Central and South America; the mother country — your mother as well as the mother of us all — ultimately almost as powerless, in an age when the silver streak of sea means nothing and a hundred thousand disciplined soldiers eager for plunder could be landed in a night at any point on her coast, the advance guard of a million, now that Europe is relapsing into that savage state in which every man in the community goes armed. What would union mean? The maintenance of peace, the extension of commerce, the diffusion of civilization, the possession of the strategic points of the earth by a power acting in the general interest of humanity, a permanent union — moral alliance if nothing more formal is possible — between all English-speaking peoples. Which vision appeals most powerfully to the best in us? During your struggle for national unity, those who looked at it superficially wished well to the South, perhaps because they thought that a more equal division of power on this continent was desirable, perhaps for reasons still less creditable. But the great heart of the British people could not be deceived. They instinctively discovered what was involved in the struggle. They were willing to starve, though they knew there would be cotton in abundance the day after the blockade was broken. This democracy now rules. It will not consent to the break-up of the empire, any more than it would consent to unjust or aggressive war. And the people of the United States are of the same stock.

So far as Canada and the United States are concerned, it may be asked whether a union between them would not be more in accordance with geography than an Oceanic commonwealth like that which Federationists contemplate. It certainly would, just as union between Spain and Portugal, between France and Belgium, between Germany and Holland, between Austria, Italy, France, and sections of Switzerland, between Russia on the one side and Roumania, Bulgaria, and Servia on the other, would be in accordance with geography and along the lines of race and religion. But no one expects or wishes Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Roumania, or the Balkan States to be so absorbed. Yet, Switzerland excepted, union with their neighbors would be a simpler matter in all those cases than in ours. If Spain and Portugal agreed to unite, no one else would have the least right to protest. But in our case the union referred to would have to begin with disunion; separation from a country with which our history, our political constitution, and our affections are bound up. Would Secession be right? That is the supreme question to ask.

But would not free trade between Canada and the United States be advantageous to both countries? It certainly would, in my opinion, although Stalwarts on both sides of the line have frequently proved to their own satisfaction that it would not. The matter is as clear to me as the multiplication table, but it is equally clear that Congress will not consent to the mutual benefit, unless we consent to political and fiscal absorption as the price. We do not complain of this. Every country has the right to make its tariff to suit itself. Two or three years ago, indeed, Mr. Butterworth introduced a bill into Congress providing for unrestricted reciprocity between the two countries. A number of people here assumed that the bill would pass. Its introduction was so unexpected that they were prepared for almost anything. I believe, however, that it was not even read. If it had passed, there can be no doubt that we would have responded, although the effects in some quarters would have been disastrous. The next steps on our part would have been free trade with Britain and direct taxation to raise revenue. The proposal for unrestricted reciprocity, however,

was almost immediately dropped. It had not even to be laughed out of existence with you. It then developed into commercial union. That of course is a totally different thing. That means fiscal dependence on our part and discrimination of the most pronounced kind against Great Britain. Self-respect makes the former, and the old-fashioned Golden Rule makes the latter, impossible. If Britain, to suit herself, admitted the products of the United States free of duty and taxed ours, how would we act? We would pass an Ordinance of Secession in a week. Mr. Butterworth, I understand, has advanced to the third position. He has introduced a bill providing for our political incorporation in whole or in part with a foreign country! As imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, it would be in order now to introduce a bill into our Parliament providing for the incorporation of the State of Maine with the Dominion. That would suit us on the Atlantic seaboard and it ought to suit Maine. Supposing this done and that a majority of the people of the State fancied that the change would be to their material advantage, what then? Would Maine consent and would the United States consent?

Briefly, Canadians are as a rule free traders, and therefore would like a reciprocity treaty of almost any kind or to any extent with their neighbors. But, as they know that it takes two parties to make a bargain and that one of the parties, and it the more important, will not consent, they are beginning to look in another direction. Before long, they will ask Great Britain to reconsider her trade policy in the general interest of the empire.

It has been said that such a change would be unfriendly to the United States. How so? The proposal is to discriminate in favor of all within the commonwealth. You do that rigorously. Every country in the world does it, Britain excepted. Why should she not change her tariff if it suits her? And why should not the United States join the Commercial League on the basis proposed? Then, the foundations of a living union would be laid and the schism would be healed which rent the great family in twain last century. Two or three senators have lately proposed to heal the schism by making it wider. They

have announced that if we do not become Secessionists at once and annex ourselves willingly, we shall have to do so unwillingly; that Fate or Manifest Destiny has settled the whole thing for us; and that the union between their North and South would be best cemented by a little of our blood. How can men belonging to a body every member of which is expected to weigh his words utter such atrocious nonsense? The worst of it is that some of our people take it seriously. Most of us do not. We know that the language is only a bid for the Irish vote or for some other trumpety purpose. None the less it is bad seed to sow. It makes the blood even in sluggish veins boil to the finger tips. It would have the same effect upon you in the same circumstances. You were not afraid, when only three millions, to stand up against the might of England, rather than submit to the slightest infringement on your constitutional rights. You would not respect us if we were of a different spirit.

There must be no discord between Great Britain and the United States. And Canada is the part of Britain most concerned in cultivating friendliest relations with you. If any public man on this side of the line spoke insultingly of you, he would not be long in public life. We know that whatever is good for the one country must eventually be good for the other also. Therefore we desire your friendship as we desire that of no other people. As you are animated by the same feelings, you will sympathize with the highest aims cherished by us. In the end these will be for your advantage also. In the January number of "The Century" the editor points this out so clearly that I have nothing to add, except to say that no word has yet been written showing so keen an insight into the actual condition of Canadian sentiment.

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LITERARY ADMIRERS OF BUDDHISM.

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It is one of the strange phenomena of the present day, that even educated persons are apt to fall into raptures over the doctrines of Buddhism, attracted by the bright gems which its admirers cull out of its moral code and display ostentatiously while keeping out of sight all the dark spots of that code, all its trivialities, and omitting to mention precepts, which, indeed, no Christian could soil his lips by uttering. It has even been asserted that much of the teaching in the Sermon on the Mount is based on previously current moral precepts, which Buddhism was the first to introduce to the world five hundred years before Christ. But this is not all. The admirers of Buddhism maintain that the Buddha was not a mere teacher of morality but of many other great truths. He has been justly called, say they, "the Light of Asia," though they condescendingly admit that Christianity as a later development is more adapted to become the religion of the world.

Let us, then, inquire for a moment what claim Gautama Buddha has to this title, — "the Light of Asia"? Now, in the first place, those who give him this name forget that his doctrines only spread over Eastern Asia; and that Mohammed has as much right as Buddha to be called the "Light of Asia." But was the Buddha, in any true sense, a light to any part of the world? It is certainly true that the main idea implied by Buddhism is intellectual enlightenment. Buddhism means, before all things, enlightenment of mind, resulting from intense self-concentration, from intense abstract meditation, combined with the exercise of a man's own reasoning faculties and intuitions. It was only after such a course of meditation that the so-called light of knowledge burst upon the man Gautama. It was only then that he became Buddha, the enlightened one. We read in "*Lalita Vistara*," that at the supreme moment of this enlightenment, actual flames of light issued from the crown of the Buddha's head.

Of what nature, then, was this so-called light of knowledge that radiated from the Buddha? Was it the knowledge of his own deep depravity of heart? or of the origin of sin? No, the Buddha's light was in this respect profound darkness. He confessed himself a downright Agnostic. The origin of the first evil act was to him an inexplicable mystery. Was it then a knowledge of the goodness, justice, and holiness of an omnipotent Creator? Was it a knowledge of the Fatherhood of God? No, the Buddha's light

was in these respects also utter darkness. In these respects, too, he acknowledged himself a thorough Agnostic. He knew nothing of the existence of any Supreme Being — of any being higher than himself. What then was the light that broke upon the Buddha ? What, after all, was this enlightenment which has been so much written about and extolled ? All that he claimed to have discovered was the origin of suffering and the remedy of suffering. All the light of knowledge to which he attained came to this, that suffering arises from indulging desires ; that suffering is inseparable from life ; that all life is suffering, and that suffering is to be got rid of by the suppression of desires, and by extinction of personal existence. You see here the first great contrast. When the Buddha said to his converts, "Come, follow me," he bade them expect to get rid of suffering ; he told them to stamp out suffering by stamping out desires. When the Christ said to his disciples, "Come, follow me," He bade them expect suffering ; He told them to glory in their sufferings ; to rejoice in their sufferings ; nay, to expect the perfection of their characters through suffering. It is certainly noteworthy that both Christianity and Buddhism agree in asserting that all creation travaileth in pain — in bodily suffering, in tribulation. But mark the vast, the vital distinction in the teaching of each. The one taught men to aim at the glorification of the suffering body, the other, at its utter annihilation. What says our Bible ? We Christians, it says, are members of Christ's Body — of his flesh and of his bones — of that Divine Body which *was* a suffering Body — a cross-bearing Body — and is now a glorified Body — an ever-living, life-giving Body. A Buddhist, on the other hand, repudiates as a simple impossibility all idea of being a member of the Buddha's body. How could a Buddhist be a member of a body which was burnt, which was dissolved, which became extinct at the moment when the Buddha's whole personality became extinguished also ?

But, say the admirers of Buddhism, you will admit at least that the Buddha told men to get rid of sin and to aim at sanctity of life. Nothing of the kind. The Buddha had no idea of sin, as an offense against God ; no idea of true holiness. What he said was, "Get rid of the demerit of evil actions, and store up merit by good actions." This storing up of merit, like capital at a bank, is one of those inveterate propensities of human nature, which Christianity alone has delivered men from.

Only the other day I met an intelligent Sikh from the Punjab, and asked him about his religion. He replied, "I believe in one God, and I repeat my prayers, called Japji, every morning and evening. These prayers occupy six pages of print, but I can get through them in little more than ten minutes." He seemed to pride himself on this rapid recitation as a work of increased merit. I said, "What else does your religion require of you ?" He replied, "I have made one pilgrimage to a holy well near Amritsar. Eighty-five steps lead down to it. I descended and bathed in the sacred pool. Then I ascended one step and repeated my Japji in about ten minutes. Then I descended again to the pool and bathed again, and ascended to the second step and repeated my Japji a second time. Then I descended

a third time and bathed a third time, and ascended to the third step and repeated my Japji a third time ; and so on for the whole eighty-five steps, eighty-five bathings, and eighty-five repetitions of the same prayers. It took me exactly fourteen hours, from 5 P. M. one evening to 7 A. M. next morning." I asked, "What good did you expect to get by going through this task?" He replied, "I hope I have laid up a great store of merit, which will last me for a long time." This, let me tell you, is a genuine Hindu idea. It is of the very essence of Brahmanism, of Hinduism, of Zoroastrianism. It is equally a Mohammedan idea. It is even more a Buddhist idea. Buddhism recognizes the terrible consequences of evil actions, but provides no remedy except the storing up of merit by good actions as a counterpoise. The Buddha never claimed to be a deliverer from sin. He never pretended to set any one free from the bondage of sinful acts and sinful habits. He never professed to provide any remedy for the leprosy of sin, any medicine for a dying sinner. On the contrary, by his doctrine of Karma he bound a man hand and foot to the consequences of his own acts with chains of adamant. He said in effect to every one of his disciples, "You are in slavery to a tyrant of your own setting up. Your own deeds, words, and thoughts, in the present and former states of being, are your own avengers through a countless series of existences. If you have been a murderer, a thief, a liar, impure, a drunkard, you must pay the penalty in your next birth, either, in one of the hells, or as an unclean animal, or as an evil spirit, or as a demon. You cannot escape, and I am powerless to set you free." "Not in the heavens," says the Dhamma-pada, "not in the midst of the sea ; not if thou hidest thyself in the clefts of the mountains, wilt thou find a place where thou canst escape the force of thy own evil actions."

Contrast the first words of Christ : "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He hath sent me to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." Yes, in Christ alone there is deliverance from the bondage of former transgressions, from the prison-house of former sins, — a total canceling of the past, a complete blotting out of the handwriting that is against us ; the opening of a clear course for every man to start afresh ; the free gift of pardon and of life to every criminal, to every sinner, even the most heinous.

But here again I seem to hear some admirers of Buddhism say : We admit the force of these contrasts ; but surely you will allow that in the law of Buddha we find precepts which tell us not to love the world ; not to love money ; not to show enmity towards our enemies ; not to do unrighteous acts ; not to commit impurities ; to overcome evil by good, and to do to others as we would be done by. Yes, I admit all this ; nay, I admit even more. I allow that some Buddhist precepts go beyond the corresponding Christian injunctions ; for the laws of Buddha prohibit all killing, even of animals, for food. They demand total abstinence from stimulating drinks, disallowing even moderation in their use. They bid all who aim at the highest perfection to abandon the world and lead a life of celibacy and monkhood. In fine, they enjoin total abstinence, because they dare not

trust human beings to be temperate. How, indeed, could they trust them, when they promise no help, no Divine grace, no restraining power? The glory of Christianity is, that having freely given that power to man, it trusts him to make use of the gift. It seems to speak to him thus: Thy Creator has endowed thee with freedom of choice, and therefore respects thy liberty of action. He imposes on thee no rule of total abstinence in regard to natural desires; He simply bids thee keep them within bounds, so that thy self-control and thy moderation may be known unto all men. He places thee in the world amid trials and temptations, and says to thee, "My grace is sufficient for thee," and by its aid thou mayest overcome them all.

And, believe me, the great contrast between the moral precepts of Buddhism and Christianity is not so much in the letter of the precepts, as in the motive power brought to bear in their application. Buddhism says: Be righteous by yourselves and through yourselves, and for the final getting rid of all suffering, of all individuality, of all life in yourselves. Christianity says: Be righteous through a power implanted in you from above, through the power of a life-giving principle, freely given to you, and always abiding in you. The Buddha said to his followers, "Take nothing from me, trust to no one but yourselves." Christ said, and says to us still, "Take all from me, take this free gift, put on this spotless robe, eat this bread of life, drink this living water." He who receives a priceless gift is not likely to insult the giver of it. He who accepts a snow-white robe is not likely willingly to soil it by impure acts. He who tastes life-giving bread is not likely to relish husks. He who draws deep draughts at a living well is not likely to prefer the polluted water of a stagnant pool. If any one therefore insists on placing the Buddhist and Christian moral codes on the same level, let him ask himself one plain question: Who would be the more likely to lead a godly, righteous, and sober life, — a life of moderation and temperance, a life of holiness and happiness, — the man who has learnt his morality from the extinct Buddha, or the man who draws his morality and his holiness from the living, the eternal, the life-giving Christ?

Still I seem to hear some one say: We grant all this; we admit the truth of what you have stated. Nevertheless, for all that, you must allow that Buddhism conferred a great benefit on India by setting free its teeming population before entangled in the meshes of ceremonial observances and Brahmanical priestcraft. Yes, I admit this. Nay, I admit even more than this. I admit that Buddhism conferred many other benefits on the millions inhabiting the most populous part of Asia. It promoted progress up to a certain point. It preached purity in thought, word, and deed, though only for the storing up of merit. It proclaimed the brotherhood of humanity. It avowed sympathy with social liberty and freedom. It gave back much independence to women. It inculcated universal benevolence, extending even to animals; and from its declaration that a man's future depended on his present acts and conditions, it did good service for a time in preventing stagnation, promoting activity, and elevating the character of humanity.

But if, after making these concessions, I am told that, on my own showing, Buddhism was a kind of introduction to Christianity, or that Christianity is a kind of development of Buddhism, I must ask you to bear with me a little longer while I point out certain other contrasts which ought to make it clear to every reasonable man, how vast, how profound, how impassable is the gulf separating the true religion from a mere system of morality founded on a form of pessimistic philosophy.

And, first of all, let us note that Christ was *God-sent*, whereas Buddha was *self-sent*. Christ was with his Father from everlasting, and was, in the fullness of time, sent by Him into the world to be born of a pure virgin in the likeness and fashion of men. Buddha, on the contrary, by a force derived from his own acts, passed through innumerable bodies of gods, demi-gods, demons, men, and animals until he reached one out of numerous supposed heavens, and thence by his own will descended upon earth to enter the side of his mother in the form of a white elephant. Then Christ came down from heaven to be born on earth in a poor and humble station, to be reared in a cottage, to be trained to toilsome labor as a working man. The Buddha came down to be born on earth in a rich and princely family, to be brought up amid luxurious surroundings, and finally to go forth as a mendicant, begging his own food, and doing nothing for his own support. Then again, Christ, as He grew up, showed no signs of earthly majesty in his external form; whereas the Buddha is described as marked with certain mystic symbols of universal monarchy on his feet and on his hands, and taller and more stately in frame and figure than ordinary human beings. Then when each entered on his ministry as a teacher, Christ was despised and rejected by kings and princes, and followed by poor and ignorant fishermen, by common people, publicans, and sinners. The Buddha was honored by kings and princes, and followed by rich men and learned disciples. Then Christ had all the treasures of knowledge hidden in Himself, and made known to his disciples that He was Himself the Way and the Truth, Himself their wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption. The Buddha declared that all enlightenment and wisdom were to be attained by his disciples, — not through him, but through themselves and their own intuitions, — and that, too, only after long and painful discipline in countless successive bodily existences. Then, when we come to compare the death of each, the contrast reaches its climax. For Christ was put to death violently by wicked men, and died in agony an atoning death, suffering for the sins of the world at the age of thirty-three, leaving behind in Jerusalem about one hundred and twenty disciples, after a short ministry of three years; whereas the Buddha died peacefully among his friends, suffering from an attack of indigestion, at the age of eighty, leaving behind many thousands of disciples, after forty-five years of teaching and preaching. And what happened after the death of each? Christ the Holy One saw no corruption, but rose again in his present glorified body, and is alive for evermore; nay, has life in Himself ever-flowing in life-giving streams towards his people. Buddha is dead and gone forever. His body, according to the testimony of

his own disciples, was burnt more than four hundred years before the advent of Christ, and its ashes distributed everywhere as relics. Even, according to the Buddha's own declaration, he now lives only in the doctrine which he left behind him for the guidance of his followers. And here again, in regard to the doctrine left behind by each, a vast distinction is to be noted. For the doctrine delivered by Christ to his disciples is to spread by degrees everywhere until it prevails eternally ; whereas the doctrine left by Buddha, though it advanced rapidly by leaps and bounds, is, according to his own admission, to fade away by degrees, till at the end of five thousand years it has disappeared altogether from the earth, and another Buddha must descend to restore it. Then that other Buddha must be followed by countless succeeding Buddhas in succeeding ages ; whereas there is only one Christ, who can have no successor, for He is still alive, and forever present with his people. "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

Then observe, that although the Buddha's doctrine was ultimately written down by his disciples in certain collections of books, in the same manner as the doctrine of Christ, yet that a gulf of difference — a fundamental difference of character — separates the sacred books of each, the Bible of the Christian and the bible of the Buddhist. The Christian's Bible claims to be a supernatural revelation, yet it attaches no mystical, talismanic virtue to the mere sound of its words. On the other hand, the characteristic of the Buddhist bible is that it utterly repudiates all claim to be a supernatural revelation ; yet the very sound of its words is believed to possess a meritorious efficacy, capable of elevating any one who hears it to heavenly abodes in future existences. In illustration, I may advert to a legend current in Ceylon, that once on a time five hundred bats lived in a cave where two monks daily recited the Buddha's law. These bats gained such merit by simply hearing the sound of the words, that when they died they were all re-born as men and ultimately as gods.

Yet again, I am sure to hear the admirers of Buddhism say, "Is it not the case that the doctrine of Buddha, like the doctrine of Christ, has *self-sacrifice* as its key-note ?" Well, be it so. I admit that the Buddha taught a kind of self-sacrifice. I admit that it is recorded of the Buddha himself that in one previous existence he plucked out his own eyes, and that in another he cut off his own head, and that in a third he cut his own body to pieces to redeem a dove from a hawk. But note the vast distinction between the self-sacrifice taught by the two systems. Christianity demands the suppression of selfishness ; Buddhism demands the total suppression of self, with the one object of extinguishing all consciousness of self. In the one, the true self is elevated and intensified ; in the other the true self is annihilated by the practice of a false form of non-selfishness, which has for its final object the annihilation of the Ego — the utter extinction of personal individuality.

Then note other contrasts : —

According to the Christian Bible, regulate and sanctify the heart's de-

sires and affections ; according to the Buddhist, suppress and destroy them utterly if you wish for true sanctification. Christianity teaches that in the highest form of life love is intensified ; Buddhism teaches that in the highest state of existence all love is extinguished. According to Christianity : Go and earn your own bread ; support yourself and your family. Marriage, it says, is honorable and undefiled, and married life is a field on which holiness may grow and be developed. Nay, more, Christ Himself honored a wedding with his presence, and took up little children in his arms and blessed them. Buddhism, on the other hand, says : " Avoid married life ; shun it as if it were a burning pit of live coals ; " or, having entered on it, abandon wife, children, and home, and go about as celibate monks, engaging in nothing but in meditation and recitation of the Buddha's law — that is, if you aim at the highest degree of sanctification. And then comes the important contrast : that no Christian trusts to his own works as the sole meritorious cause of salvation ; but is taught to say : I have no merit of my own, and when I have done all I am an unprofitable servant. Whereas Buddhism teaches that every man must trust to his own works — to his own merits only. Fitly, indeed, do the rags worn by its monks symbolize the miserable patchwork of its own self-righteousness. Not that Christianity ignores the necessity for good works. On the contrary, no other system insists on a lofty morality so strongly ; but only as a thank-offering — only as the outcome and evidence of faith ; never as the meritorious instrument of salvation.

Lastly, we must advert again to the most important and essential of all the distinctions which separate Christianity from Buddhism. Christianity regards personal life as the most precious, the most sacred, of all possessions, and God Himself as the highest example of intense personality, the great I AM THAT I AM ; and teaches us that we are to thirst for a continuance of personal life as a gift from Him. Nay, more, that we are to thirst for the living God Himself, and for conformity to his likeness ; while Buddhism sets forth as the highest of all aims the utter extinction of personal identity — the utter annihilation of the Ego — of all existence in any form whatever, and proclaims, as the only true creed, the ultimate resolution of everything into nothing, of every entity into pure nonentity. " What shall I do to inherit eternal life ? " says the Christian. " What shall I do to inherit eternal extinction of life ? " says the Buddhist.

It seems a mere absurdity to have to ask, in concluding this address : Whom shall we choose as our Guide, our Hope, our Salvation — the light of Asia, or the Light of the World ; the Buddha, or the Christ ? It seems a mere mockery to put this final question to rational and thoughtful men in the nineteenth century : Which book shall we clasp to our hearts in the hour of death — the book that tells us of the extinct man Buddha, or the Bible that reveals to us the living Christ, the Redeemer of the world ?

CHURCH UNION IN JAPAN.

IN the month of September, 1872, about six months after the organization of the first Protestant congregation in Japan, a convention of missionaries was held in Yokohama. To this convention all missions at that time at work in the country had been invited, but only representatives of three missions were actually in attendance, those of the American Presbyterian Church (North), the Reformed (Dutch) Church in America, and the American Board, though two Episcopal clergymen not connected with missions in Japan were present at most of the meetings and took part in the debates. The great end in view was to secure coöperation in the work of translating the Scriptures, and as a result of the deliberations of this convention the so-called Yokohama Translation Committee was organized. The translation of the New Testament now so widely circulated through all parts of the land was the work of this committee. Besides this, the main business, the question of union of forces was much discussed. Though but one church had been organized, the growing toleration of the Japanese government, evidences of which were numerous, and the deepening interest of the young students who even then flocked to the missionaries in considerable numbers, seemed to promise the rapid multiplication of churches. It was deemed possible to limit the evils of sectarianism by arranging for the consolidation of the work of the three missions represented in the convention. Little more was done, however, than to agree upon a simple creed and arrange for the adoption of the same names for church officers. This arrangement was afterwards abandoned, but for several years the churches associated with the American Board's Mission regularly appointed elders among their church officers. The fact that the work of the Presbyterian and Reformed Missions for many years was largely restricted to the immediate vicinity of Tokyo, while that of the American Board's Mission

did not extend very far from Kobe, some 300 miles to the westward of the capital, rendered any very close union unnatural and impracticable.

The first two missions, however, were drawn more and more closely together. Their missionaries lived in the same cities and on terms of the most intimate friendship; their converts oftentimes hardly knew to which mission their obligation was greater. In the mean while, the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland had established a mission in Japan. This new mission from the beginning entered upon the most friendly relations with its sister missions of the Presbyterian family. Encouraged by the marked success which had attended the union at Amoy in southern China, between the churches of the Reformed (Dutch) Board and those of the English Presbyterian Mission, an arrangement was made in 1877 for the consolidation of the work of the three missions. In accordance with the plan adopted, each mission retained its distinct organization, but the churches which had grown up in connection with these missions became members of what was styled "The United Church of Christ in Japan."¹ The common work of the missions, both educational and evangelistic, has since been done in connection with this native church. In order to facilitate coöperation, there was organized a council of missionaries which served as a medium of communication between "The United Church" and the respective missions which could claim only an undivided share of the common work. As time went on, the influence of the union upon the different forms of work increased and the meetings of the presbytery, and subsequently of the synod, came to be the field for the weightiest debates in regard to aggressive Christian work. Subsequently the missions of the Reformed (German) Church in the United States and of the American Presbyterian Church (South) were added to this league. The advantages of this union have been felt more and more strongly every year. It has taken away the friction caused by divided

¹ In Japan, it has been customary, even in English discourse, to call this body by its Japanese name, "The Itchi Kyōkwai," while the Congregational churches have come to be called the Kumi-ai Kyōkwai, which the Congregationalists usually translate "The Associated Churches," but which a Presbyterian might with equal grammatical accuracy translate "The Church of Associations."

interests; it has given to the evangelists, both native and foreign, wider scope; the combination of forces has led to more extensive and better work than would otherwise have been possible; and last, but not least, these increased possibilities and larger plans have awakened a keener sense of responsibility which has exerted a most healthful influence upon all concerned.

A similar consolidation of the work of the American Protestant Episcopal Mission and the two British Societies, the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, has been effected. A close alliance of the three principal Methodist Missions has also been arranged. These missions, those of the M. E. Church (North), the Methodist Church of Canada, and the M. E. Church (South), have entered upon a scheme of coöperation in certain lines of work, but do not as yet see their way to organic union, though many are earnestly desiring that such union may be speedily secured.

More comprehensive plans have been earnestly advocated. In 1887 a circular was sent by a committee of the Episcopal convention to the different missions in Japan, asking for a conference with a view to organic union. No formal announcement was made of the general scheme in the mind of the leaders of this movement. It was understood, however, that certain influential Episcopalians were ready to make the Presbyterian system the basis of the conference, but would propose the following modifications: —

(1) That while the general constitution of the presbyteries should not be interfered with, or their authority over the churches disturbed, each presbytery should have a bishop for its permanent moderator; (2) That reordination of the existing non-Episcopal ministry should not be insisted on, save in the case of candidates for the episcopate; (3) That while no objection would be made to the participation of the presbytery in the ceremony of ordination, the presence and coöperation of the moderator, *i. e.* the bishop, should be regarded as essential to the orderly observance of the rite.

These intimations of the attitude of the Episcopal Church which had preceded the formal invitation had awakened more

than ordinary interest, but certain infelicities attendant upon the sending out of the circulars of invitation caused so much of irritation that the whole matter was dropped.

While this broad scheme found little favor, the widespread desire for union to which it gave expression was not without fruit. For several years the Christians associated with the missions of the American Board and "The United (Presbyterian) Church of Japan" had been brought into specially close relations. The leaders in both were warm personal friends, and the methods employed in both were largely the same. They found this similarity of method, coöperating with other causes, was leading more and more to a sharpness of competition which did not exist between either side and other Christian bodies. This sharp competition caused no little anxiety to the Japanese Christians and the feeling grew upon them that the true remedy lay in consolidation. The movement started with the Japanese and was strongly urged by the most influential men in the Japanese ministry before the missionaries became interested in it. It was a common remark among them, that if it were not for the foreigners the Japanese Christians would speedily come together. So soon as the missionaries perceived how intent their Japanese brethren were upon this thought of union, they with few exceptions most cheerfully offered to do all in their power to aid the movement. Though for several years the matter had been more or less talked about, it was not until the spring of 1886 that anything of moment was actually done. The importance of a general discussion of the question was at that time so far admitted, that it was arranged to hold the meeting of the General Conference of the Kumi-ai (Congregational) Churches and the Synod of The United (Presbyterian) Church simultaneously in Tokyo, in May of the succeeding year, in order to secure a conference between the two bodies. In the mean time informal conferences were held, and the conviction that union was both feasible and necessary gained rapid currency, and great pains were taken to secure a full attendance of representative men at the May meetings. After full debate a committee of five¹ was appointed on each

¹ This joint committee is usually called the Committee of Ten. It was com-

side to draft a paper which should embody a basis of union. In due time these committees reported a scheme which with some modification was adopted in both assemblies with substantial unanimity, and arrangements were made by the Kumi-ai Conference to submit the plan to the local churches for their decision. A committee of ten persons from each side was appointed, with authority, in case the basis of union should be approved by three fourths of the churches, to draft a constitution for the contemplated new organization and to call special meetings of the Synod and General Conference respectively, with the proviso that the draft of the constitution should be submitted to the churches not less than six months before such special meeting. It was also provided that the churches should be allowed not less than three months for deliberation upon the basis of union, before it should come into the hands of the committee. The nature of this scheme will be explained in connection with the report of the Committee of Twenty.

During the following summer, a tentative draft of the constitution was prepared by a sub-committee and circulated as widely as circumstances would admit, and the principles involved were also fully discussed at an informal meeting of the American Board's Mission. It should be remarked that special pains had been taken to secure the presence on the committee of those representing the stanchest Congregational principles and who looked upon the movement with more or less of misgiving. Owing to the filling of two vacancies which subsequently occurred, the complexion of the committee was changed somewhat and rendered slightly more favorable to union, but it was considered, even with these changes, more conservative than the mission itself.

After considerable correspondence, the committee met in Osaka in February, 1888, spent some days in careful deliberation, and adopted, it is stated, without a dissenting vote, a full report, including a draft of a constitution and by-laws for the

posed, on the part of The United Church of Christ in Japan, of Rev. Messrs. K. Ibuka, M. Oshikawa, M. Uemura, K. Yoshioka, and Wm. Imbrie, and on the part of the Kumi-ai churches, of Rev. Messrs. S. T. Miyagawa, J. T. Ise, P. K. Kanamori, T. Matsuyama, and D. C. Greene.

proposed union organization, together with an appendix containing forms for the organization of churches, etc., for the guidance of those who might care to use them. The Congregational and Presbyterian sections of the committee, in pursuance of the instructions given them, issued calls for the General Conference and Synod respectively to meet in Osaka, November 23, 1888.

According to the report, the doctrinal basis of the organization was to be the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Articles of the Evangelical Alliance. It had been originally intended to require all ministers to assent to the Westminster Shorter Catechism, the Heidelberg Confession and the Plymouth Declaration in the qualified way suggested by the phrase "for substance of doctrine," but it was thought better on both sides to limit the required assent to the three symbols first mentioned. The alleged meagreness of this doctrinal basis called forth some vigorous protests for a time, especially from two Japanese ministers on the Presbyterian side who had been educated in America. The basis seemed to them to be so comprehensive as to cover the possibilities of many forms of error. The anxieties of these good brethren were not, perhaps, completely set at rest, but the opposition which they represented seems entirely to have disappeared.

As regards polity, the report embraced the following principles : —

(1) The local church was to be the unit of the organization, to be free to make and modify its own constitution, reserving to itself all powers not specifically given to other bodies ; there was to be no legislative interference with its internal affairs.

(2) There were to be associations of local churches, called *bukwai*, composed of the pastor and one delegate from each church within their limits, and of all ordained ministers within the same limits, actually engaged in evangelistic work in connection with the *bukwai*, or in schools or seminaries associated with them. These bodies were to have the charge of ministerial standing, as similar bodies do in the United States, to have power to organize churches, to hear appeals from the churches under certain restrictions mentioned below.

(3) There were to be larger associations — *renkwai* — corresponding to state associations, made up in the same way of representatives from every church and ordained ministers actually engaged in evangelistic or educational work in connection with the *renkwai*. To these bodies was to be given power to appoint boards of missions, to assume charge of schools,¹ colleges, and theological seminaries, and to hear appeals from the decision of the *bukwai*, with the proviso that there should be no appeal to the *renkwai*, save in cases actually originating in the *bukwai*, with the same restriction as before (see below).

(4) There was to be a general association — *Sōkwai* — composed of an equal number of ministers and laymen appointed by the *bukwai*. This *Sōkwai* was to represent the unity of the church, make recommendations to the churches, “uphold truth and righteousness throughout the *renkwai*, *bukwai*, and churches,”² organize *renkwai* and hear appeals from them.

(5) One appeal was to be provided in judicial cases and only one. It was thought that there would be two classes of cases in which appeals would occur — one in which the feeling outside the church would be trifling, and in which a speedy adjustment would be the paramount consideration; the other class would comprise cases in which so much of excitement had arisen as to render it important to secure a tribunal considerably removed from local influences. The question to be settled was, How can the line be drawn between these two classes? The following plan was suggested: Whenever an appeal is made,

¹ This clause was inserted partly for the sake of recognizing the status of certain schools on the Presbyterian side, and partly because a similar plan had been so warmly advocated by several on the Congregational side that it seemed fit to provide for the possibility of such a change in the constitution of some of the Congregational schools, especially that of the Doshisha College. The large subscriptions (about \$70,000 silver) recently secured for this college from Japanese sources, on the basis of its present constitution, have since rendered any radical change decidedly inexpedient. The thought that this clause would, or could, be used to bring such schools under the control of the ecclesiastical organization against the wish of those in charge never entered the minds of the framers of the proposed constitution, nor do they admit it now.

² This expression gave great offense. It was thought by some to cover very indefinite powers; though the intention was merely to acknowledge the right of the *Sōkwai* to speak for the churches on moral and religious questions. It will probably be omitted because of its indefiniteness.

whether from the decision of a church or from that of a *bukwai*, the sense of the appellate body shall be first ascertained as to the expediency of hearing the appeal, and should one third of those present regard it inexpedient to hear it, the case shall be passed on to a standing committee of the next higher body,¹ but in either event the decision is to be final.

Some have described this arrangement as providing for a series of appeals. This is hardly correct. A series is a succession of co-related terms, but here, though provision is made for appeals from cases originating in three different bodies, the church, the *bukwai*, and the *renkwai*, there can never be a succession of appeals concerning the same grievance. This arrangement would not give the *bukwai* and *renkwai* control of the church, for any case heard on appeal must be judged in accordance with the constitution of the church; moreover, none of the friends of the union ever intended to admit appeals from a legislative act of a church, but only in cases of discipline, or those in which a church was alleged to have violated a definite constitutional pledge to do, or not to do, some thing, and then only when it resulted in a wrong to the appellant. This is, it is true, a concession to Presbyterianism, but the evil, if it be an evil, is reduced to its lowest terms. Here we have provided one appeal to a body worthy of full respect, in place of a possible three under the Presbyterian system. The freedom of the local church from all legislative interference, and its right of a direct vote on all constitutional questions (instead of voting through the *bukwai*) are substantial concessions to the Congregationalists which go far to compensate for the counter concessions which the judicial arrangements involve. It is understood further, that some of the most prominent men on the Presbyterian side stand ready to advocate the following amendments: (1) To relegate the sections relating to judicial procedure to the

¹ One critic has referred to this plan as follows: "Where did this government by minorities come from? From Presbyterianism or Buddhism, or what?" Is it possible that he has forgotten the power which the best parliamentary usage frequently gives to minorities to prevent action by a majority? That is all that this amounts to, and the arrangement is made in the interest of liberty. It must be admitted to be a convenient and substantially just means of securing a hearing at once prompt and fair.

Appendix, thus taking away their obligatory character ; (2) To restrict appeals to cases of discipline ; (3) To use instead of the term "appeal" some phrase of which "arbitrate" shall be the central word.

When the two bodies met in Osaka, November 23, the Synod was prepared to act promptly and accepted the report of the Committee of Twenty with some slight amendments, and arranged for the consummation of the union. In the General Conference, however, matters did not run so smoothly. Several churches declined to send representatives on the ground that sufficient time had not been allowed for deliberation. Some churches which sent delegates withheld from them the power of voting on the burning question — they were sent to see and to hear and to report. At the outset, there had been less opposition on the Congregational side than on the Presbyterian, but certain papers which had appeared in "The Pacific" and "The Advance," together with the action of the State Associations of California and Nebraska protesting against the plan and intimating there was danger of the withdrawal of funds, were followed by a series of papers by Messrs. S. L. and O. H. Gulick, laying great stress on the Presbyterian features of the plan. Their picture of the evils of Presbyterianism as they viewed it was very vivid and staggered some of the best friends of union for a time. Several days were spent in discussion, earnest and warm, but useful in clearing up misunderstandings. Nearly all of the prominent Japanese ministers spoke strongly in favor of union, but all acquiesced in the wisdom of postponing final action until the regular meeting of the conference in May, 1889.

In viewing this scheme from the standpoint of a Congregationalist, it is not strange that the judicial arrangements should be seen in a strong light, and be looked upon as a harmful limitation of the rights of the church. It should not be forgotten, however, that to call it tyranny, as has been done, is a perversion of terms, for the whole judicial arrangement is a defense of individual liberty, as against the local church, or of the local church, as regards an unconstitutional act of the *bukwai*. With the amendment which the Presbyterians seem ready to accept, the judicial machinery could not be set in motion except at the instance of an aggrieved individual.

That a local church can under the influence of excitement and prejudice override the rights of its members, and refuse to submit its decisions to the review of a council, the history of Congregationalism plainly shows. This plea for the liberty of the local church is not always a plea for liberty in it. This is not saying that Congregationalism may not be the better system, but simply that the question is not to be settled off hand by an *ex parte* appeal to history.

The fact that the *bukwai* are made guardians of ministerial standing ought not to excite criticism, since in this regard the plan coincides with that advocated by Dr. Ross, of which the "Bibliotheca Sacra" says: "It is no longer the theory of one man, but the officially adopted method of the principal States of the land."¹ That which is a recognized feature of allowed Congregationalism is not open to fair criticism in a compromise measure, especially when the same writer, apparently a full believer in the *jure divino* theory of Congregationalism, can say, a little farther on: "Our author claims that ministerial standing cannot be held in the unassociated churches of any locality and assigns a number of reasons for this. The historical argument, that, in fact, the old method did not work successfully, would have been a stronger one and more satisfactory had the limits of Dr. Ross's work permitted him to go into it."² Dr. Ross himself would carry the power of these associations of churches so far as to give the right to expel unacceptable ministers and recalcitrant churches from its membership and thus practically from the denomination, with only the restraint which comes from the moral influence of an advisory, possibly merely an *ex parte*, council.³

Attention has been called to the alleged abnormal clerical influence in the proposed church councils. As a matter of fact, the number of ministers cannot be in excess for many years to come. There may, perhaps, be occasional meetings in which ministers will be in the majority, but it will be for many, many years to come quite within the power of the churches to secure

¹ *Bib. Sac.* July, 1888, p. 545.

² *Ibid.* p. 545.

³ *Ross's Lectures on Congregationalism*, cf. pp. 163, 301, 279.

a large majority of laymen in all their deliberative bodies,¹ save the *Sōkwai*, which under the proposed amendment will have no judicial functions, and will have little more power than the National Council of Congregational Churches in the United States. Whatever those may say who look mainly at the theoretical aspects of the matter, the writer after a service of several years as the executive officer of the Evangelistic Committee of the mission of the American Board and often obliged to act for the committee in distant parts of the field, feels bound to express with emphasis his firm conviction that in this regard the new plan will work great benefit. There has been no graver ecclesiastical question suggested by the recent history of the Congregational churches in Japan than that touching the growing influence of irresponsible men, *i. e.* men not definitely charged with the responsibility which comes from official position, upon the coöperative work of the churches. This is not said by way of depreciation, for the writer entertains a most profound respect for the personal character of these men and very large confidence in their practical wisdom; the brilliant success which they have gained has won his admiration; but, nevertheless, the system which has seemed to necessitate these measures, however adequate it may appear in communities which inherit the traditions of the English Commonwealth, sometimes, among less aggressive peoples, fails of the very end which its advocates seek to attain. The writer may be wrong in his inference, but he is influenced in his advocacy of the proposed scheme by the belief that it will place a more definite responsibility upon the lay element of the churches and give that element a larger share in the plans of the community of churches than it has ever had before.

This plan, while it safeguards the liberties of the individual as regards the church, and the church as regards the association of churches, avoids the weakness of Congregationalism which hands the common work of its churches over to voluntary societies, which, because they are voluntary, are beyond the limits of their direct control.

¹ Among the Congregational churches of Japan there were at last accounts but twenty-seven pastors for forty-three churches. It will be impossible to furnish ordained men fast enough to improve the proportion very much.

In this review, the attention has been necessarily restricted to the spirit of the contemplated constitution. The principles here discussed are those which its framers desired to maintain. Details which seem inconsistent with these principles can readily be modified. On neither side is there any disposition to magnify details. To compare the movement with the so-called "Plan of Union" in the West and to predict failure, because that failed, is to misapprehend the whole scheme. It is not an attempt to secure a *modus vivendi* between members of more or less antagonistic bodies, but it aims at the practically complete consolidation of the antagonistic bodies themselves and will be abandoned, unless it can be adopted with something approaching to unanimity on both sides.

By the opponents of this scheme great use has been made of the alleged divisive and centralizing tendencies of Presbyterianism, as exhibited in its history, as an argument against the proposed constitution. But it must not be overlooked, that a historical argument which makes no account of the spirit of the age and the counter tendencies which that spirit fosters is of little value. That the strong movements, even in purely Presbyterian organizations, are certainly at present towards union and a larger lay influence, can hardly be denied.

Such has been the marvelous growth¹ of the work of recent years that in the near future the worst evils of denominationalism threaten to be upon the Japanese churches. Even now more or less serious friction has arisen. Besides such causes of irritation, there is under the present system an artificial restraint upon the evangelists which often amounts to a most unhappy limitation of their work. On missionary ground, perhaps more than in Christian lands, Christian work must follow the lines of personal influence, and these lines do not always bend to suit the arrangements of missions or churches. It is true that union between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists will not stop the evils of denominationalism, but it will lessen them in large degree. If it be an evil to have friction

¹ It can hardly be an excessive estimate if the whole number of Protestant Christians be placed at 28,000 or 29,000, and of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians at 18,000.

at a hundred points, it is an important gain if that number be reduced to fifty. The two bodies number more than three fifths of all the Protestant Christians in Japan, and it is understood that in case of union the Cumberland Presbyterians will cast in their lot with the new organization.

It is further true, that friction between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists when in direct competition is almost invariably sharper than between either one and other denominations. It is because, in practice, however great may be the emphasis by ecclesiastical writers upon their points of difference, neither ministers nor laymen put great stress upon them. Both pass from one denomination to the other with no sense of sacrificed principle. The two bodies are rivals working on the same, or nearly the same, plane. The irritation caused by the recent use of the funds of the Presbyterian Church Extension Board to build up Presbyterian churches in New England illustrates the great sensitiveness of these denominations in their mutual relations.

Both native Christians and missionaries would have been glad of a more comprehensive union, but the time was not yet ripe. They have taken what they regard as the statesman-like course of attacking the point where the evils they wish to cure are the worst, partly because they are the worst, and partly because the very causes which make them so seem to involve the promise of relief through consolidation. The consolidation, if effected, will lead to far greater economy of men and money and will thus hasten the day of complete financial independence, and will give greater efficiency to every department of missionary work.

Among the members of other denominations, opinions may differ with regard to this scheme. There may be those, possibly, who think they see in it reason to fear a more stalwart attitude toward Christians of other names, but one good Methodist brother gave expression to his feelings by saying, "I would cut off my right hand sooner than do anything to impede such a glorious movement."

The large majority both of missionaries and of the Japanese Christians regard this movement as fraught with great promise.

The moderator of the synod, when the time came to put the final motion for the adoption of the committee's report, was completely broken down, so great was his sense of the deep meaning of the pending question; his voice failed him and he was forced to retire from the chair.

In America such a union is outside the realm of practical church politics, but can it be that the influence of American Christians is to be used, as some are urging, to thwart this movement and to perpetuate a system which threatens in a few years to plant, even in the smaller towns of Japan, three or four competing churches at the sacrifice of nobler work?

DANIEL CROSBY GREENE.

OBSTACLES INSEPARABLE FROM REFORMS.

DOUBTLESS the Roman guard at Jerusalem was much annoyed by the inconvenience brought upon them by the Crucifixion; and they were unlike men of to-day if they did not blame the victim rather than his murderers. A similar confusion of justice usually attends every reform. Commotion comes to life's varied channels when the existing order of things is being recast; and it is natural to hold reformers responsible, and blame them soundly, for all friction incident to those radical changes known as reforms. And yet a very large part of such friction should be charged to the work and not to the workers. The ship's captain is not held responsible for fogs, icebergs, and cyclones. The faithful surgeon is not blamed for pains incident to his loving and skillful service. And yet how vast the army of martyrs whose only offense was timely and self-sacrificing service which involved temporary inconvenience or pain for those whom they helped.

Reforms are difficult at best. Their difficulties should be reduced to the smallest amount possible. It would help those who would not willingly be unjust, if they could bear in mind the difficulties inseparable from those radical reconstructions of life and society by which customs, venerable for their antiquity and touching a wide range of personal interest, are abolished. Unjust impatience with reformers may come in part from the fact that, when revolutions have passed into history, those who brought them about are canonized, their obloquy and pains at the time all forgotten. The hurried conclusion is easy, that all reforms should be equally welcome and honored while in process; and that friction is proof of unwisdom or mismanagement. It may help both reformers and their critics to recall some of the difficulties inseparable from reforms.

1. *The inertia of an established state of things.* Inertia

offers a twofold resistance, — if at rest, against motion ; if in motion, against being brought to a stand. This is a serious obstacle when inert matter is dealt with, but much more formidable when personal interests are concerned. Human passions, will, schemes, and ambitions are vigilant and tenacious. Men and women living complacently in luxurious ease do not enjoy any disturbance of their comfort. Reforms always assume the existence of serious imperfection, sometimes of grave fault amounting to guilt, in the existing order of things. Indolent optimism dislikes any humiliating admissions ; treats it as an impertinence to be told of evils in church or state ; and sometimes rouses to indignant resistance, when practical measures are taken to remedy those evils.

Business is pressing, the margin of profits close, merchants are afraid of any disturbance. If left to themselves, business men would, as a body, silence discussion of most vital questions, if new, from the instinct of self-preservation.

But this instinct is intensified to the point of determined and persistent action when lines of business, like the slave-trade and liquor traffic, gambling, etc., pander to those evils as the fountains of their prosperity.

2. *The resistance of vested interests.* Simple possession of a field is construed, by those enjoying it, as conferring a right, almost beyond discussion, to undisturbed continuance. Let this natural tendency be reinforced by selfish passions, the situation is full of possible and infinite trouble. It is a sad fact that almost every form of evil is used by large and organized classes for gain. Human vultures have no thought of compassion. Marvelous the ease with which the greatest wrongs to humanity, or sin against God, can be condoned, or even defended, if paying rich profits. The horrors of the slave-trade, scores of annual suicides at Monaco, armies of worse victims led to the slaughter by the alcohol traffic, only redouble the vigilance and reinforce the determination of organized hosts whose whole business it is to thrive upon human woe. These hosts are wise after the manner of this world ; they are immensely rich and equally unscrupulous. They hesitate at no misrepresentation, no violence even, to defend their gains.

They employ the best talent in literature, in journalism, in the court room, in social circles, not merely to help argument, but to ruin opponents by any measures promising success.

It is a sad fact that politics — that high field of manhood's best endeavor — is seized by wicked interests for their defense. Reformers must enter that field for humanity's rescue, if there its wrongs find their maintenance and security. They must storm evil's intrenchments wherever they are. But political parties have ever been sensitive in the extreme about what they deem an invasion of their prescriptive rights. Even in republican America new issues fare hard if in the hands of a new party. The simplest exercise of civil rights, the very essence or foundation of our national life, rights based upon principles in which we glory as way-marks of the world's progress, is haughtily challenged if it imperils spoils of office and personal distinction. Political interests are proverbially sensitive, and it is a misfortune of certain reformers that they must encounter those prejudices at their worst.

3. *Persecution of minorities.* This most discreditable resort, to which human nature has always yielded when opposed by minorities or the weaker, is not wanting in the ordeal borne by reformers. Nothing more destitute of reason, logic, common sense, or Christianity than to inflict pains upon another because of differing opinions, or the exercise of undoubted rights in life's varied relations, and yet nothing is more common. The fact abounds, whatever the variety of method. Modern history is full of instances. Men and women of distinguished birth, of eminent attainments and matchless gifts have been socially ostracized and deprived of public duty, in which they rendered signal service, because they challenged glaring wrongs and championed humanity, by promoting some organized reforms. Mere opinions may be tolerated, however radical and opposed to existing evils, provided there is no movement to give those opinions effect in abolishing the evils. Hence a minister is tolerated who only generalizes; but when he leads active and resolute forces opposed to vested interests, whether of money or ambition, then his hold upon his pulpit is precarious in the extreme. No one questions this easy resort to persecution by the

strong, when immunities long held are imperiled by minorities obedient to convictions of logic and duty. An interesting illustration appeared in an incident of the political campaign of 1884. A college professor in New England, his chair the peaceful one of ancient languages, was mobbed by a mock serenade because his vote for president displeased one of the old parties. The emphasis of the illustration is in the fact that this same professor, when a lad, was seriously assailed with threats of well-nigh deadly intent because his father was a pioneer of the party now turned executioners.

At first sight, it would seem a recommendation of any man or party that he or it had been persecuted, so honorable the ranks, and so unequivocal the confession of weakness and error when, despairing of honorable and legitimate defense, resort is had to inflicting pains; but human nature has another unfortunate proclivity — to count all suffering as deserved. Undoubtedly a just retribution has something to do with the experiences of this life. The barbarians of Melita were not altogether illogical, or unscientific, in surmising that Paul was suffering for some great crime when the viper fastened upon his hand; but it is illogical and unscriptural to account the victims of persecution as therefore wrong-doers. There is need of pausing, at least, to inquire whether the pains are not badges of honor and claims upon gratitude.

4. *Deficiencies of the friends of reform in some or all of the advantages of numbers, success, wealth, social or religious prestige, and the various patronages of fashion.*

Minorities are usually lightly esteemed, however worthy their cause; but it is not always remembered that reforms must be initiated by minorities. Any cause in the majority is therefore in power; and yet it is easy for the careless, or busy, or those of opposing interests, to rule every question out of order whose friends are comparatively few. With some minds, any issue is pronounced worthless, or at least impracticable, if untried. Still stronger the distrust, if not contempt, when tentative efforts have met with defeat. Here the glorious procession of the world's benefactors is overlooked, who have mustered a small following, have risen dauntless and irrepressible from fre-

quent disaster, have gained inspiration and resolution from every adversity and plucked victory from the very jaws of death. Reformers must knit their muscles and clear their vision and steady their hands, grappling with overwhelming odds and coping with adversaries determined never to yield. Principles are purified and refined in the fires of such conflict.

Fashion does not smile on such warriors until after victory. The luxurious have few plaudits for the self-denying. Heroic example does not make a good foil for self-indulgence. Those whose business it is to bask in the world's sunshine, or laboriously wander to gather rare fruits, cannot appreciate the disposition willing to make cost for itself that gain may come to generations yet unborn. By many the possibility of unselfish living is denied, if the habit of self-pampering is abandoned long enough to think about it at all.

All this and more of the same tenor should be discounted, in weighing any reform or the meed of credit due its advocates. It is not a valid indictment against any measure that its friends are in the minority, or that it is as yet prospective only, or that Pharisees and followers of Cræsus are not its defenders. The time may come when merit will be the only and ready test of every cause. It will always be difficult for minds mainly mathematical and commercial not to believe only in the stronger battalions. Some, in fact many, truly Christian, easily lose sight of God in practical matters, of the unseen factor of human progress. Hence the frequent spectacle of good and bad men joining hands in resisting a good and urgent cause. Bad men hate and oppose the good that is in it; good men efficiently aid that opposition by thinking the cause impracticable and substituting some expedient neither righteous in principle nor any more practicable. When abolitionists demanded righteous measures, good men headed them off and delayed the day of decision, if they did not help in precipitating war, by the impracticable scheme of colonization. To-day, good men embarrass the march of prohibition by despairing of success in the face of alcohol's treasures and alliances; and they offer weak and impracticable substitutes in the vain hope of rescuing men, women, and children from the saloon by measures which really dignify and perpetuate it.

5. *Specious counterfeits of reform.* The world's superior wisdom is not wanting when success seems about to crown the patient toil and persevering sacrifice of reformers. With generalship worthy of a better cause, the allies and defenders of the evils antagonized play the part of reformers and bring forward schemes, more or less plausible, but ingeniously planned for mischief. That mischief may be great and yet difficult of detection. The real authors often escape notice while it divides the friends of reform, wastes both time and strength in irrelevant discussion, and sometimes leads to factional strife. It delays decision by diverting attention from the real issues. When half-measures fail, as they were designed to do, discouragement is easy in the hasty conclusion that any measure would be equally futile. Communities dislike commotion and unrest. If fruitless agitation can be kept up until people are weary, then wise and timely agitation — the indispensable condition of social and moral progress in free countries — becomes almost impossible, certainly long postponed.

For example, in the old dark days of slavery, — when its victims multiplied; when constitutional and legislative barriers were overthrown in the interest of that crime of crimes; when new states were projected for its expansion and perpetuity, then came the days of compromises. Good men eagerly caught at the delusive hopes of colonization. Our greatest statesman thought the whole question, involving eternal justice, could be left to the decision of meteorology. Others would build barriers of righteousness with parallels of latitude.

To-day, when the dram-traffic is being so understood as to raise up an army of opponents resolved to stop its wholesale havoc upon everything precious in time or eternity, this defense is a frequent and ingenious resort of its friends. When the only remedy is to "pulverize the saloon," the counterfeits, seemingly in opposition, skillfully perpetuate it. High license is brought forward as a restriction of the evil, many good men are enlisted, but it is never thought of until prohibition is imminent, and a buffer is needed between popular and organized indignation and the crime it would suppress. High license clothes the traffic with the weighty sanction of legal authoriza-

tion. The public mind and conscience instinctively pronounce anything right according to law as equally right in morals. High license gilds the devil's traps with attractions of reinforced splendor. It intrenches a criminal traffic in the cupidity of tax-payers. It creates a moneyed and organized guild, strong and unscrupulous, both for offense and defense. Whatever the immediate reduction of saloons, in number, it compels them to a larger business in order to gains with which to pay dividends to the State ; and it is not long before the increased dignity and security of the business multiplies their numbers beyond any precedent. This is always the case where the law has no other restrictive features than the sum demanded for legal permission. Rigid conditions regarding bondsmen, the consent of neighborhoods, and other genuinely restrictive measures, which are a part of some high-license laws, have borne excellent fruits which high-license advocates are not slow to proclaim, but they are not theirs by any just appreciation. Nothing in the history of the temperance reform is more undeniable than the truth of the recent declaration of the bishops of the Methodist Church that all legal sanction of the dram-traffic by license, high or low, is "vicious in principle and powerless as a remedy."

Nothing in the temperance reform is more painful than the fact that so many good men fail to see that the immense sums accruing to the coffers of the state represent a corresponding increase in the consumption of liquors and consequent woe to humanity. Expensive and legalized saloons invite and foster all the appendages of their related, depraved lusts. When dealers, as well as the state treasury, are enriched by license laws, some good men illogically defend those laws upon the principle that if rumsellers cause ruin they must "pay the bills." These counterfeits are not wanting where rigid prohibition is the law. Sometimes half-measures take the form of pretended attempts at enforcement, while their failure is carefully insured from the beginning, so to lead the public to the hopeless conclusion that all efforts would be equally fruitless. Then further attempts are not probable, at least for a long time. It is a constant resort of allies of the rum-traffic to pose as law and order

advocates, either themselves taking the initiative, or seizing work undertaken by others and deliberately bringing it to naught by tactics which discredit the law and discourage its friends.

The worst thing about these counterfeits is their capture of good men. All who are constitutionally timid about heroic measures, who look first for the winning side, who forget that the gospel sometimes brings the sword, are their easy victims.

6. *Divergent views and methods.* Minds differ more than faces. Every movement affecting society has manifold relations and can be measured only when looked at on many sides. Reforms are only prospective in their early and difficult stages. If agriculture, as old as the race, is a fertile and never-ending field of discussion and experiment, how much more must this be true of undertakings wholly tentative. Great the loss of strength to reformers from differing opinions in their own camp. Rich the opportunity for skeptics to jeer at a championship lacking unity. Easy it always is for the timid to hold aloof from a cause which, at first glance, has discouraging aspects. Inevitable that the conservatives who are constitutionally braced against risks should cling to beaten paths. It is not readily remembered that all progress is through a series of blunders, where the field is untried and opposition strong and constant. No general, however gifted, expects to move forward in a straight line or count victories only. No more does he expect that all his plans and combinations will succeed. Proving negatives, a constant necessity in all other work, must be expected in reforms, perhaps more than in any other field of effort. Opposition changes front with great ease and frequency. Error must be followed in its every retreat and stronghold. Advanced positions require a change in tactics. The followers of reforms have not the close organization of old parties; hence the greater freedom of individual opinions and leadership. The genius of reforms is to break new ground, their motto, "*Nullius jurare in verba magistri.*" Inventors are not discouraged when model after model goes to the dealer in old junk.

7. *Eccentric advocates.* A frequent, if not invariable, weapon of established parties restless under the pressure of a

logic, or practical measure, that undermines their positions, disturbs their peace, or imperils perquisites, is epithets thrown by wholesale. Some of the most honored titles to-day had their origin in such contemptuous opposition. It is no argument to call an opponent a "crank" or "fanatic." It cannot be denied, however, that every community has minds always on the lookout for some new thing; dissatisfied with established and familiar usages in a chronic temper of negation; especially fond of the fever and heat of controversy, perhaps denunciation. However beneficent and needed the reform, it may offer an inviting field to such restive and contentious spirits and suffer from their advocacy. None are ignorant of the facility with which human nature measures even a good cause by its few unfortunate representatives. Reformers, as a rule, do not break with the past, its associations and convictions, of choice or gladly. They do not love to be singular or covet martyrs' experiences. But it is easy for hasty, if not uncandid, critics to classify them all with the modern Athenians who are never content unless hearing or telling some new thing, and whose temperaments are not always distinguished for self-poise. Discussion of living and serious issues easily becomes heated; words are not always well chosen; and opponents, not overfair in spirit or tactics, can get considerable capital from the mistakes and style of well-meaning but inexperienced, or unbalanced, champions of the best causes. Here again the great misfortune that good men are not always discriminating in their judgments, that they are unduly influenced by distasteful associations, irrelevant arguments, or unfortunate methods.

8. *Christian faith lacking or misapplied.* We say the Lord's prayer and then so forget or disbelieve it as to despair of overcoming evils that dispute the will and Kingdom of Heaven. Did not the Master know all the difficulties of the situation, to the end of time, when He bade us pray, "thy Kingdom come, thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven"? It is not to be claimed that evils hoary with age, and intrenched in the world's sordid, grasping, and unscrupulous instincts are to be annihilated in a day. Providence moves rapidly, indeed, but, measured by human lives, there must be patient waiting for its unfoldings.

But the faith to be held, unflinchingly and hopefully at all times, is the coming and absolute triumph of all righteousness. That held without tremor, what are wounds and loss? what mistakes and reverses; what the jeers of enemies or the fears of friends?

“ And right is right, since God is God ;
And right the day must win ;
To doubt would be disloyalty,
To falter would be sin.”

And yet how common the reply, as persistent as monotonous, from lips not unacquainted with prayer, “ You can’t, you can’t, you can’t.”

The other extreme is easy. Confronted by evils that scatter ruin broadcast, a misapplied faith says, “ God will have his way,” and leaves all the work to Him. Delicate sensibilities shrink from the smoke and grime of battle. In silken luxury, swinging in hammocks, they would leave God to fight his own battles. The timid see lions in the way and wait for Omnipotence to drive them out. The worldling thinks his strength only equal to self-preservation; that that is the division of labor providentially assigned him. A little learning leads a weak faith to undue reliance upon an advancing civilization as the world’s panacea, forgetting that evil is never slow or blind in turning advanced discoveries to its own uses; that Providence multiplies our working efficiency by lending the help of Nature’s forces, so long unemployed, to give us increased opportunity for moral and spiritual work. Steam engines, microscopes, and telephones, were never intended to bring release from duty to God’s co-workers. Fewer and fewer are the fields plowed by cannon-shot, but this fact is the voice of Providence calling for larger attendance and abler ministries in the forum of reason and conscience.

S. LEWIS B. SPEARE.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

BOSTON HYMN.

SURSUM OCULA.

THE DESIRE OF ALL NATIONS.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,
AT THE 203^D BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, FEBRUARY 4, 1889.

1. GOD the highest heaven o'erflows;
In the contrite heart dwells He;
Who finds here in God repose,
Finds it in eternity.
2. God outshineth starlit space,
It a spark but He the whole;
Instinct turns to Him the face,
Upward looks the praying soul.
3. Thou who makest Instinct deep,
Thou who call'st from far and nigh,
With Thy work wilt promise keep,
Pardon grant to loyalty.
4. Stretch we hands toward the sky,
God of souls and God of suns;
Thou dost prompt our wailing cry,
Through us, too, Thy order runs.
5. With our foreheads in the dust,
Over us Thy thunder rolls;
But Thy promises we trust,
Thou hast peace for contrite souls.

6. God of justice, God of grace,
Rebels without ransom we ;
Make our souls Thy dwelling-place,
Lord of Hosts, our Ransom be !

JOSEPH COOK.

“Great God,” “Good God,” “God grant,” are expressions in every mouth. In pronouncing these words, the soul looks not to the Roman Capitol, but to heaven ; for it knows the dwelling-place of the true God, because from Him and from thence it descended. — TERTULLIAN, *Apologeticus*, 17.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

FOURTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1889.

PRELUDE I.

A FAIR AND FULL BALLOT.

AT the opening of the Boston Monday Lectureship for its Fourteenth Year at Tremont Temple, Monday noon, February 4, Mr. Cook's 203d Lecture drew out an audience of extraordinary size and quality, containing hundreds of preachers, teachers, students, and other educated men. The galleries, with 1,700 free seats, were overflowed, and people were standing at fourteen doors of the balconies. The floor of ticketed seats was well filled and the platform crowded. No lecture course in the series has opened with more encouraging prospects. The Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon presided, and the Rev. H. Grattan Guinness of London, and the Rev. Dr. Arthur Little, recently of Chicago and now of Boston, offered prayer. The original Boston Hymn "Sursum Ocula" was sung by the audience with impressive effect under the leadership of Mr. Ryder and Mr. Evans. The Monday Lectures are stenographically reported, as usual, by Mr. J. P. Bacon and revised by the author exclusively for OUR DAY. The emphatic indorsement of the audience was given to a petition to Congress against sectarian division of public-school funds.

POSSIBLE PERILS OF AMERICAN SUFFRAGE.

It is an exceedingly serious sign of the times that nearly all the Northern States are now discussing measures for the suppression of bribery, intimidation, trickery, and absenteeism at the polls. This is the one hundred and thirteenth year of the foremost Christian republic of all time. We have never had universal suffrage. Only one in five of our population is a legal voter. Our sixty-five millions are governed by a voting class of thirteen millions. But it is the notorious experience of all nations under a broad suffrage that from twenty to fifty per cent. of those who have the right to vote do not exercise it in ordinary elections. Only about ten million ballots are, on the average, cast in the United States out of the thirteen millions that now might be cast.

Will you analyze these ten millions? You are familiar with

the fact that out of our ten millions two millions cannot both read and write. Allow me to use my open hand to represent the whole extent of our actual suffrage. You must shut the little finger of this hand to represent the effect of pure illiteracy in a national election. Our presidential contests have of late been very close ones, so that it is conceivable that a presidential election might be decided by the illiterate vote. A margin of less than two millions would permit that result. I have already excluded three millions, or thereabouts, entirely outside of this hand. That was the absentee class; and we are dealing now only with the ten millions who actually vote.

You should shut another finger to represent semi-illiteracy. Multitudes of our voters can barely read and write; but many of them, being recent immigrants, are so poorly acquainted with our institutions, that they do not have the power of forming trustworthy judgments on complicated public affairs. I think, therefore, I may well shut two fingers to represent the general effect of illiteracy and semi-illiteracy, and especially of the operation of our liberal naturalization laws upon the suffrage.

Now, what remains? Here is the Satanic thumb of the unscrupulous classes — the whiskey rings, the brothels, and the gambling dens, that trinity of infamy which always accompanies high license. [Applause.] This thumb locks itself over these two little fingers. In all history the unscrupulous classes have made puppets and allies of the ignorant classes; and so in nearly every great city of the United States you have this grip of the thumb and the two smaller fingers of the suffrage locked together on the throat of municipal government. Lord Beaconsfield used to lift up his jeweled hand in Parliament and say, "No American city of any size will ever be well governed under universal suffrage." That tightening grip now makes the throat of every large municipality in the United States wheeze.

What is left? Here are two great political parties, the Democrat and the Republican. How are they to succeed in contest with each other unless they stoop down and get votes from this alliance? There are multitudes of respectable men in both the great historic parties. I revere the record of those men, and

should revere it more if their record were that of their parties. It is true that one of the great historic parties abolished slavery and saved the nation. It is true that the other of the great historic parties is far more advanced on the temperance question in the South than in the North. Certain individual States under Republican rule have taken advanced temperance positions. If the Republican party throughout the nation were as pure as in Iowa or in Kansas, you should never hear any criticism of it from me. But when you bring these great parties together in national convention, how much have they to say against the combination of the whiskey rings with the illiterate classes? [A voice. Nothing.] You are right, sir. [Applause.] The Democratic party is nationally under that thumb, and the Republican party in its national capacity is under it and over it and under it and over it. [Laughter.] In Iowa we are above that thumb; in Maine, in Kansas, and in various other Commonwealths, we domineer over this domineering member of the suffrage. But in Chicago what do we do? We meet in national convention, and on the last day, after our hats are put on to return to our homes, we look over our shoulders as we are leaving the hall and say timidly with our departing breath, "We are in favor of all judicious legislation, in favor of temperance and morality." [Laughter.]

My conviction is that to-day the greatest peril in American politics comes from the frequency with which the two great historic parties, in their effort to get majorities, drop down and make compromises with the unholy alliance of the whiskey rings and the illiterate classes. How is either of these parties in a closely contested election to succeed without drawing votes from the lower part of the suffrage? It is a question of arithmetic. You young men stand up for holy principle; but political managers stand up for the holy multiplication table. It is a question of numbers, and the astonishment to multitudes of shrewd men is that either of the parties dares offend this whiskey syndicate, which has more money behind it than the slave power ever had, and injures the republic more every year than slavery did in any year previous to the commencement of the civil war. If you ever have, not only one

party under the Satanic thumb of the unscrupulous classes, but both practically under it in national matters, you will have what I call the grip of ruin on the throat of the republic as a whole.

But this is not the whole of the analysis. Your election laws allow great power to a class of professional managers of elections; and so we have here the wrist behind all these fingers, the machine pulling the wires, and the wrist is the most dangerous part of the whole election machinery. Bargains, trickery, intimidation, bribery, I solemnly believe are on the increase on the whole, certainly in municipal governments, often in state governments, occasionally in national contests, especially in doubtful States. Why not allow ourselves to think freely? There have been very disgraceful proceedings in recent elections. I have often proclaimed myself to be an independent in politics, but personally I have not voted in either of the last two presidential elections, because it was physically impossible for me to do so. I was absent from this city of necessity. This I state, not because it is a fact of any interest in itself, but because it shows you I have good reason for being unprejudiced in this discussion.

The machine prints ballots, the machine makes nominations; the machine, a little ring inside each party, manipulates the small voting class that rules your sixty millions. The wrist here has usually a monopoly of distributing ballots, a monopoly of election machinery, a monopoly of nominations; and so in average torpid elections a monopoly of power in securing the result.

THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT SYSTEM.

Such is the present attitude of our suffrage; and now, what are some of the remedies for these colossal mischiefs? In the first place the Australian ballot system, which is now under consideration by more than a dozen of our Northern States, strikes a blow at this wrist. One of the provisions of the Australian ballot system is that every voter shall step into a booth or stand behind screens to mark his vote. Nobody sees him mark it. No man will buy a vote unless he can insure the delivery of the goods according to contract. When secret balloting is the rule, nine times out of ten bribery will be defeated, because bribery

might be useless in determining the result. You put up a set of screens along a shelf at the side of a room, three or four feet between each pair of screens, and let voters step in between the screens to mark their ballots and fold them. The votes are distributed to voters by a state agent; he is watched by representatives of the different parties; the returning officer has a little mark he puts on a tag at the bottom of the ballot, so that he may know the vote has not been surreptitiously obtained; and so bribery is counteracted.

The prevention of bribery, however, is by no means the only good result of the Australian ballot system. One peculiarity of the system requires that the State shall print the ballots. Why are men who run the political machine able to justify themselves in their pernicious activities before the masses of somnolent citizens? Because it is evident that somebody must print ballots, and that there must be an organization to raise funds for electioneering purposes. The State now leaves all this work to individuals, and so there must be party organizations to push electioneering by printing ballots and by distributing them at the polls. The Australian system takes the printing of ballots entirely out of the hands of all political parties; it issues ballots printed by the State; it puts on every ballot the names of all who are nominated fairly according to law, not allowing the monopoly of nominations to be held by the rival political organizations, but permitting any respectable number of citizens, say five hundred, to sign a request and to nominate a man. You may have three or four candidates for governor or for any other office. Put all the names on the ballots prepared by the State. Your voter receives one of those ballots, goes into his booth, marks the name he votes for, drops the ballot into the box. The result is that the monopoly of the election machinery is taken from the hands of political tricksters, because no political machinery is needed. The monopoly of nominations is taken from the hands of clans and cliques, and the people are restored to power. The wire-pullers are defeated, and the soul of the nation speaks out in elections. [Applause.]

I hold in my hand a very valuable volume, which I wish young men to read, on the Australian ballot system, by a bril-

liant lawyer of this city, John H. Wigmore, Esq. It is published in Boston by Charles C. Soule, and has just dropped from the press. It is a most timely and trustworthy book. It is the fullest and most scholarly discussion of the whole topic I have seen anywhere, and I most heartily commend it to the study of all who are interested in electoral reform.

READING TEST FOR THE SUFFRAGE.

Not only ballot reform but the extent of the suffrage itself is more and more a matter of strategic consequence. It is a good sign that South Carolina begins to ask for a reading test for the suffrage in state politics. Several Southern States, anxious to find a way out from under the domination of the freedman's ballot, or at least a more honorable way than trickery, are demanding the reading test for the suffrage. I am sorry to say several religious newspapers of the North oppose this movement. Massachusetts has a reading test. New York State used to have a reading test. It was abolished in 1846, and Martin Van Buren predicted exactly the mischiefs which have arisen in New York city on account of an ignorant ballot. Eighteen to twenty thousand votes cast in the great city of my native State are cast by those who cannot both read and write. Such a margin has a fearful power in any closely contested election. Now, South Carolina begins to raise the question whether it would not be best to introduce the reading test. That would cut off a good many freedmen's ballots, undoubtedly; but the poor white ballot would be cut off largely, also. Would this diminish ultimately the negro vote? I think not. It would stimulate negro education and poor white education, encourage immensely the operations of all who wish to promote popular education in the South, and by increasing the intelligence of the freedmen and of the poor whites would greatly increase the respect with which their political deliverances are received. One of the best ways by which you can secure the counting of the negro ballot is to insist upon its being made intelligent. A reading test would cut down the representation of the South in the House, and probably may be defeated by popular prejudice. Most Southern leaders in proposing the reading test are no doubt actuated

by a desire to diminish the influence of negro suffrage. But the discussion of the measure will be valuable in the South ; it will help to clarify the mind of the public concerning negro rights, and in various ways will assist us here in the North by suggesting methods for diminishing the effect of illiteracy on our ballot. While this Southern problem presses upon us so severely, while the illiteracy of the northern cities is such a political danger, the time has come to stand up for a reading test for our ballot throughout the nation by constitutional amendment. [Applause.]

FEMALE MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE.

We are governed by a snipped and clipped suffrage, a mere fractional section of the voting class, so long as woman does not vote. Seventeen thousand women dropped ballots peacefully and with most important results in boxes open in this city last December. [Applause.] The day was a rainy, inclement one, but woman remembered her duty ; she acquitted herself most valiantly of the important political tasks laid upon her by our recent state legislation. I praise this vote for its local importance, and as a key-note in the great reform which is bringing in, as I hope, female municipal suffrage all over the land. [Applause.] I was in Philadelphia and New York city when this vote occurred, and I remember how men stood in the telegraph offices anxious to receive the freshest intelligence from Massachusetts. It was feared that the Protestant women's vote would be swept out of sight ; but, as you were victorious, you now stand in sight of the whole range of Anglo-Saxondom as having begun here a reform that is likely to cross the continent. [Applause.] The relations of the Boston ballot to the school question were of national importance. I have, however, one word of criticism to make on even the Boston election, in which woman performed such prodigies of wisdom and valor. Seventeen thousand women voted. Twenty-one thousand were registered. But this number is less than one third of the women who are authorized in Boston by recent legislation to vote for school committees. Two thirds of the women of this city who had the right to vote were absentees.

COMPULSORY VOTING.

So I come to my last recommendation for the reformation of the suffrage — compulsory voting. [Applause.] You think this a novel scheme, but it was once within five votes of adoption, in your legislature yonder, one of the most conservative on the continent; forty-three votes for it, forty-eight against it. Several of the cantons of Switzerland have this law, fining a man for not voting, if he has the right and does not exercise it. For one, I believe that far too little is said on this side of electoral reform. Before the suffrage is much further broadened I wish to see something done for compulsory voting. Whoever has the right to vote and does not exercise it, and cannot make good the excuse of illness or absence, let him or her be fined a certain sum, to be applied to the promotion of education. [Applause.]

Our chief danger, after all, is from a fractional suffrage; and from the manipulation of one or two very important portions of the suffrage by the official class, the wire-pullers, or professional managers of elections. If we can secure compulsory voting by the Australian ballot system, we shall defeat the machine. We shall show that we are worthy to be governed by universal suffrage. It is said you cannot execute a temperance law until you have public sentiment behind it. You must have more than a public sentiment. You must have political machinery behind it of a certain kind, and that machinery in the hands of good men. It is incredible that a majority of the people of the country are against a law that forbids the selling of liquors to minors and drunkards. The mass of the people are in favor of executing that law. But what is everybody's business is nobody's business. The law is not executed. It is trampled on from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate, and from the Lakes to the Gulf. If we had compulsory voting I think it would be shown that an enormous majority of our population are against the whiskey rings, against the brothels, against the gambling dens. A great number of us are against high license. [Applause.] I believe that the American people, fairly polled, would justify the Methodist position and the Pres-

byterian, that the liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin. [Applause.] A distinguished preacher sat at my dinner-table at Lake George last summer and advocated high license. I said: "You are a Presbyterian; your great General Assembly at Philadelphia lately resolved that no liquor seller can be a church member." "Yes, but," said he, "I am in favor of high license because half a loaf is better than none." Then I replied, "You license to-day John Smith. To-morrow John Smith comes to your church and applies to be a member, and you say: No, a rumseller cannot enter the Presbyterian Church. How about your consistency in your relations to John Smith whom you have licensed? You have made him a rumseller, and because he is a rumseller you refuse to admit him to your church." I wish to lift the conscience of the nation as a whole to the level of the great deliverances of our chief religious bodies, but I think it would be found that our conscience is already far up toward that level if only we could be fairly polled.

It is endlessly important that the independent vote should be brought into activity to unlock this fearful grip on the throat of the republic. Compulsory voting will bring this errant portion of the suffrage back to its duty. The machine here in the wrist fears greatly a full poll and a fair count. Your independent vote is a kind of *deus ex machina*. It is a god outside of the political machine. Let it be so used as to unlock that thumb from over these minor fingers; to drive illiteracy out of this finger and semi-illiteracy out of that, and bring each of these great parties to a better mind or else to political destruction. [Applause.] I am no politician, but I believe that unless the great political parties now before the nation unlock themselves from the grip of that thumb, we must inevitably have a reorganization of politics on a higher level. As it was once the duty of all good citizens not to vote for any party on its knees to the slave power, so I think the time has come, if we are to unloose the grip of ruin from the throat of the nation, when all good citizens should resolve to vote for no party that is under the domination of the criminal and unscrupulous classes. [Applause.]

LECTURE I

PAPAL DOMINATION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS.

AMERICA NOT GOING TO CANOSSA.

THE American Republic, Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, is now virtually at war with Hildebrand. A scheme of papal domination as old as Gregory VII., and having behind it the most powerful ecclesiastical organization known to history, threatens the very existence of the American common school system. It is important to make a broad distinction between Catholicism as a religion and Romanism as a polity. The clerical party in the Roman Catholic Church takes up the costly crystal goblet of our common-school system and wishes to turn out of it every drop of religious instruction not given by Rome. Is that all? Every drop of secular instruction, also. Is that all? By no means. It would not only empty but crush to pieces the entire goblet from which America has received, as I believe, more health, vigor, and inspiration than from any other source except the church of God. [Applause.] The clerical party will crush that goblet to atoms unless prevented — by municipal power? Something more. State power? Something more. National power, here as elsewhere, is needed to restrain the arm of the Vatican.

You say that Roman Catholic laymen in this country are intelligent and patriotic, that many of them are opposed to the opening of parochial schools in opposition to the public schools of the land, and that the laity will restrain the clerical party. Will you remember that the laity in the Catholic Church have no ecclesiastical power? The yoke which the Reformation broke from Protestant necks is yet on the neck of the Roman Catholic world. This is not rhetoric but actual history, and it has been a truth of very special significance since the Vatican council of 1870. There are many particulars in regard to which the

Roman Catholic laity in the United States, as elsewhere, is as powerless in the clutch of the clerical party as this handkerchief in that of my hand. You do not see the power within the church very plainly, but the laity is moved in this direction and in that, and the power all comes from a distance. [Applause and laughter.] And the laity in most cases has as little power over the hierarchy as the handkerchief over the hand. It is said the laity can call pause to the clerical party. Yes, so can I "call spirits from the vasty deep," but will they come? [Laughter and applause.] As a rule, the people follow the priests, and the priests the pope, and the white pope the black pope. [Laughter.] As cool an authority as the *Encyclopædia Britannica* asserts that the Jesuit order in its present condition is correctly described as a naked sword, with its hilt at Rome and its point everywhere. That sword is now drawn for the complete destruction of the historic, tested, absolutely priceless public-school system of the United States. The scabbard of the sword has been thrown away. Seven or eight millions of Roman Catholics, who will soon be twenty millions of our population, are under the control of a priesthood which professes to believe the pope of Rome infallible. He orders the Catholic Church to attack the American common-school system. At the Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1864, the decree is promulgated that parochial schools are to be built everywhere by Catholics. The decree is executed. Parochial schools are rising from sea to sea. Half a million of Catholic children are already in them. A Catholic University, with an endowment of \$8,000,000, has been founded at Washington. A division of the public-school funds is demanded by Catholics. Romish periodicals assail the American system of free public schools as headless, heartless, godless, devilish. Monsignor Capel, a legate of the pope, is quoted as saying a few years ago in New York city, that Roman Catholics will ultimately refuse to pay taxes to maintain public schools, and will support their refusal by the bayonet. The entire force of the Romish hierarchy, from the Vatican outward, is united in the attack on an educational system which for more than two hundred years has been one of the chief bulwarks of American liberty. Henry IV. stood three days in

the snow at the door of the pope's palace at Canossa, imploring entrance and absolution. Our free nation, already victor over domestic slavery, does not propose to yield to foreign bondage; America has not gone and is not going to Canossa. [Prolonged applause.]

PAPAL AND AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS.

The Roman Catholic school system, as outlined in the official declarations of the pope and councils, maintains:—

1. That all religious education is the exclusive function of the Roman Catholic Church.

2. That all secular education also is its exclusive function.

3. That the state has no right to teach, in matters secular or religious.

4. That state and church should be united, and that the Roman Catholic should be the only religion of the state.

5. That in a nation where state and church are not united, and where Catholics cannot control the entire field of education, they should, as far and as soon as able to do so, found parochial schools for Roman Catholic children.

6. That these schools have a right to a share of the money raised from the whole community by taxation for the support of public schools, and that the public-school fund should be divided at once between the public and the parochial schools.

7. That Catholics who pay for parochial schools ought not to be taxed for public schools.

8. That while Catholics are so taxed, no text-books or instruction injurious to Catholic interests should be allowed in the public schools.

Meditating carefully on this topic month after month, during the progress of your heated discussions in Boston, I have consulted many authorities, and I profess to you on my honor that I think that this series of formidable propositions is a perfectly fair statement of the Catholic pretensions.

On the other hand, the American school system, as represented, let us say for the sake of definiteness, by the state constitutions and the usual practice of Iowa and Massachusetts, a typical Western and a typical Eastern State, maintains:—

1. That the duty of self-preservation and self-development gives a free people the right to educate their children in public schools under direction of the state. [Applause.]

2. That while the common schools may teach common morals, as much as does the common law, they are not to give distinctively denominational, or sectarian, religious instruction. [Applause.]

3. That all religious denominations have the right to establish and maintain church schools, colleges, and seminaries at their own expense.

4. That nevertheless it is highly dangerous, and may easily become treasonable, for any denomination to maintain schools which teach allegiance to any foreign pontiff, as superior in authority to the President of the United States [Applause.]

5. That state and church are to be kept forever separate, but that the American system, while separating the state from the church, does not separate the state in all particulars from Christianity, and that therefore a recognition of Christian morals, with completely undenominational devotional exercises, is not out of place in public schools. [Applause.]

6. That the school fund is not to be divided, and that those who contribute to the support of parochial or private schools are not to be excused from taxes for the support of public schools. [Applause.]

7. That there shall be no distinctively denominational, or sectarian, text-books in the public schools, and no sectarian interference with common-school education.

8. That state supervision shall be so extended to all private schools as to prevent important mischief to the state arising from their deficient or misleading instruction of those who are to be future citizens of the state. [Applause.]

Your instant and earnest approval indicates that we do not greatly disagree as to this outline of the distinctively American educational system. My contention in this course of lectures will be that our history, our leading educators, and the nature of the case, justify all these propositions.

ROMANIST, SECULARIST, CHRISTIAN, WHICH?

These are the main ideas in collision, but there is a third party in the case to which I must ask your exact attention. The full question before us is threefold, not simply shall the schools be Romanized or shall the schools be Americanized, but also shall they be secularized? Instead of either Romanized or Americanized common schools, shall we have secularized common schools teaching nothing whatever concerning Christian morals, and next to nothing whatever concerning even natural morals? Romanist, secularist, Christian, which? That is the full problem before America in connection with its school system. As Professor Hitchcock said at the great meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in New York in 1873, "Romanist bugles are sounding behind us, and atheistic and secularistic bugles are sounding ahead of us." For one, I regard the course of wisdom to be that which avoids both Scylla and Charybdis. I would not have the schools Romanized on the one hand, nor would I have them sterilized, secularized, paganized on the other. [Applause.]

Professor Hodge of Princeton, in the last article he ever wrote, relates the sad experience of a college president who prepared a text-book on political economy for use in high schools, academies, and colleges. The first sentence of the volume was in these words: "The source of all wealth is the beneficence of God." The work was submitted to a state educational committee for examination, and the reply came back to the author, "The very first sentence in your book forbids us to use it in the schools of this State. You recognize the Divine existence." It would not have been surprising if such action as this had been taken by some communistic and atheistic school committee of Paris; indeed, such action has often been taken there. But it is not very generally known how powerful the secularist party is in certain Western States among politicians, for politicians do not care to speak out on this subject often. Nevertheless, in the Mississippi valley, especially in the circles influenced by state universities that are under political control, the idea that the common schools must have nothing to say even on natural morals, must not recognize even the existence of God, is ob-

taining a prevalence that to me is alarming. We have atheists who defend these positions because of the outcome of their own convictions, or lack of convictions. But the mischievous thing is that there are multitudes of men of sound evangelical faith who believe that in the interests of peace and quiet, and for the sake of giving a certain theoretic completeness to our ideas of the separation of church and state, we should secularize completely all instruction given in the elementary schools. Most of these critics of our present prevailing system would not go so far as the educational committee did that rejected this textbook because of its recognition of the Divine existence, but unfortunately many Christian disputants on this theme play into the hands of the secularistic party, and the sentiment is growing under the influence of this unfortunate combination of forces that the common-school system, instead of being what it has been, the teacher of common morals, the teacher indeed of Christian morals in a large, undenominational sense, should be secularized completely, and that all religious instruction should be left to the church and the family.

Senator Blair not long ago stated to Congress that one third of the children of this country of school age never see the inside of a church. You will redouble your efforts, you say; the church must do her whole duty; she must reach the entire population. She has a seventh part of the time in which to do it. The common-school system has, or ought to have, six days a week in which to reach the masses. You have not done your duty yet. Proud as I am of the activities of Protestantism in this country, I for one feel that if you completely secularize the common schools you will find the religious needs of the population outrunning your powers. I am for the American system, the historic system, which does not establish religion, indeed, which does not teach religion through the activity of the state for religion's own sake, but which on account of civic considerations recognizes the importance of teaching in the common schools a religiously grounded morality. [Applause.] Common schools and common morals, common morals and the common law, common morals and the Commonwealth, these things hold together, in the truly historic American system.

The French atheistic system, excluding every text-book which mentions God, is the antipodes of the American, almost as truly as the Romish. I shall give you reasons of convincing weight, I hope, for asserting that the American people are not going to Canossa for their educational models, neither are they going to Paris. [Loud applause.]

TESTS OF A RIGHT SETTLEMENT OF THE SCHOOL QUESTION.

In the present confusion of public sentiment it is very important to raise the inquiry, What are the tests of a right settlement of the school question? Let me mention several on which I feel very sure we shall be agreed, or on which it is very desirable that popular unanimity of opinion should be obtained speedily.

1. A right settlement of the school question requires us to remember that a good plan will work well both ways. It will protect the substantial interests of Catholics when Protestants are a majority, and of Protestants when Catholics are a majority. I want no rule that cannot be faced about, and used against Protestantism as much as against Romanism. I want a perfectly impartial administration, for nobody knows how soon some of our States may be under the control of an overwhelming Catholic vote. The time may come when Protestants in certain Commonwealths may need to invoke the strong arm of the law to support their rights. I would have no law that I, as a Protestant, am not willing to obey; and I as a Protestant will not ask a Catholic to submit to any law to which I as a Protestant am not willing to submit. [Applause.] We are, I hope, agreed that a right settlement will work well both ways.

2. A right settlement will surely prevent a sectarian division of the school funds by the nation or by any State.

3. It will forbid the establishment of a state church, either by the nation or by any State.

The nation is now forbidden to establish a state church, but no Commonwealth of the nation is so forbidden. Utah admitted as a State might establish a Mormon Church, New Mexico brought in might establish a Catholic Church. We talk of a political union between Canada and the United

States. The Province of Quebec, made a Commonwealth under our constitution, might erect a Catholic state church. I take it for granted that in this assembly we are agreed that the American principle of separation of church and state should extend not only to the Union but to every individual Commonwealth, present and to come.

4. A right settlement will be historic, or distinctively American, and a product of our experience for two hundred years.

5. A right settlement will reach the entire population so as to produce the largest possible number of intelligent and moral citizens.

6. A right settlement of the school question will certainly allow in the common schools moral instruction as to any acts forbidden or prescribed by the common law.

What shall the public schools teach? Senator Blair says that instruction in the general principles of the Christian religion ought to be given in the common schools as a means of preventing the state prisons from being filled too rapidly. The civic value of instruction of that sort, without any theological teaching whatever, might be, as he says, the means of preventing some men from being hanged, and of diminishing the necessity for a standing army. Our common law recognizes certain Christian principles.

Professor Schaff has recently published a book entitled "The Church and the State in the United States." It is an expansion of a very learned discourse which he delivered at his inauguration as professor of church history at the Union Theological Seminary in New York. He is our most wise and erudite internationalist. He knows Europe as you know your glove, has crossed the Atlantic, I believe, twenty times for the purposes of study. He maintains in this book, which I commend to your careful attention, these highly strategic positions:

The separation of church and state as it exists in the United States is not a separation of the nation from Christianity. This seems paradoxical or impossible to all who entertain an absolutist or utopian idea of the state and identify it either with the government, as did Louis XIV. (according to his maxim: *L'état c'est moi*), or with the realization of the moral idea, as Hegel and Rothe, or with the nation, as

Bluntschli and Mulford (p. 53). A total separation of church and state is an impossibility unless we cease to be a Christian people. There are three interests and institutions which belong to both church and state and must be maintained and regulated by both. These are monogamy in marriage, the weekly day of rest, and the public school. Here the American government and national sentiment have so far decidedly protected the principles and institutions of Christianity as essential elements in our conception of civilized society (p. 69).

In these and other departments coöperation of church and state without their union is absolutely necessary to our national vigor and progress. We are not a secularized nation ; we are not an atheistic Commonwealth. French ideals and American ideals differ as to the relation of Christianity to the state. As Professor Schaff affirms, the American system secures all the advantages without the disadvantages of the union of church and state. It is a middle path between two extremes, and is to be distinguished decisively from the theory of the fanciful people who wish to secularize everything in our government so far that there will be not only no union of church and state but no recognition of Christianity by the national power.

The friends of a purely secular basis for common schools wish to secularize them so that Christian morals shall not be allowed to be taught in them in outline in a strictly undenominational way. Do you purpose to go on with this scheme to the end ? Do you wish to secularize oaths and chaplaincies, and the Sabbath, and marriage ? Are you prepared, such of you as believe in a purely secular basis for the schools, to be thorough in the application of your scheme, and secularize the entire range of the operation of our national power ? I think the people are not prepared for so vital a revolution, and that when they once see thoroughly to what this French scheme leads, they will be nearly as shy of it as of the Romanist.

Avoid Canossa. It is Scylla. Avoid Paris. It is Charybdis. Believe in America ; she is your own and thus far, with God's help, has kept clear of both whirlpools. [Applause.]

PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS.

Allow me to read the text of a joint resolution lately presented to the Senate of the United States by Mr. Blair of New Hampshire to prevent a division of school funds. I wish you to notice the historic connections of this famous bill. He is not the only senator who has proposed an amendment of the national constitution on this high theme. Mr. Blaine, on the 14th of December, 1875, in the House of Representatives in Congress, proposed the following amendment to the national constitution :

ARTICLE XVI.

No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect (or denomination) ; nor shall any money so raised, or lands so devoted, be divided between religious sects or denominations.

This was agreed to in the House of Representatives, by a vote of yeas, 180, nays, 7, not voting, 98.

This form of words, however, was thought to have in it many loop-holes, and was soon amended.

Senator Edmunds, chairman of the committee on the judiciary, on the ninth day of August, 1876, reported a bill substantially covering the ground of Mr. Blaine's, but so drawn that no evasion of its main intent seems possible.

ARTICLE XVI.

No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; and no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under any State. No public property, and no public revenue of, nor any loan of credit by or under the authority of the United States, or any State, Territory, district, or municipal corporation, shall be appropriated to, or made or used for, the support of any school, educational, or other institution under the control of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or wherein the particular creed or tenets of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomina-

tion shall be taught. And no such particular creed or tenets shall be read or taught in any school or institution supported in whole or in part by such revenue or loan of credit; and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or to promote its interests or tenets. This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution; and it shall not have the effect to impair rights of property already vested.

SEC. 2. — Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to provide for the prevention or punishment of violations of this article.

As a substitute for Mr. Blaine's proposal, the foregoing was agreed to, yeas, 27, nays, 15. August 14 the Senate voted on the passage of the joint resolution as amended, when it was disagreed to, yeas, 28; nays, 16, two thirds being necessary. The joint resolution failed for the want of two votes. Every affirmative vote was Republican and every negative vote was Democratic. (See McPherson's "Hand-Book of Politics" for 1876.)

Senator Blair's proposed amendment contains the substance of Mr. Blaine's and Mr. Edmunds's, but goes a step farther. May 29, 1888, Mr. Blair introduced the following joint-resolution: —

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following amendment to the constitution of the United States be, and hereby is, proposed to the States, to become valid when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the States as provided in the constitution.

ARTICLE.

SECTION 1. No State shall ever make or maintain any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

SECTION 2. Each State in this Union shall establish and maintain a system of free public schools adequate for the education of all the children living therein between the ages of six and sixteen years, inclusive, in the common branches of knowledge, and in virtue, morality, and the principles of the Christian religion. But no money raised by

taxation imposed by law, or any money or other property or credit belonging to any municipal organization, or to any State, or to the United States, shall ever be appropriated, applied, or given to the use or purposes of any school, institution, corporation, or person, whereby instruction or training shall be given in the doctrines, tenets, belief, ceremonials, or observances peculiar to any sect, denomination, organization, or society, being, or claiming to be, religious in its character, nor shall such peculiar doctrines, tenets, beliefs, ceremonials, or observances, be taught or inculcated in the free public schools.

SECTION 3. To the end that each State, the United States, and all the people thereof, may have and preserve governments republican in form and in substance, the United States shall guarantee to every State, and to the people of every State and of the United States, the support and maintenance of such a system of free public schools as is herein provided.

SECTION 4. Congress shall enforce this article by legislation when necessary.

Is this a Protestant scheme? By no means. Is it in any sense a sectarian scheme? God forbid. It will work both ways. It will bear all legitimate tests. Let the nation become predominantly Roman Catholic and Protestants could yet live here under that law. It forbids any State, it forbids any Commonwealth that may hereafter become a portion of the Union, to establish a state church. But it requires that "the principles," the leading outlines, of the Christian religion shall be taught in the schools, as you teach arithmetic or geography or history. Senator Blair by no means proposes that the State shall enter upon a discussion of the theological relations of these principles; but says that, as the principles of the Christian religion are held by the vast mass of our population, Protestant and Roman Catholic, it is well worth while for the citizen to know what they are. They have great civic importance. It is worth while to understand them as it is worth while to know what the common law is. It is worth while as a means of understanding history and current discussions, to know what the principles of the Christian religion are. This is what the bill provides shall be taught. I do not see anything in it of a sectarian or offensively denominational kind; and, if I were a Catholic of the liberal species, I should support that amendment to the national constitution. [Applause.]

POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

Mexico has abolished parochial schools because of their educational deficiencies and political mischievousness. Liberal Catholics in the republic south of us have so legislated that no parochial school can be established in the city of Mexico. and no priest has the right to wear his cassock in the streets of that municipality. The clergy exercise a powerful influence among the common people, but their political power has departed. In this superb book of travels, "*The Capitals of Spanish America*" (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1888), by William Eleroy Curtis, sent out by President Arthur as secretary to a South American Commission, I read that no priest and no bishop in Mexico is allowed to hold real estate. Titles vested in religious orders are worthless (p. 17). In brave Chili, as the same authority says, you cannot send a student to a nun or priest for instruction without paying a fine for the support of public schools. [Applause.] This volume is by no means written from a sectarian or theological point of view, but contains so many passages of political wisdom, and so many facts concerning the mischiefs of Roman Catholic control of South American populations, that I commend the book to the careful study of all who wish to know what Rome does where she has no rivals and few critics.

The chief power of the Roman Catholic Church to do mischief in this country is political. She means to maintain her power through her parochial schools. A system of instruction such as Senator Edmunds's or Senator Blair's proposed amendment provides for, is of great political importance. While we allow to the Roman Catholic wing of our population such vast liberties, far vaster than Mexico or Chili allows, or indeed than any other country on earth allows, it is time for us to meditate on the wisdom of a proposal like Senator Edmunds's or Senator Blair's. I may not carry your assent to that proposal to-day; my own assent was not carried to it in an hour or a week; I am not sure I am satisfied with all the language of any bill on the subject yet brought before Congress; but the substance of Senator Edmunds's proposal I believe to be in accordance

with our historic American system, as exemplified to-day in Massachusetts and Iowa. I solemnly believe that the hour is ripe for reforms like those advocated in the bill now before the American Senate. [Applause.]

The historian Froude says in a recent work that wherever the Roman Catholic population is in the majority in any American State, it will rule the schools. ("The English in the West Indies," p. 327.) So it will, if we cannot invoke more than municipal or state law for the preservation of our American educational system. Let us invoke the national power. Let us invoke it speedily, for if we do not carry an amendment like Senator Edmunds's within the next twenty years, it is possible we shall never be able to carry it. The hour is critical. Professor Hodge went so far as to say that our conflict on the school question with the Romanist on the one side and the secularist on the other, is of more importance to this nation than the issues connected with slavery and intemperance. Do your whole educational duty and your example will be of incalculable service, not only to the one hundred millions whose footsteps we now hear advancing to the stage of earthly existence in this country, but to the millions throughout Spanish America, and to the whole world of Latin Christendom. Defeat the clerical party here in its effort to Romanize education; defeat the secular party in its attempt to paganize it, and you have defeated both parties everywhere. [Loud applause.]

ROBERT ELSMERE'S SUCCESSOR.

CURFEW JESSELL: THE HISTORY OF A SOUL.

BY DR. JOSEPH PARKER, CITY TEMPLE, LONDON.

CHAPTER VI.

MRS. OLDBODY, in her turn, sought sympathy from a neighboring family, consisting of Mr. Kennedy and his three maiden sisters, all of whom lived comfortably upon savings gathered during a fairly prosperous career in the drapery trade. Mr. Kennedy was not of a very daring or fertile mind, or a man of many intellectual preferences, or a man with strong views upon any question of general interest. But even such men must have their recreations after retirement from the anxieties and pleasures of business. Mr. Kennedy took up with poultry-breeding, limiting himself strictly to the propagation of bantams, of which he had about two hundred and eighty specimens, which he kept in an immense wire building, that occupied most of his long, narrow garden. Morning, noon, and night Mr. Kennedy was in the bantam-house; Sunday and week-day Mr. Kennedy was to be found in the bantam-house. The bantam-house was always being cleaned, or enlarged, or painted in the upper parts, or made more secure against rats and cats. The sisters would say to one another, for the thousandth time, as if they had never said it before, "Whatever would brother do without the bantams?" Neighbors would ask them the same question with pathetic anxiety. When Mr. Kennedy left the breakfast-table, it was known that he had the bantam-house in view. When his marble forehead was more marbly than ever, the sisters knew that there was trouble in the bantam-house. When he smiled, they knew to a certainty that the bantam-house was to be credited with the new gladness. When all the world was in theological tumult, Mr. Kennedy was calm and happy in the midst of his two hundred and eighty bantams. When Mr. Kennedy could get about thirty bantams all to crow at once, he was happy almost to the point of benevolence; once he thought that twenty-one had crowed simultaneously, and that night, the date of which was duly noted, he gave permission to his three delighted sisters to ask a neighbor to share their unpretending supper. That neighbor never heard so much about bantams before; but from that night her dislike of bantams amounted to an absolutely inexpressible detestation of that department of poultry life. She said, indeed, before sleeping that night, that she would have a positive pleasure in wringing the necks of all the bantams in creation; and of all the bantams she ever saw

Kennedy himself was the biggest ; but that was ascribed to a heated state of mind.

Mr. Kennedy's love of bantams was, in part, a reaction from the appalling religious influences of his youth. The elder Kennedy supposed that the Almighty had taken a special fancy to him, and had gone to no end of trouble in making arrangements for his eternal happiness. He knew that the Almighty thought of the world in general, and of Scotland in particular, and to the finest stroke of a hair He knew who was orthodox and who was heterodox. Bantam Kennedy had turned away from this unholy selfishness and given up all interest in theology. His sisters attended the parish church, and greatly respected Mr. Bruce, who went steadily about the execution of his ecclesiastical orders, as if he were engaged in a kind of spiritual drapery business, of a strictly family and non-sensational kind.

"I have had the Vicar with me, dears," said Mrs. Oldbody, "and, do you know, his very life is made a burden to him by that flighty Curfew Jessell. The Vicar has made a confidant of me, and has, indeed, expressed himself very freely to me ; and, do you know, dears, I fear something like softening of the brain. I do hope nothing will get into the papers. I have not so much as to breathe the name of Bell. I would not for the world breathe that name. The Vicar made me almost vow on my bended knees. How is your brother ?"

"About as usual, thank you, Mrs. Oldbody. I do think Mr. Bruce will be worried into his grave with that willful youth, and all such as he is ; why in Scotland he would be hanged by the neck and buried in quicklime behind the gaol, — that would be the end of him."

"And too good an end for him," said Janet Kennedy, the younger sister. But Janet did not mean this, and in saying it she had no idea that she was using strong language. She had any amount of Scotch emphasis, and even Scotch passion, but like many other Scotch people — countless hosts, in fact — she was the very embodiment of kindness and hospitality. When she denounced her opponents as "a pack of thieves and robbers, just a pack of vagabonds, who ought to be swept off the face of the earth," she always concluded her exercise in moral emphasis with the words, "I am sure I have no wish to use strong language, but they are just the most notorious thieves that ever were sent to Botany Bay." All this would be said in a caressing tone, as if Janet were merely making a remark under pathetic circumstances.

"As I was saying," Mrs. Oldbody continued, "the dear Vicar has made a confidant of me. He is in a very poor way. Do you know, I fear, as I say, something a little wrong here [tapping her forehead]. As he began to ask me about the price of sparrows" —

"Goodness !" said Janet, with a touch of acid in her tone, "what with bantams and sparrows" —

"Just so, dear. I felt just the same, and I have been quite poorly ever

since. The ridiculous prices he mentioned for sparrows I quite forget, and it is of no consequence ; but what can the Vicar want with sparrows under any circumstances ? If they had been canaries or singing-birds of any kind " —

" Or even bantams," Miss Kennedy suggestively interposed.

" Or even bantams, as you say, my dear. But it is quite along that line his poor mind is wandering ; I hardly like to name such a thing, but he even talked something about Zoölogical Gardens " —

" He may be going to London, and the Zoölogical Gardens are quite a favorite haunt."

" Oh dear no, Janet. Mr. Bruce has no thought of London, I assure you. He did name the churchyard, but he said nothing about London — not a word."

" Well, Mrs. Oldbody," said Janet, " I don't quite agree with your view. You will remember that there is a churchyard in London, and I don't think I was ever in St. Paul's Churchyard without seeing half a dozen clergymen there. They quite haunt that place. They seem to me to go between St. Paul's and the Zoölogical Gardens, and, depend upon it, Mr. Bruce may be only hoodwinking you about the sparrows."

" But, my dear," said Mrs. Oldbody, " do consider what possible object can the Vicar have in hoodwinking *me* ? What could he gain by it ? Besides all that, the poor Vicar has given way to the use of very strong language. Indeed I dare not repeat the words he used ; even if he had not spoken in confidence I could not allow myself to mention them."

Janet leaped from her seat, declaring at the same moment that Curfew Jessell was at the door, for he had just passed the window. Curfew was quite in the habit of dropping in, and his appearance was simply remarkable as occurring whilst he was being discussed, and not long after hanging had been declared to be too good for him. Janet was in nowise conscience-stricken on account of the remark she had made, and it in no degree impaired the cordiality with which she greeted the dashing young heretic. Janet was, indeed, discreetly proud of Curfew.

" How are the bantams ? " was one of Curfew's first inquiries.

" Bantams and sparrows ! " said Mrs. Oldbody, with a sigh.

" Never ! " said Curfew brightly, " that is not possible ; you don't mean to say that he has taken up with sparrows ? "

" And Zoölogical Gardens," Mrs. Oldbody continued expressively.

" Whatever wind is blowing now ! " Curfew exclaimed. " Bantams and sparrows, and Zoölogical Gardens — we shall presently be hearing of volcanoes, dormice, and teetotums."

" And valleys and brinks," added Mrs. Oldbody.

Curfew looked round for explanations, whereupon Janet Kennedy said what he had to answer for was more than her poor memory could recollect. As a little boy running up and down amongst his friends, she had been fond of him and proud of him ; but since he had gone crazy upon religious subjects, she was afraid to live in the same town with him. She was quite sure the church clock had never kept right time since he began to cut his new capers.

"And him in the churchyard!" sighed Mrs. Oldbody.

"Who in the churchyard?" Curfew inquired.

"In the damp churchyard," was all the reply he received.

"Come, come, now, ladies," said Curfew, "I see your little game, and I won't spoil your whim. I have had such a lark with the old Vicar this morning, I am fit to split with laughter when I think of it. That man's mind is exactly five hundred years old, and is a splendid specimen of perfectly-seasoned timber."

"Oh, Curfew!" Janet exclaimed.

"And you," said old Mrs. Oldbody, "expect to go to heaven when you die!"

"Heaven! Mrs. Oldbody; what is heaven?"

"Oh, Curfew, to dare to ask such a question! How dare you? Are you not afraid to go to your bed?"

"I am a good deal more afraid to get out of it," said Curfew; "but I do want to know what you think of heaven. Ha! here's Mr. Kennedy, he will tell us. Mr. Kennedy, how are the bantams?"

Mr. Kennedy laid down thirteen bantam eggs on the table, and looked pleased. His aspect was even benignant. His was a preoccupied attention, and his was a silent tongue. When Mrs. Oldbody asked a general question about sparrows, Mr. Kennedy turned right round and walked with dignity into the bantam-house, his offended figure expressing the sentiment that to speak of bantams and sparrows in the same breath was to disclose a baseness and depravity which it was not in the power of Providence to punish sufficiently.

"You have done it now!" said Curfew.

"Yes," Miss Kennedy added, "brother has a prejudice against sparrows. Last winter we soaked some wheat in belladonna and spread it about the window-sills and doorsteps, in the hope that the sparrows might poison themselves; but, would you believe it, those little brown creatures would not touch a grain of it? and they really seemed to be more impudent than ever. We have to be very careful what we say upon that subject. Brother hates to hear sparrows mentioned."

"Enough of this," said Curfew; "now let me whisper something in your ear."

The ladies were all attention. They asked to be allowed to guess what it was he was going to say. Was it about Mr. Bruce? Was it about Mr. Bell? Was it about a lady?

"No, no, no, — something in this house, and something in this room."

"Oh, don't tell us," said Miss Janet, "if it is so near as that we really ought to guess. Wait just one moment."

"You will never guess," said Curfew. "I was only going to say that being four of us, we might" —

"Oh, yes," Mrs. Oldbody exclaimed, "them's the sparrows for me; do let us have 'a hand,' and let the poor Vicar do whatever he wants to do, either in the churchyard or out of it."

The game had not proceeded long when Curfew startled the ladies by exclaiming, —

“Millions of Spiritual creatures walk the Earth
Unseen both when we wake and when we sleep.”

“Oh you wicked boy,” said Mrs. Oldbody, “how *dare* you say such things? — Janet has played two of spades; now you play; second player plays low. Oh, Curfew, you wicked boy, — a small trump will take that.”

CHAPTER VII.

MR. DOUBLETÖE, who kept the lodgings which Curfew Jessell occupied in London, was an undoubtedly curious person. That Mr. Upfield had recommended Doubletöe and his apartments was more than enough for Curfew. There was nothing commonplace about Doubletöe. Mrs. Jessell, at least, was strongly of this opinion when she called to assure herself that the apartments were such as she would like Curfew to occupy. That sweetest of mothers — full enough of superstition in her own way — was sorely puzzled by the little man, and yet she liked him on account of a certain simplicity which was admirably represented by his innocent but careworn face, and by a certain vague religiousness which remotely suggested a wandering state of mind rather than even the mildest form of insanity. Mrs. Doubletöe was more satisfactory from a lodging-house point of view, being cheerful, active, hopeful, and admirably condensing all her philosophy into the one comforting motto, “Don’t worry, dear,” which she thought was an extract from the “family Bible.” It was notable that Mrs. Doubletöe never quoted anything as from the Bible, but always from the family Bible, the word “family” making the Bible the most comfortable sort of book she had ever heard of, and giving it, in addition to its great age, a kind of present-day affability and neighborliness. Doubletöe did not regard the Bible at all from a family point of view. He looked upon the commentators as the worst of all atheists, and upon preachers as the most dangerous of all lunatics. Mrs. Doubletöe was fond of commentators and deeply attached to preachers of every class. The Doubletöe household, therefore, was theologically divided against itself. Curfew took infinite delight in “developing” Doubletöe, and was specially thankful for the opportunity of “trotting out” his plastic host by his mother’s presence, and not the less gratified as he marked his mother’s mingled wonder and alarm.

“Now, Mr. Doubletöe,” said Curfew, with infinite buoyancy, “tell mother about the devil.”

“Oh! my dear,” Mrs. Jessell exclaimed; “pray don’t let him do anything of the sort.”

“Go it, Doubletöe,” was Curfew’s heedless remark.

“Well, sir,” Doubletöe meekly replied, “according as I take what our people say about the Scriptures, the devil’s real name is Ephraim, and pride ruined him and made him like a goat.”

"Do you hear that, mother? what would old Father Bruce say to that?"

"Oh, Curfew!"

"Just so, my mother. This is progress! this is the new age. This is breasting the wave. Go it, Doubletoe, turn all the gas on, and do let us have plenty of light! Mother, that's what Goethe wanted to say — Gas — more gas! Doubletoe, go on!"

"Yes, sir," said the willing host. "Satan the he-goat carried the sins into the land of Nod, and cast them into the river of Oblivion" —

"Think of that, old lady? eh? Ever hear of that noble stream? This beats old Avenstone you talk about."

"Oh, Curfew!"

"Exactly. You are as bad as Bruce. You are a heathen. You are an unbeliever!"

"Oh, Curfew! do come away; this cannot be tolerated. What your poor father would say I cannot imagine" —

"And as for Mr. Bruce," Curfew interrupted, "what *would* he say? and what would Mrs. Oldbody say? and what would Bantam-Kennedy say? But Doubletoe is nothing to Cuttlestone for real fun!"

Mr. Doubletoe shook his head at the name of Cuttlestone as representing opinions and actions which he could not approve. Cuttlestone he looked upon as unnecessarily and unseasonably frivolous. Doubletoe had no eye for color. Doubletoe cared nothing for Cuttlestone's dream of the white rose at the window. But I anticipate.

As Mrs. Jessell walked away with Curfew she was not only serious, but very much dejected. Her feeling was that Curfew was carrying his new notions a good deal too far, and giving way to a kind of flippancy which might almost unconsciously impair his moral simplicity and firmness. It was all very well to throw off old ways of saying and doing things; but there was surely a stopping-place, and in her opinion it was time that Curfew reached it and stood still. At the same time, stealing furtive glances at the handsome boy, she could not but feel that parents ought not to be too strict with their children, but should be rather glad that they took an interest in noble subjects and showed some talent in the art of thinking. There were stupid boys enough, she told herself, mere timber, or mere dough; the Hictons, for example, and the Parsleys, and those ungainly louts, the Cabblings, who hardly knew the right hand from the left, but came to church with painful regularity, and went away from it with still more painful decorum. She was thankful that Curfew was made of different stuff, though, no doubt, his opinions were somewhat extraordinary, or, at least, he seemed inclined to favor people who had very odd notions and used very strange expressions. Mrs. Jessell thankfully remembered how Curfew had asked her to pray with him, and what a boy's great hug of love he gave her by way of mute thanks! That was the point of rest. Mrs. Jessell thought there was perhaps a good deal of youthful affectation about the whole thing, and that it would wear off; it was a boy's fancy; a sort of mental measles, perhaps a temporary oddity.

Anyhow, other people would pretend to think that Curfew was crazy, but that was mere envy ; they were jealous of his ability, and they longed to degrade him to their own level. She knew that genius was not always recognized, and though she could have wished that Curfew's sparkling mind had moved in another direction, she was certain that his quality was such that he would come all right at last.

"Where are all the people hurrying to, Curfew ?"

"To perdition," was the terse and bitterly-toned reply.

"My dear !"

The spirit of the spring was warming and softening the cold hard world of London. Even ragged and homeless children reflected something of the lustre and joyousness of the sweet young May which shone upon the city with such wealth of light. The morning was full of gladness. The fresh air offered release from the pain of many diseases, and the cloudless sun invited all hearts to renew their best hopes. All men are gladdened by the sun. It is as God in the wide heavens, clothed with light and ardent with infinite and ever-giving love. Even London makes some response to the appeal of the sun. There was a stir on the streets unusual even for busy London. Well-dressed crowds were hurrying along the city thoroughfares steadily in one direction. Mrs. Jessell and Curfew yielded to the curiosity which divided their purpose, and in a few minutes found themselves in the city cathedral. A great concourse, evidently animated by a great expectation, filled the sanctuary. In due time, a young and vigorous clergyman ascended the pulpit, and as he did so, the vast assembly fell into a solemn silence. The holy man was grave and reverent as became his position. Without one trace of vanity or affectation he proceeded to his work. In tones of uncommon sweetness and power, he announced his text : "Whither shall I go from thy spirit ? or whither shall I flee from thy presence ? If I ascend up into heaven Thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me." Curfew at once gave the benignant preacher the confidence which is the first condition of good hearing. As sentence after sentence fell from the eloquent lips of the reverend orator, Curfew felt himself under the spell of a worthy magician. Now there was a critical remark, and presently a sentence beautiful as a budding flower ; speedily there was a flash of fancy, and then a resounding appeal to the highest reason and feeling of the audience ; and throughout the rapid variation there was a tone of manly dignity which saved the preacher from the reproach of dramatic artfulness. He pictured creation as full of the Holy Presence. Indignantly repudiating the impersonalities of Pantheism, he claimed inspired authority for teaching that the living God filled the universe in all its height and depth, its breadth and length. That holy and blessed Presence he declared to be either a sun to cheer, or a fire to destroy ; it was a benediction or a judgment ; a sceptre or a sword. With most tender pathos, as if his pastoral heart were melted by sorrows pecul-

iarly his own, the preacher described the prodigal trying to escape from all good influences, and yet God went before him on stormy seas and on foreign coasts, in the wilderness and in the strange city ; came to him, too, through the haze of his dreams, and stood beside him in the loneliness of his exile. At this stage of his discourse, the preacher wielded a strangely realistic power. Every hearer felt something of the meaning of the mystery of living and moving and having his being in God. The place became sacred and awful as the gate of heaven. Men felt the littleness of mere creatureship when compared with the majesty of the Creator, and yet were recalled to strength and hope when told that God's riches were the wealth of the soul. In conclusion, the fervid preacher exclaimed, "Man ! canst thou flee from thyself ? Knowest thou a secret method of escape from the reproaches and exactions of thine own conscience ? Canst thou bribe thy memory that it may cut thee off from the past and cancel the obligations of the days that are gone ? Fool ! to think of escaping God ! Canst thou see without his light ? canst thou breathe without his air ? wouldst thou seek happiness afar off ? It is a coward's resolution, — it is a madman's hope ! "

"That's the clergyman you must hear," Mrs. Jessell whispered, as the vast audience drew breath.

In a few minutes, mother and son stood before a quiet but good-looking little house not far from the British Museum, to which Curfew called Mrs. Jessell's special attention.

"Now, mother," said he, "*this* is a church."

"Nonsense, Curfew. I never saw a church with a knocker on the door and lace curtains at the window."

"Never mind knockers and curtains, I tell you this is a church, and the clergyman is a man you know."

"You preposterous boy ! "

Church or no church, it is quite certain that Mrs. Jessell recognized Mr. Upfield as soon as he entered the neat little front parlor into which they had been ushered.

Mrs. Jessell was delighted to see Mr. Upfield, and told him so, without eliciting much response. Mr. Upfield had something to say to Curfew. "Would they both follow him into the study ? "

Gladly Curfew went ; Mrs. Jessell went inquisitively. Such a study it was ! Globes, terrestrial and celestial, diagrams on every wall, microscopes, little cabinets full of drawers, mathematical instruments, all sorts of learned-looking things, a very den of science and literature, presided over by the spirit of elegant confusion.

The old gentleman took up a sheet of note-paper, on which he had drawn a figure. There were two concentric circles and two triangles upon it ; there were also several letters scattered at various points, and at some distance was a very large black S, intended to mark the position of the sun.

"Look here, my friends," said the old man ; "let c be the position of a

spectator, and let a represent the point where the sun sets ; the tangent ab will mark the track of its lower ray."

"Exactly so, governor," exclaimed Curfew, suddenly jumping over a chair, and in the twinkling of an eye returning to the old man's side ; "that is charmingly clear, but who cares a pin about angles or tangents just now ? My good old soul, you forget that the whole concern is to be burned down like an old card-house."

The meek old philosopher was not at all disconcerted. He loved Curfew because Curfew took an interest in his work and seemed to understand its purpose. He had been long looking for an Elisha upon whom his mantle might fall, and he thought he saw in Curfew his best disciple and worthiest successor. Curfew was not guiltless as to this impression, yet his very guilt was born of a benevolence which could never discourage an eccentricity accompanied by such simple and abounding goodness. After a moment, he continued : —

"In the right-angled triangle $co b$, the basis oc , or the radius of the globe" —

"Precisely so, my blessed governor, we don't dispute it for a moment ; whatever *you* say, *we* say, don't *we*, mother ? So why should you hammer at us as if we were contradicting you ? Say what you will about the radius of the globe, and I'll go in for it like a brick."

"Yes, yes, my boy, but I want you to see that the solar ray, sa , after grazing along the surface, will illuminate the upper strata of the atmosphere at b " —

"Then by all means," said Curfew, "let it graze and illuminate, and illuminate and graze ; I suppose it is no business of mine whether it grazes and does not illuminate, or whether it illuminates and does not graze."

Without heeding the interruption, Mr. Upfield went on : "That some light would be darted in the direction of the tangent bcd , to tinge another elevated portion of the sky at d , which might cast a few expiring rays to a spectator at e , or shoot onwards to the opposite sky at f ."

"My dear Mr. Upfield," said Mrs. Jessell, "this is very interesting, but, do you know, it quite overpowers me ? I do not see what it all leads to. And I am quite sure Curfew knows no more about it than I do."

"Oh you wicked heathen !" Curfew exclaimed ; "why, don't I know that light comes from the stars at the rate of so many millions a day or a week, or billions it may be, and" —

"No," said Mr. Upfield, "you are thinking of the absurd doctrine that before the rays of certain stars could be visible upon the earth, they must have traveled two billions two hundred and seven thousand four hundred and twenty millions of miles."

"Exactly ; that is just what I was going to say, only you were in such a hurry."

"And do you know, madam," said Mr. Upfield, turning to Mrs. Jessell, "that the light of certain other stars travels in the course of one year six millions three hundred and seven thousand two hundred millions of miles ?"

"No. I really was not aware of it. Seven thousand millions !"

"My dear madam, seven thousand millions is a mere trifle."

"A mere scratch of a nail," said Curfew; "even less."

"The real number, madam, is six millions three hundred and seven thousand two hundred millions of miles."

"Well-a-day," said Mrs. Jessell, "it is really more than my poor head can stand. But don't you think, Mr. Upfield, there is something better to think about? Are we not wise above what is written?"

"Madam," said Mr. Upfield, "the blowing in of the Spirit is in the evening of the day. Live as long as I have lived, and you will see more and more of Him who is great in strength and of a perfect equity. But He will not tolerate ignorance forever; long has He stilled the waters with the south wind, but we must not forget that the lightning is his, and that in the day of his anger He flingeth its flash across the whole heaven."

Such remarks were not lost upon Mrs. Jessell, although she was far from verbally understanding them. The little house did, indeed, become a church to her, as Curfew had said, and Mr. Upfield was surely an eloquent priest. There was nothing mean in this man's tone. In him there was a majesty which made the very earth look small, — a Divine comprehension, a holy unselfishness, a feeling after things eternal. The very instruments that lay about the room seemed to be charged with a strange sacredness as if they pointed towards heavenly wonders and might be fittingly touched only by reverent fingers. If Mrs. Jessell was disquieted she was also tenderly comforted, for the good man was not a mystery only but a benediction, and this impression was not lost by the way in which the benign philosopher bade her good-day, saying as he looked up into the May sky, —

"Good-by, madam; may He bless you who hath beaten out the firmament, thin yet strong like a molten mirror."

[*To be continued.*]

BOOK NOTICES.

REPORT OF THE CENTENARY CONFERENCE ON THE PROTESTANT MISSIONS OF THE WORLD, held in Exeter Hall, London, June 9-19, 1888. American Edition, Chicago : F. H. Revell. 2 vols. pp. 1200.

This conference may be called the first ecumenical council of the Protestant Church ; ecumenical in the truest sense ; for the representation was world-wide and the spirit of unity prevailing absolutely harmonious. One hundred and fifty different missionary organizations were represented in the Conference, and these stand for every evangelical denomination of any importance, with the almost solitary exception of the High Church party of the Anglican body. We may say that the ecumenical council gave a decisive reply to the standing taunt of Romanists and Ritualists concerning "the scandal of a divided Protestantism," for Protestantism proved itself, on this occasion, to be possessed of more substantial unity than Roman Catholicism has been able to show in any of its ecumenical councils of modern times. Contrast this London assembly of 1888 with the Vatican council of Rome in 1870. The scandal of a united papacy as disclosed in the latter with the repression of free discussion, the extinguishment of bishops and doctors who presumed to dissent from the ultramontane programme, all ending in the unanimity of compulsion within, and the fresh split of Old Catholicism without — this Protestant Conference of London was quite unable to match. Indeed, from the observation of daily participation in the missionary assembly we may say, that not only was there a catholic spirit which would readily tolerate any differences which should appear, but that really such differences did not appear. On all the questions of polity and comity which were discussed, there was almost absolute agreement.

The topics and the addresses ranged all the way from the minute to the magnificent. As a specimen of the latter we may cite the address of Prebendary Edmonds on Christian missions in India (vol. i. p. 166). It is a broad presentation of a broad theme and will take its place among the permanent wealth of our missionary literature. A commendable peculiarity of the conference, however, is that it was not an exhibition of great missionary speeches. It was rather a centennial exhibition of missions themselves — the products of the field displayed by the labors thereon and the revised map of the world exhibited by those devoted missionaries whom God has honored to assist in this world-revision.

The side-sessions — if we may so call the smaller meetings held for the discussion of the practical questions of missionary means and methods — we count quite the most valuable part of the Conference, judging by the reports of them presented in these volumes.

Take, for instance, the discussion of "commerce and missions." In view of the black record which so-called Christian nations, by their rum and opium traffic, have made for themselves, it is good to be reminded by the following glowing sentence of Principal Cairns that it is not always or altogether so.

Blessed be God, the record of Christian missions is not totally dark and cheerless! There has been a Christian commerce, both of the races that have brought salvation, and of the tribes that have received it, and a happy derived commerce with it. Then the fruits of Christian labor have twined around the sanctuaries that have superseded the temples of idolatry and the graves of infanticide. Returns of arrowroot and palm oil have been the price of Bibles; and the mission ship, leading the stately sea-going vessel in its train, has ridden peacefully into the harbor, when before it would have met with cursing and with death. (Vol. i. p. 118.)

Alas, however, this is only one gleam of light in a very sombre and disheartening picture. Undoubtedly the imposition of opium and rum upon the weaker nations by the stronger has been the scandal of our so-called Christian civilization, and the greatest reproach of our misnamed Christian commerce. Dr. Ellenwood of the Presbyterian Board lays bare this shame of Christian governments with unsparing hand, declaring that "at the gateway of our missions crouches the hydra of the unrestricted liquor trade, a trade carried on under the flag of the Christian nations which we here represent; . . . and that at Washington an agent is employed by the liquor interest whose whole time and energy is occupied in baffling all attempts to restrict this business." (Vol. i. pp. 121, 122.)

Rev. W. Allan, M. A., of the Church Missionary Society, darkens a picture sufficiently black already with startling facts and statistics. We refer our readers to these (pp. 125-128) that they may judge for themselves whether Mr. Allan's conclusion is not justified, that if the African be "the image of God carved in ebony" the white liquor-dealer on the Congo is "*the image of the Devil carved in ivory.*"

We are glad to find that the American speakers are generally even more radical in the measures they propose against this iniquity than the English. The fallacy of high license which has smitten so many among us with judicial blindness, making them willing to lend their sanction to putting the imprimature of the state upon that abomination which ought always and everywhere to be stamped with the trademark of the Devil, seems to have affected some eminent men abroad also; for in the discussion of the opium question we find the distinguished Dr. Cust intimating a policy which looks toward high taxation of the opium traffic instead of rigid prohibition. His speech is so colored, indeed, with this sentiment that it must have seemed to blush in the view of some who heard it. Rev. J. Hudson Taylor, a master missionary endeared to many all over the world, spoke strong and significant words on this subject. His conclusions were drawn from wide experience and painful observation. Giving the appalling figures of 150,000,000 in China as the victims and sufferers from opium-smoking, he says:—

Let us all give credit to those who differ from us conscientiously and from

conviction. But I have labored in China and for China, as you know, for over thirty years. I am profoundly convinced that the opium traffic is doing more evil in China in a week, than missions are doing good in a year; and consequently one feels that this is a profoundly important question, and one that must be dealt with in the sight of God. Now of the reasons that are commonly brought forward — I exclude those of my friend who has just spoken — the usual one is this: "England cannot afford to do right!" Now I would say England cannot afford to do wrong. Nay, you must not do one wrong thing to escape another. It is said you would have to starve India in order to deliver China. My friends, it is always right to do right, and the God in heaven, who is the great Governor of the universe, never created the world on such lines that the only way properly to govern India is to curse China.

This whole discussion on the opium and liquor traffic is most interesting and will well repay the reader's perusal.

In the embarrassment of riches presented in these volumes one hardly knows what leaves to turn down and what passages to underscore for the reader's special attention. If one would witness miracles of missionary success, let him read the story of the evangelization of the Fiji Islands, as told by the Rev. James Calvert of the Wesleyan Missionary Society — a nation literally transformed in fifty years from bloody savages to superior Christians; or let him read the story of the "Lone Star Mission in India" as told by Rev. W. F. Armstrong of the American Baptist Missionary Union, with the thrilling scene of the baptism of two thousand converts in a single day, and with the revival following which has resulted in bringing thirty thousand heathen into the church of Christ.

We have referred to great addresses. Let the reader pursue that of Sir Monier Williams of Oxford. Now that in the higher circles of literary Boston there is a growing rage for Esoteric Buddhism — cultured men and women in the *ennui* of unbelief, turning back from the light of Christ to the light of Asia — it were well if this address were circulated among them as a missionary tract. It would forever dispel the illusion of the superiority at any point of the ethnic religions to the Christian. Here are some striking points of contrast which Professor Williams makes between Christianity and Buddhism (vol. i. p. 39): —

According to the Christian Bible, regulate and sanctify the hearts' desires and affections; according to the Buddhist, suppress and destroy them utterly if you wish for true sanctification. Christianity teaches that in the highest form of life love is intensified; Buddhism teaches that in the highest state of existence all love is extinguished. According to Christianity, go and earn your own bread; support yourself and family. Marriage, it says, is honorable and undefiled, and married life is a field on which holiness may grow and be developed. Nay, more, Christ himself honored a wedding with his presence, and took up little children in his arms and blessed them. Buddhism, on the other hand, says; "Avoid married life; shun it as if it were a burning pit of live coals;" or, having entered on it, abandon wife, children, and home, and go about as celibate monks, engaging in nothing but in meditation and recitation of the Buddha's law — that is, if you aim at the highest degree of sanctification. And then comes the important contrast; that no

Christian trusts to his own works as the sole meritorious cause of salvation ; but is taught to say, I have no merit of my own, and when I have done all I am an unprofitable servant. Whereas Buddhism teaches that every man must trust to his own works — to his own merits only. Fitly, indeed, do the rags worn by its monks symbolize the miserable patchwork of its own self-righteousness. Not that Christianity ignores the necessity for good works. On the contrary, no other system insists on a lofty morality so strongly ; but only as a thank-offering — only as the outcome and evidence of faith ; never as the meritorious instrument of salvation.

Lastly, we must advert again to the most important and essential of all the distinctions which separate Christianity from Buddhism. Christianity regards personal life as the most precious, the most sacred, of all possessions, and God Himself as the highest example of intense personality, the great I AM THAT I AM ; and teaches us that we are to thirst for a continuance of personal life as a gift from Him. Nay, more, that we are to thirst for the living God himself, and for conformity to his likeness ; while Buddhism sets forth as the highest of all aims the utter extinction of personal identity — the utter annihilation of Ego — of all existence in any form whatever, and proclaims, as the only true creed, the ultimate resolution of everything into nothing, of every entity into pure nonentity. "What shall I do to inherit eternal life ?" says the Christian. "What shall I do to inherit eternal extinction of life ?" says the Buddhist.

It seems a mere absurdity to have to ask, in concluding this address, Whom shall we choose as our Guide, our Hope, our Salvation — the light of Asia, or the Light of the World ? the Buddha or the Christ ? It seems a mere mockery to put this final question to rational and thoughtful men in the nineteenth century : Which book shall we clasp to our hearts in the hour of death — the book that tells us of the extinct man Buddha, or the Bible that reveals to us the living Christ, the Redeemer of the world ?

What have we here, then, as the result of a century of missions ? We have hundreds of devoted laborers assembling from every quarter of the globe, exultingly declaring what God has wrought among the Gentiles by their hands ; we have the record of the Bible translated into two hundred and fifty tongues ; we have the tidings of door after door opened, till only one or two nations now remain shut to the gospel ; we have reports of great awakenings and large gatherings in many lands. And we have hundreds of delegates from every Protestant denomination — bishops, pastors, evangelists, Bible readers, lay workers, and elect women — all sitting down in company to listen to these reports and to rejoice over the result as the common spoil of the church of God. Missions surely are not a failure along spiritual and evangelic lines. And as a tribute of an eminent civilian to their results along other lines we quote the following paragraph from the address of Sir William Hunter (vol. i. p. 14) : —

During the past century mission-aries have marched in the van of all our noblest national movements. When the voice which stirred up the nation against the slave trade. That voice is now awakening the national conscience against the terrible evil which is being done by our liquor traffic among the darker and less civilized races. And what body of men have so materially contributed to awaken the national conscience to our duties toward the aboriginal races ? Ladies and gentle-

men, the difficulties in the work of missionary enterprise are still great, but they are much less now than they were a century ago.

We need not say how nobly America was represented in this conference, from the graceful opening address of Dr. A. C. Thompson of the American Board, through able speeches and addresses which we have not space to enumerate, to the great closing meeting where Drs. Taylor of New York, Murdock of Boston, and Pierson of Philadelphia uttered such eloquent words against the great commercial outrages of the opium and liquor traffic.

A. J. GORDON.

THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE ROMANS, with Notes, Comments, Maps, and Illustrations. By Rev. LYMAN ABBOTT. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1888. Pp. 230.

This is a very peculiar book. Its peculiarity is not in its make-up, or in its illustrations, none of which are included in the commentary proper, nor is it altogether in the fact that the latter occupies some twenty-five pages less than half of the volume. But it is to be found in the quality and purpose of the larger and earlier portion. Theological treatises are sometimes censured if their dogmatic matter seems to dominate the teaching drawn directly from the words of Scripture. What shall be thought, then, of a professed commentary in which openly the same thing is done. And what if the matter put in front to color and shape all the exposition, and even the approach of the reader to it, is in the interest of an exceptional, not to say erratic, theology? Can such a work really explain the inspired writer's views so much as it does those of the uninspired one?

It has been little noticed. But one who says what he can for it, "likes its theology better than its exegesis," and observes that "it is not well" in commenting on Paul's thought forms "to explain away these forms, or to make them identical with our own." To do this is to turn interpretation into polemic. "Dr. Abbott has to frequently run Paul's thought into his own moulds." (Prof. G. B. Stevens of Yale in "New Englander.")

To do this when one begins with pledging himself to "lay aside as far as possible any previous theological predilection" is to prove that it is not possible for him to lay such predilections aside. But what is the value of polemic under the guise of commentary to Bible-students, Sunday-school teachers, and pastors?

The reader is prepared to find dogmatism throughout the exegesis by observing how often a surmise as to points on which Scripture says nothing is asserted with the positiveness of known fact. Instances occur on pp. 12, 22, 24, 28, 30, 31, 37, 40, 62, etc. A writer who asserts positively what we do not know and cannot, may with ease and unconsciously fall into the doing of what he disclaims, namely, the building of "buttresses to support a favorite system of theology." He may give to important terms meanings they have never borne, in the interest of "new departures" from the faith once for all delivered to the saints. He will be likely to put his speculations between his readers and even his own interpretations of the word of

God. It is not safe to affirm knowledge of what was in the mind of Paul and other Scriptural writers of which no evidence is attainable; one may go farther and deny what the evidence shows was in their minds. He may be so intent upon this as to repeat over and over his naked assertions, without scholarly proof, that the words Paul used do not mean what they have always been understood to mean. And this is what Dr. Abbott does. For, after occupying half his space with dogmatic endeavor to secure the predilections of his readers for his theological eccentricities, he repeats it in advance of each chapter again and again and again, by special assertions of these eccentricities, some fifteen in all, occupying half the remaining space ostensibly given to exposition. Greater anxiety to make out a polemic representation of Scripture in place of exegesis it would be hard to find.

Turning now to the commentary proper, we find a consistent attempt to expel from Paul's meaning what the church and Christian scholarship have deemed most characteristic in it. The terms justify, justifier, and justification are displaced by *righten*, *rightener*, and *rightening*. The epistle is therefore made to teach, not justification by faith, but conversion, moral renovation by sympathy. All that is objective disappears and the subjective takes its place. This extra exegetical attempt forms the great body of the notes. The forgiveness of sin by God is also exchanged for the expulsion of sin from the heart by sympathy with God awakened there. "For these views I claim no originality," says Dr. Abbott. His readers will recall their promulgation in 1866 by Dr. Bushnell, who is not mentioned here, and who on some points did not deflect so far from accepted evangelical ideas. He suggests "righteouser" for justifier, confessing that it is "a very ungrammatical, mock English substitute;" and neither this nor "rightener" appears in any English dictionary published since. (See "The Vicarious Sacrifice," pp. 403-523, — withdrawn in 1874, — and "Forgiveness and Law," substituted.) *Righten* indeed bears the sense of "do justice to;" and *righteoused*, made righteous, some dictionaries give as obsolete. Neither of these words is in Johnson, Halliwell, or Skeats. It has been matter of wonder why those who try here to transform at once theology and the vernacular do not employ *rectify*, to make right or amend, as the substitute for justify, with rectifier and rectification, since it conveys the very idea they wish to read into the Pauline phraseology, while justify does not in usage follow strictly its etymology,¹ but is defined by "to show to be just." This has never been

Lat. justificare. Moreover, it has never been confined to the recognition of justice specifically so-called whether "general" or "distributive," — but has included that of any and all righteousness. The wider moral meaning of justice is well-known. It is incredible that with all the varied Scripture words and phrases for moral renewal, both literal and figurative ones, another set of terms, always classed as "forensic" should be added in a non-forensic sense. To assert that "justify," "justification," etc., are so used is an offense against the *usus loquendi*; but it is more than a violation of the laws of language, namely, a violation of the laws of thought. Writing theologically on justification, Dr. A. concedes that "in the Old Testament it is used ordinarily, if not exclusively, in the forensic sense"

confounded with rectify, nor have the derivative meanings, to declare to be just, to treat as just, to treat as if just. No wonder Dr. Bushnell confessed that his attempt at a change of interpretation held "a place of disadvantage, unsteadied by the Scripture help it would have from a more homogeneous translation." More than this, it has had the fatal opposition of Biblical scholars.

For why should Paul take so much pains to say that a righteous God will make men righteous as far as He can? It is announced as a great and novel discovery in theology and morals. Did anybody ever doubt it? There is no antithesis in it; while no one can read the words, "Himself just and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus," without the impression of a marked antithesis. It is equally strong in the Greek text. Dr. Abbott reduces it to a platitude. It is a solid and precious truth indeed, that God cares vastly for our ethical renewal — more, we may believe, than for the recovery of our happiness. But if, besides this, He cares to provide means of reconciliation for men in their sin and guilt, there is no way in which this could be taught so well as in Paul's doctrine of justification by faith. It is not so obvious that He will provide expiation as that He will spiritually, subjectively influence men to holiness; and if the announcement of a propitiatory reconciliation is swept out of the Epistle to the Romans, it will hardly have foothold elsewhere in the New Testament. Moreover, this making men righteous is the work of the Spirit, and to take away the work of the Son and give Him the work of the Spirit is what kind of exegesis, or theology? Of what use to deny a thousand times that Paul's mode of thought is forensic, when, if it is not, none could be? To deny it, says Professor Francis Brown, even in the "Christian Union," "seems to impoverish our terminology, confuses rather than aids, and thins and narrows both Paul's experience and his teaching gift." "The forensic interpreters," says Professor G. B. Stevens, "have an advantage in interpreting his forms of thought;" for they fall in with them, instead of substituting alien ones suggested in America in the nineteenth century. Propitiation of God for sinful men is certainly in the Scriptures, even if "Mercy Seat," Rom. iii. 25, is substituted for it in the translation; and propitiation by the blood of Christ. If as Mercy Seat He is a point of manifestation and communion without blood, what shall we make of Christ Jesus as "a Mercy Seat through faith in his blood?" So redemption and ransom are in the Scriptures in a tropical meaning of interposition more and other than mere moral influence, and Dr. Abbott tries in vain to reduce them to this. They will always mean more to the world than simple "deliverance from sin." Men will always want pardon for the past, as well as to be made spiritually right in the present, and they will always base the former on something more than the latter, something outside of their own doing and their own souls. To say that faith in Christ as *a means of rightening us* is objective (p. 59); and yet he asserts that Paul, when he comes to apply the Old Testament ideas, with which he was so familiar, to Christianity, rejects the established sense without a reason. His mind must have worked by miraculous evolution!

redemption is but a step removed from salvation by our own righteousness, in place of salvation by the blood of Christ. And if the Son and Spirit are confounded with one another, what becomes of an objective atonement by the Son ?

But these notes not only rest upon the denial of such an atonement, but on other assertions quite as unwarranted. Suffering, it is affirmed, is an essential element of love, and atonement is simply suffering under this universal law ; and all good men who suffer participate in the vicarious sacrifice of Christ made to rectify men. This had been asserted by Dr. Bushnell. "Love is a principle essentially vicarious in its own nature." "Given the universality of love, the universality of vicarious sacrifice is given also." And though the same measure of effects will not follow our sacrificial love, it is of the same sort with his (ignoring his being a factor in moral government), and takes part with his. About a hundred pages Bushnell gives to the iteration and reiteration of such assertions without proof, interpreting Scripture to correspond ! "Vicarious sacrifice is the common property of holy virtue." "Christ's vicarious action is no prodigious matter." So Abbott, All love suffers ; suffering is the great sin-cleanser, reconciler ; by suffering love we "become participators with Christ in his cross," "sharing his cross with Him," etc.

Now we deny these assumptions. Love does not necessarily cause us to suffer. To assert that suffering is even an element of it is just philosophical confusion. It is to make love complex, instead of an ultimate simple action of spirit. It is to contradict the facts. We are not always suffering in our love. It is often the cause of supremest happiness. Love is other and different from both. Too much cannot be said of the pity, sympathy, realization of others' woes, and outgo to relieve them, to which it prompts ; but that can be said which is untrue. When woe and evil cease, the demand they make on love ceases. Before they ever were, love, pure, perfect, infinite, existed from eternity without suffering. This can only be contradicted by successfully asserting that sin and evil existed from eternity, and so Love Divine was *always* suffering and sacrificing. And who knows enough of eternity past and of God to assert this ? The suffering love of the Son of God was exceptional to Him, as well as unparalleled in the universe, and would never have been, save in finding a ransom, working out a redemption, offering a propitiation for sinful men. Sacrifice and personal suffering can occur without love, as Paul teaches by implication so strongly in 1 Cor. xiii. ; and love can exist — some day it will ! — without suffering and sacrifice. These may be of the selfish will ; that is of disinterested affection. The eccentric exegesis here is founded upon an eccentric and fallacious psychology.

Here and there something is said disparaging the punishment of sin, which reminds one of the universalism taught in the "Christian Union." Allusions to law suggest the denials in that journal that Christ gives any commandments.¹ Paul declared that he was "under law to Christ" which does not

¹ *Christian Union*, September 30, 1886. Christ's personal kingship is resolved into the force of truth. So does the strained and extreme view of our salvation by a "person" meet the opposite extreme !

furnish an "antidote to Antinomianism" like the eulogy in this book on "unconscious, unthoughtful, instructive" obedience of moral law, which, lacking intelligence, cannot be obedience at all. "Adam alone was brought under law; to Adam alone therefore was sin possible." What the object, or the supposed truth, of these sentences is we cannot imagine. But if they have any, Adam would need propitiation with the moral nature and moral character of his law-giver. And if Adam, then all men. One curious consequence of denying this, and rejecting evangelical justification, comes out in the comment on chap. x. vs. 3-10. To be "ignorant of God's righteousness" is "not the way of justification appointed by God" — though at the outset, chap. iii. 25, Paul had given this very meaning to righteousness, touching the blood of Christ and remission of sins past. And of course subjective faith is put in place of Christ as doing "what the law could not do." So does the moral influence theory assert such an influence of the atonement without an atonement to exert the influence. In order to magnify the effect, it puts it in the place of the cause, and dispenses with the cause altogether.

A good many other points in this curious work invite remarks for which space fails us. Many statements introduced may be questioned; many may be shown to be self-contradictory. What foundation is there for the idea that Christians regard others than themselves beyond mercy? Do they not read Matt. v. 45? That "Christ suffered not to let us off from penalty," may be an instance of extreme, exaggerated representation. The author is prone to this. We have no room for the good things in the book. The indication of Divine sovereignty is better than the cast given to Paul's casuistry. The "Law of Ethics" is less satisfactory than "The Christian State." We doubt if devout readers among the laity will approve expressions about Paul's being careless in quoting, or playing off one prejudice against another, more than scholars will declarations that Paul was a poet and a dramatist instead of a thinker and a teacher. It will be felt that "the whole truth is larger than the aspects of truth which Dr. A. emphasizes." He will not prevent men from learning the evangelical redemption from Paul by any tact of statement or grace of words. Though coupled with one of his characteristic misrepresentations of those who do not depart with him from the evangelical consensus, we are glad to read (p. 184) that Rom. chap. x. "does not teach that no one can be saved unless he knows what we call the gospel — that is, the history of the incarnate life and passion of Jesus Christ. Paul's citation of the passage, 'Their sound went out into all the earth,' ought to be sufficient to prevent any such narrow construction. The reverse is rather implied. The truth is, that God's salvation" [including more than our author is "liberal" enough to include] "is freely offered to all who are willing to accept it." A penitent can be justified through Christ's blood who does not hear of it. So universal is grace.

GEORGE F. MAGOUN.

THE MISSIONARY REVIEW OF THE WORLD. 1888. Edited by J. M. SHERWOOD and ARTHUR T. PIERSON. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. Pp. 974.

The first volume of "The Missionary Review of the World" is now bound and on sale. Its appearance is certainly striking, and marks an advance, if not a new epoch, in missionary literature. It is a royal octavo, printed on heavy paper, with clear but compact pages, and substantially bound in crimson cloth with gilt back. No one can form a correct idea of the extent, variety, and quality of its contents till he looks through this imperial volume. A brief analysis will show that it is in itself a Library of Mission Literature, containing matter equal to half a dozen books, and all fresh and inspiring, and from the ablest missionary writers of the world. At the same time it is an invaluable Cyclopædia of Missions, containing a vast amount of the latest and most accurate information on every subject connected with that great theme. The eight departments are crowded with matter of interest and importance to the friends of missions in all lands and in all branches of the church. It contains a full and skillfully prepared index of contents. The price is but \$2.50, free delivery. It is a marvel of cheapness.

THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT SYSTEM AS EMBODIED IN THE LEGISLATION OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES, WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION. By JOHN H. WIGMORE, of the Boston Bar. Boston: Charles C. Soule, 1889. Pp. 151.

This is the only exact and scholarly presentation America has thus far produced of the merits and history of that Australian system of secret-balloting which a score of our Commonwealths are now discussing and which is already the law in Massachusetts. We commend the volume most heartily for its fullness of trustworthy information, its literary excellence, its candid, judicial, and reformatory spirit, and especially for its courage and timeliness in view of current discussions of electoral methods.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY A RECENT GRADUATE OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

56. *What reply is to be made to the charges contained in a recent article of the "North American Review" on "The Fast Set at Harvard"?*

A recent graduate of Harvard University who resides in Boston and has every opportunity to know the facts writes to us as follows :—

The general and substantial truth of the article in question I am sorry to say cannot be impugned ; many of the specific cases of dissipation in this *chronique scandaleuse* were currently spoken of during my last year at Cambridge. There can be no doubt of the existence of a class such as the one described ; indeed, in so large a community of young men it would be strange if there were not. The almost entire freedom from restraint which it has seemed good to the college authorities to allow, as well as the social prestige which goes along with Harvard connections, have attracted a large number of wealthy and worldly *papillons* from New York and Chicago society, whose lavish expenditures and dissolute living are notorious. And yet while Quest's proportion of one in twenty is none too large, the general impression left by his highly colored narrative would be misleading to an outsider. Cambridge is not a Capua or a Corinth. *Per contra*, the moral tone of the students as a whole will bear comparison with that of any other body of students, while in intellectual matters the ferment of thought and study is far more fruitful and vigorous, it seems to me, than elsewhere in America. Furthermore, the ratio of high thinkers to high livers is continually rising, if we may trust the statistics of the library and of the office, while the natural tendencies of students to sober living have been materially aided by dread of an official pruning knife unusually active during late years.

You ask what the feeling of the more serious and scholarly students is towards the fast men in college. I should say it varied much with previous training and traditions. For one I have frequently told friends inclined to loose living that if I had my way they would be pilloried on Cambridge Common. Other men of a less rigorous ancestry condemn poker-playing, etc., on the strength of a passage often quoted from Schopenhauer's "Paralipomena" in which the "Philistinism" of card playing is set forth. The great populace in the University is apt to slur over moral laxity in a man, provided he is affable and kindly, in other words a "good fellow," for the term "good fellow" covereth a multitude of sins. Yet it is undeniable that the feeling of contempt for vice and extravagance gathers strength among all classes as the four years pass. The influence of the sporting

men, of men of fashion, and of the heavy subscribers to athletic games (i. e., of the fast set) which is so overwhelming in the freshman year is almost entirely superseded by the influence of the "Monthly" editors, of the members of historical, philosophical, and finance clubs in the senior year; and as the upper class-men naturally give the tone to the college, you see how misleading Mr. Quest's article is. The fast men are there and do incalculable harm — to themselves. But the importance which the article assigns to them and their doings is wholly unwarrantable.

I find it rather hard to generalize about a society whose elements are so heterogeneous as those of the Harvard community are. Personally, however, I feel very hopeful of the intellectual and moral influences which are flowing forth from the old University town and nourish my share of indignation at the "North American Review" for publishing such thoroughly sensational matter. I inclose clippings from college papers on the same subject.

The "Harvard Advocate" publishes the following reply to the "North American Review":—

The extraordinary article in the "North American Review" entitled "The Fast Set at Harvard" is evidently prompted by some personal grudge against the University. The writer has undertaken not to improve the University by driving bad students out of it, but to hold up such a picture of the dissipated life of the most vicious men in college that good students will be frightened away. The article has no higher moral tone than "Town Topics" or the "Police Gazette;" it is most surprising that a magazine of any pretense to respectability should have published it.

As to what the writer says, it is doubtless largely true. He has been there himself, and he ought to know. There is no use in denying that the vice of the world outside exists in college. What we do deny is that this fact makes Harvard an unsafe place for a right-minded boy who is mature enough to be trusted alone anywhere. Every college is sensitive to the recital of the vice of depraved students, both because a college is expected by the public to be better than the world outside, and because the competition between colleges is so close. We gladly admit that a college ought to be a better place than the world outside; and we insist that the colleges can stand the test. There is no place outside of home where good influences are so strong and where they meet the bad influences so constantly as in college. A moral comparison of a graduating class at Harvard or any other good college with the same number of young men of similar age and circumstances after four years in business in Boston or New York would throw only credit on college life. But the writer in the "North American" wants to make Harvard seem peculiarly bad. He is not successful. "The faculty," he says, "will rarely do more than frown or admonish." This is not true. What he says about last Class Day (or even if he refers to previous Class Days) is unquotable, and there is no reason to suppose it true. What he says of revelations from the physical examinations at the gymnasium is a

bare-faced lie. On the other hand, what truth he tells of Harvard might be told of other colleges in city and country. It is discreditable, but the discredit falls on all alike. The trouble is that parents forget that a college is not a reform school and so send to it boys with plenty of money and no moral principle. The faculty cannot do detective duty. College would be intolerable to everybody if they tried. Hence there are here and in all the colleges a certain number of depraved students. It is at once the weakness and the strength of Harvard as compared with other colleges that the college is loosely organized. Men go their own gait, far less influenced by the men about them than at Yale, which has the solidarity of a well-knit community. At Harvard we are rather a collection of individuals. This makes the influence of such men as "Aleck Quest" describes far less than such a misproportioned sketch would lead the outsider to suppose. For the same reason, however, the moral condemnation passed by the majority, composed as it is of upright men, has less effect than it ought to have. A vicious boy will perhaps get less of reformation here than he ought, but he will do less harm than would be expected. The one thing which life at Harvard needs most is not that we should imitate, for example, the Yale system so that each member of the community should affect the others more, but that the moral disapprobation which the college feels for the vice of individuals should be made more effective. How to make it so is the great moral problem now before the college.

The contrast which the writer of the article makes between the Harvard of to-day and of forty years ago is altogether mistaken. According to the testimony of competent observers the moral tone of the college has immensely improved instead of deteriorating in that period. For instance, a student, writing in his diary about forty years ago on the occasion of the inauguration of a president of the college, says, "Forty out of fifty seniors [the classes at that time numbered about sixty] who were in Cambridge were pretty 'tight,' and many out of the other classes." Even as an exaggeration such a statement would be impossible nowadays. On the whole, the article is unfortunate, because it gives uninformed persons an unfair impression of Harvard. It is not likely, however, to affect very seriously the success of the University as a moral and educational power. If it indirectly lead to the alleviation of the evils it describes, it will accomplish a good beyond the writer's evident intention. In any case nothing but harm can be done by attempting to palliate vice.

REPLY BY THE REV. W. F. CRAFTS.

57. *What is the value of special labor for the conversion of children in comparison with that of labor for the conversion of adults?*

At the recent Convention of Christian Workers in Detroit, efforts among the vicious and criminal classes and among children were set side by side, the former in reports of city missionaries, the latter in special services by Rev. E. P. Hammond. Looking out on the audience I was attracted by one face above all others, a face which I said to myself was the face of

some saintly Episcopal clergyman in a quiet country parish. That night at an open-air meeting I heard those saintly lips say they had plead often at the bar of the courts and it was usually "guilty." It was "One-armed Jack," formerly a drunken thief and prize-fighter, who was thirty times in jail, but for many years has been the esteemed missionary of the Sailors' Bethel in Cleveland. Another speaker of spiritual power was Mr. John E. Wooley of Minneapolis, a reformed lawyer, who a year ago in that city was "the pride of the bar" in two senses. These and other speakers showed that grace can transfigure the chiefs of sinners. But it was not frankly declared, in the reports of work among such people, that though more picturesque and startling, the results of such work only emphasize the yet greater importance of preventive gospel work among the young. It was stated at this convention again and again by different workers that in such and such a mission there were five hundred or a thousand conversions annually, at a cost of only a thousand or two thousand dollars per year, that is, two dollars per "convert." It should have been frankly admitted, as these "converts" themselves would wish, for the warning of others, that more than fifty per cent. of such "converts" return to their wallowing in the mire, and that those who stand have only a few years for Christian service before the premature death which repentance is often too late to prevent. Even the Christian Home for Intemperate Men in New York city, which has far greater facilities for helping men to reform than any mission, does not expect more than fifty per cent. of its repentant drunkards to remain reformed. Let this work go on, but let not the less picturesque but more valuable conversions of children be neglected. Such have more and better years to give to God, and can be brought to Christ in flocks where there is faith enough in God's word to "suffer them to come."

Many believe in the child piety just referred to, who hesitate in regard to the related but separate question of child-membership in the church. Can young children understand enough of Christian truth to be brought to the Lord's table? There are very few children in the Primary Departments of our Sabbath-school that do not know more about Christ than the two families first gathered into the Christian church in Europe, the family of Lydia and the family of the Philippine jailer, all of whom were baptized after hearing their first gospel sermon. The jailer was a hardened heathen at sunset, a baptized Christian at dawn — so few and simple are the beliefs — about persons and facts, not philosophies — that Paul counted necessary conditions of admittance to the school of Christ.

But children can understand much more than most adults even try to teach them. The following are the verbatim replies of a child of seven (not precocious either mentally or spiritually), just before he united with my church, — a sample from many of similar age and understanding: —

1. What is baptism the sign of? It is a sign that Jesus can wash your heart by praying to Him and asking Him to forgive your sins. 2. What does the wine of the Lord's Supper stand for? For Christ's blood. 3.

And what does the broken bread make us think of? It stands for Jesus Christ's broken-up body, broken by the nails and sword. [The only mistake — "sword" for spear.] 4. What do we mean when we call the Bible the Word of God? It means that Jesus guided the people not to put in what He did not want them to put in. 5. What should any one pray for who wants to be a Christian? For a wise heart and a good heart. 6. Why did Jesus die on the cross? To save sinners. He died for us. 7. What are some of the things that one will do if he is a true Christian? When the game went wrong, they don't get mad. He won't be rude in playing. He won't do naughty things behind the teacher in school. He won't swear or say nasty words. He won't disobey mamma when she tells him anything. 8. If a Christian should do anything sinful what ought he to do about it? He'll ask God to forgive him. 9. Will every one who is baptized and joins the church and takes the Lord's Supper go to heaven? No, sir; before they die they might wander away from Jesus and go to doing the same things they did before they joined. 10. What good does it do us to join the church? We know that we are in Jesus' care, and He is taking care of us. 11. What is it to be a Christian? To love God and keep his Word. 12. What is it to repent? To ask God to forgive your sins, and be sorry for them. 13. How young may one become a Christian? As soon as he can understand to love Jesus.

If such Christian knowledge in a child of seven years is exceptional, it is not from any lack of capacity in the children.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

CONSTITUTIONAL prohibition has a great future. It has become an absorbing and fateful issue in the practical politics of the most conservative and enlightened American Commonwealths. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, and Nebraska are soon to cast non-partisan votes on proposed prohibitory constitutional amendments. A new epoch in the moral, industrial, and political life of these States ought to be opened by a right use of their great opportunity to free themselves from the sovereignty of the saloon. In Kansas and Iowa, constitutional prohibition is a success. In Maine, merely legislative prohibition was so beneficial that, after twenty-three years' experience of it, no politician of any party dared oppose it and constitutional prohibition was carried by an immense majority. The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Kansas prohibition cases removes the last legal obstacle to the full success of constitutional prohibition.

Compulsory scientific temperance instruction is now given in the public schools of thirty-five States and Territories. A majority of the future voters of the land are being taught total abstinence. Science, by showing that alcohol has a local affinity for the brain, and that habits of drinking necessarily manufacture paupers and madmen, demonstrates the right of government in self-protection to interfere by prohibitory legislation with the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage. The intellect and conscience of the nation are at open war with the liquor traffic; it is defended only by greed, appetite, and their allies.

The liquor traffic is now an organized national force. It acts as a unit wherever its interests are in peril. It has more money behind it than slavery ever had. Millions will be expended to influence politicians and the press to oppose constitutional prohibition. The unscrupulous classes are growing in political power. The saloon in the saddle is capable of becoming as vast a mischief as was the South in the saddle.

Great cities are likely to rule the American republic. They will also ruin it, if they are governed by the whiskey rings, as they have been in a majority of cases thus far in our history. The predominant political influence of the whiskey rings in great and corrupt cities is incompatible with the success of American institutions, or with safety to life and property under universal suffrage in mismanaged municipalities. In view of the rapid growth of great cities and of the political predominance of the liquor traffic, it is evident that there will never be a better day than the present in which to resist this immense mischief.

A constitutional amendment is superior to a prohibitory law, for it is less easily repealed. A vote of the legislature and a vote of the people are required to pass or repeal an amendment. A prohibitory law would be the act of a legislature only, but an amendment is the act of the whole people, of all parties. Organic law is intended to be permanent. It cannot be repealed by one packed legislature. It is difficult or impossible to corrupt the whole of the people.

The business that makes criminals, paupers, and madmen is itself criminal. The trade that makes outlaws should itself be made an outlaw.

IN the January number of *OUR DAY* there is an extract from Sir Lyon Playfair's speech to his constituents on protection and wages in America.

His distinguished reputation as an economist and writer of the Cobden school, his having visited this country for the express purpose of personal observation, and his having formulated his speech into an article for the "*Nineteenth Century*" (December, 1888), give his statements great weight, and make them worthy of careful examination. He begins by denying that the issue of the presidential election was free trade, and seeks to prove it from the fact that the proposed diminution of the tariff was only five per cent., from forty-seven to forty-two. He had just returned from the United States. Did he not know that he was quoting partisan clap-trap? Did he not see that if this five per cent. diminution would make a difference of seventy millions in the revenue, then the whole revenue must be one

billion four hundred millions of dollars! Sir Lyon should have seen at a glance that an *average* diminution has no definite meaning in this case.

Suppose seven articles are of so little consequence that the tariff is not changed, but an eighth article is imported to the amount of twenty millions under a tariff of fifty per cent. This is cut down to twenty-five per cent., theoretically diminishing the revenue by five millions. But averaged on the eight articles it is a mere bagatelle of three and a half per cent. It is charitable to suppose that Sir Lyon Playfair did not understand what he was talking about, but it was something that would *take* with his constituents.

He presents another entirely original idea. "If protection gives to a workingman more wages, where does the more come from? It comes from the taxes which the workingmen pay to support protection!" The ability of a country to pay its workmen high wages comes from its wealth and prosperity, but that these come from "taxes which the workingmen pay" is too absurd to be uttered even to British constituents.

Again Sir Lyon Playfair asserts, "Protected industries in America have always considerably lower wages than unprotected." But he must have known that what he calls unprotected industries are those that are most efficiently protected by environment, and by the nature of the case. The carpenter, painter, decorator, plumber, are examples of numberless industries that have a prohibitory tariff imposed by the nature of the case. His reference works against him. It goes to prove that a high tariff secures high wages, whereas in face of his own reference he declares a high tariff produces low wages. His so-called "unprotected industries" enjoy the protection of an absolutely prohibitory tariff by their environment. The carpenter, mason, blacksmith, house-decorator, painter, plumber, and many other industries have a protection which government can neither increase nor diminish, and poor Sir Lyon quotes such industries in favor of free trade.

But when he numbers all our farmers, as in the "Nineteenth Century," among the unprotected, he supposes absolute free trade in all farm products between us and Canada. He had never read our tariff!

"Still you may think that protection would render wages uniform all over the country in occupations of the same kind."

Who would think so? Certainly no man of common sense.

Our occupations are separated by thousands of miles, and subject to a vast variety of conditions, and wages will conform to these conditions. It is not true of the little island of England that the same occupation has everywhere the same wages, as shown by Fawcett.

Professor Playfair does not understand that, having absolute free trade at home, a vast internal commerce, far surpassing both the home and foreign commerce of Great Britain, has sprung up, with industries of every kind, all in absolute freedom to accommodate themselves to circumstances.

Let us ascend another height. "The Republicans boast that protection gives employment to *American labor*. The truth is, Americans are rapidly disappearing from many protected industries," — "they go to the unprotected."

He proves the grossness of his misapprehension by citing a mill in New Hampshire which out of 6,000 operatives has only 230 Americans, the rest being English, Irish, and Canadians. We tell Professor Playfair that American labor includes all laborers in America, and the Republicans have never undertaken to legislate for the workmen who are descended straight from the Pilgrims. The English and Irish are as free to go to those "unprotected" industries as are the Americans. Inferior intelligence and enterprise are the only reasons for their not going.

Professor Playfair declares boldly that protection is a force to lower wages. And yet in this speech, as made into an article for the December number of the "Nineteenth Century," he affirms that protection has stimulated over-production, and that having no foreign market, our industries are in a sad state. Would the learned professor condescend to explain to us how lower wages can stimulate over-production? If workingmen who have received a dollar a day should be reduced to half a dollar a day that would fatally stimulate production! The less you pay a man the more heartily he will work! That was what he taught his "constituents of the South Division of Leeds."

He then proceeds to state that a family of five workers, including children, will gain £160 in America, and £108 in England, but at the close of the year the American would have £9 left and the English £2. Whence he concludes that "protection is a gigantic error." His premises and conclusion do not agree. He should have made the Englishman have the £9 and the American the £2.

But Professor Playfair is evidently fond of contradicting himself. In another part of his speech, as given in the "Nineteenth Century," wishing to impress his constituents with the expensiveness of life in America, he represents English workingmen as returning to England by hundreds in a single steamer to spend the months when they are out of employ, and then returning again in the spring, making money by the difference of expense in living. That the English workman in America does lay up money enough to occasionally revisit his native land and bring over to the comforts of American life his poor relations is admitted. But that he does this to save money is very amusing. He cannot go and return for less than sixty dollars, and that would pay his three months' living in America, if he did nothing. He must have splendid wages in America to enable him to indulge in foreign travel. But Sir Lyon Playfair's power of inference is such that he would say, We hence conclude that labor, all things considered, is no better paid in America than in England.

His next position is that protection is the cause of socialism. His reasoning is short and decisive. Russia, Germany, and America have protection, and they have socialism. Therefore protection is the cause of socialism.

He might just as well reason that protection is the cause of measles and mosquitos; for these same countries that have protection have also measles and mosquitos.

He must have known that our socialists are mainly foreigners, and in no sense the product of our institutions. How is it with London, Liverpool, and Glasgow? There are more socialists in those three cities than in all the United States. This charge exhibits a boldness that might be designated by a stronger term. He exposes himself to a moral condemnation no gentleman should be willing to incur.

"Protectionists live on the labor of others." Now a great majority of the voters in the free States are protectionists. They are farmers and mechanics. Who are the "others" upon whose labor they live? Suppose all the people of the land should become protectionists, would they all perish in one black universal famine? there being, in such case, no "others" for them to live upon. Sir Lyon knows that England is the only free-trade country in Europe. Does he mean that America and all the nations of Europe live on the product of the labor of England? He probably did not know what he meant.

The greater prosperity of England under free trade than of the United States under protection, the greater increase of wages in England than in the United States of America, and even of population, with slight exceptions, must have delighted his Leeds' constituents. He assures them that the *rise* of wages in England was ten per cent. while in protective Massachusetts they *fell* 5.41 per cent. If so, what folly for any Englishman to migrate to this country.

And why do not the immigrants make haste to return? And why should England send us hundreds of thousands of "assisted emigrants," who are nothing but paupers? Why should there be such a rush from the blessed home of free trade to the land cursed by protection? which "lowers wages" and is "a drag on its development." How comes it about that his protection-cursed mill in New Hampshire, out of 6,000 operatives has 5,770 Englishmen, Irishmen, and Canadians?

As to the colossal wealth of Great Britain, we rejoice in it. The prosperity of one nation adds to the prosperity of its neighbors. But when Sir Lyon institutes a comparison he should follow well-tested authorities. The great English statistician, Mulhall, puts our wealth in 1850 as only one third that of Great Britain, in 1870 as having passed it by one thousand millions of dollars, and in 1884 by six thousand millions, and our population as having advanced to fifty-five millions, while Great Britain's advanced to thirty-six millions.

Even France has surpassed England in the race of wealth during the last two decades, by Mulhall's admission. Sir Lyon Playfair's patriotism is admirable, but needs moderation.

In the "Nineteenth Century" he comes to the conclusion that the results of the presidential election are decidedly favorable to free trade. Upon what premises could he base this conclusion? The Cleveland party was in power. It had a solid South of fifteen States in its favor, where it had neither to toil nor spin. It had a huge patronage. It had a hundred thousand office-holders. The President set them an example of self-sacrifice by giving \$10,000 to help his own reelection, while throwing a contemptible pittance to the sufferers from the terrible Southern calamity. The party had also all the patronage and literature of England on its side. The question to be decided was free trade or protection. With all these advantages the free-trade theory was overwhelmed and lost. Therefore, at the next election, with none of these advantages, it will gain a brilliant victory! Such is the reasoning of Sir Lyon Playfair. We are not surprised that he should close his speech to "his constituents of the Southern Division of Leeds" in the following words: "Test the whole question, in any way you choose, and you will find that neither by real wages, by savings, nor by commercial prosperity, is there the slightest support given by American experience to the idea that free trade is a delusion, or that protection adds to the remuneration of labor or acts in any other way than as a drag on the development of nations."

Our development has been something, notwithstanding. Henry V. Poor, our highest authority on railroad statistics, estimates the value of our productions of the soil, the sea, and the shop conveyed on our railroads the past year to be thirteen and a half thousand millions of dollars. If this should seem to any one extravagant, the excess may balance the neglected items. His estimate neglects the vast amount of products consumed without touching a railroad, or conveyed on the water by coast and river craft, without communication with the rail.

We will add for American as well as British eyes the following items, illustrating Sir Lyon Playfair's "drag" upon our development, during two decades, including our destructive war. They include our chief industries:—

1860, 173 million bushels wheat; 1880, 498 million bushels.

1860, 839 million bushels corn; 1880, 1,717,000,000.

1860, 5 million bales cotton ; 1880, 7 million bales.

1860, \$115 million of cotton goods ; 1880, \$210 million.

1860, \$62 million woolen goods ; 1880, \$268 million.

In 1860 we had 163 million acres of improved land ; in 1880 we had 287 millions, while free-trade England has had many millions of acres go out of cultivation in that time. Fifteen years ago the "Times" (January, 1873) reports 4,252,000 acres as having gone out of tillage, and Marion Crawford states the amount at present as 11,000,000.

Where is Professor Playfair's "drag?"

In 1860, 1 million tons nearly of pig iron.

In 1887, 6 million tons.

In 1860, 235,107 tons of rails.

In 1881-1884 we produced 5,363,000 tons of Bessemer steel rails.¹ Our excess over England's production is 1,221,595 tons. Again, where is Sir Lyon's "drag?"

In 1860 we mined 15 million tons of coal ; in 1880 we mined 80 million, in good keeping with our iron and steel products.

We have diligently sought for Sir Lyon Playfair's "drag" without finding a trace of it, and we suspect he keeps it carefully at home. Compared with the above facts England's producing power and her home and foreign commerce are insignificant.

It is pitiful to see distinguished and learned Englishmen ignoring or denying or falsifying the facts of our history in order to save, if it may be, the failing, the oft exploded doctrine of free trade between rival nations. Twenty years ago the Cobden Club, including a large portion of England's wealth, learning, and power, indulged high hopes of conquest. The prospect darkens every year. Not a civilized nation has adopted her economic fallacy, and her own children, the colonies, have rebelled against it. It is still more pitiful that any American should wish us to follow England, as she falls into the rear of other nations, by her obstinate adherence to a fatal policy.

CYRUS HAMLIN.

MISS WILLARD'S Autobiography, which is expected to appear in April, is noticed as follows in the current news of literary journals :—

¹ See *Am. Rep. Iron and Steel Assoc.* G. W. Cope, Sec. Phil. 1885.

Miss Frances E. Willard is spending the winter months in a novel fashion. She is under contract to write her autobiography, in response to the request of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Association. Receiving twenty-five to seventy-five letters daily, visitors without cessation, and with the leadership of both the World's and the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Woman's National Council on her hands, she failed to find time to write her book. Thereupon, with her secretary, Miss Anna Gordon, Miss Willard concocted a plot to drop quietly out of her accustomed haunts, leaving nobody the wiser but her publisher.

As Miss Willard will celebrate her semi-centennial on the 28th of September next, she entitles the book, "Fifty Fortunate Years; the Autobiography of an American Woman." There is a prospect of its appearing simultaneously in England under the title of "A Prairie Girl's Career." Frances Willard is the frankest of women both by name and nature, and those who have seen advance sheets say there is nothing conventional about the work, but that it is off-hand, fresh, and altogether the most unique self-revelation of the time.

It will be plentifully illustrated and about the size of Mrs. Mary A. Livermore's admirable "Story of the War." There is hardly a contemporary philanthropist or reformer whom Miss Willard does not know, besides a majority of the leading literary lights of our land, and she will silhouette these besides giving a narrative account of her curious childhood on a Western prairie. Her ancestors founded Concord, the literary centre of the nation. One of them was a Harvard president. Others have been Boston preachers. She will describe her odd, inventive school days, brilliant episode as a teacher, two years and more of foreign travel, leading her to almost every European capital and as far east as Damascus, Baalbek, and the Volga banks in Russia; her presidency of a woman's college and career as professor in the Northwestern University at Evanston, Ill., her home, and her fifteen years of labor as a reformer, organizer, speaker, and "Gospel politician," which she claims to be.

THE National Divorce Reform League held its annual meeting February 13. The report of the corresponding secretary, the Rev. Samuel W. Dike, LL. D., gave a hopeful outlook in all the four lines of its work: Investigation, Legislation, Education, and Practical Work for the Family. In the first of these the great work of the year has been the completion of the Report of the Department of Labor under Hon. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner, on the statistics of marriage and divorce in the United States and Europe, a measure which the League proposed more than five years ago and pressed upon Congress until it was granted. Nothing of the sort has ever been done

on either side of the Atlantic on the scale of this work. When printed, some weeks or months hence, it will put ourselves and Europeans in possession of an official presentation in a single large volume of about all that a statistical report of ordinary cost can really cover on what is now an international problem.

Strong efforts at better legislation have been made the past year in Rhode Island and Illinois. The governor of New York recommends in his message that the State take steps to bring about uniform laws between the several States. The chairman of the Committee on Territories and a senator have each introduced measures in Congress for amendment of the Constitution, growing in one instance, certainly, out of experience with the Mormon problem, where it is found that the marriage and divorce question is involved with that of polygamy. Discussion of legislation upon divorce has gone on of late in Canada, New South Wales, France, Germany, and Switzerland.

There is a growing interest in the efforts of Mr. Dike to introduce the scientific study of the family and its problems, and especially the study of social institutions into colleges and the higher educational establishments. Two young men who were students at Johns Hopkins, when he introduced the subject of the family five or six years ago, are now professors and giving lectures on the family, and plans are being formed for like work in other institutions.

The attention of those most concerned is being turned to some practical experiments in the better use of the home in the work of religion, education, and philanthropy. The Home Department of the Sunday-school, a device for enlisting the families beyond the direct reach of the church in Bible study, has been steadily winning its way the last three years, especially among Congregationalists. And now the Presbyterians have followed with a system of Bible study in the family. Mr. Dike has suggested in the "Journal of Education" that the same principle be applied to our public schools in favorable localities in the attempt to bring, through frequent reports and other means, the school and the home into a closer coöperation in their common work.

The report was strong in its caution that philanthropic and

other kinds of work do not weaken the family and home by putting efforts for the home in place of the more direct way of helping the home to its own work. The former course, it claimed, like that inconsiderate charity which simply gives to the poor, impoverishes the home life. The latter directs towards self-help, teaches self-respect, and builds up family character. Here lies the justification of the League. It does not work for the family by indirection, but it seizes upon the radical idea of the family, and operates upon that. It is well to have one society in the world that stands directly for the family.

Just as we go to press the report of Hon. Carroll D. Wright on divorce has been sent to Congress. Its disclosures are hardly less than startling. It shows that in the twenty years, 1867-1886, there were in the United States 328,716 divorces, increasing steadily, in almost every State and Territory in the Union, from 9,937 in 1867 to 25,535 in 1886. There are no less than ten States which granted over 1,000 each in 1886. One State, Illinois, has averaged over 2,000 annually the last ten years, and granted 2,606 in 1886. Divorces in this country are increasing more than twice as fast as the population. The report shows, what most readers probably do not suspect, that the South is already granting divorces at a rate which, if continued long, will soon bring it up with the North. Arkansas, Florida and Tennessee and Texas are not far behind Northern and Western States of similar numbers of population. Aside from Nevada, where there has been a decline in population, and South Carolina, where the divorce law that existed a few years during the period of reconstruction after the war has been repealed, the only States showing a decline in divorces are Maine, Vermont, and Rhode Island, to which probably Michigan should be added since 1887. In all these States the changes are directly traceable to the work of the National Divorce Reform League or its friends.

Perhaps the following is the best single table we can now give to show the movement and its distribution:

| Section. | Period. | | | | Totals. |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | 1867-71 | 1872-76 | 1877-81 | 1882-86 | |
| Fourteen Northern States east of the Mississippi | 36,809 | 42,144 | 50,125 | 60,478 | 189,556 |
| Southern States, including District of Columbia | 10,042 | 15,087 | 22,881 | 32,952 | 80,962 |
| Other States and Territories west of the Mississippi . . | 6,723 | 11,316 | 16,278 | 23,881 | 58,198 |
| Totals | 53,574 | 68,547 | 89,284 | 117,311 | 328,716 |

The extremely high rates of the country west of the Mississippi River, and especially the very rapid increase of divorces in the South, are striking. Next to the Territories and Colorado, which leads all the rest of the States, having in 1880 one divorce to every 136 living married couples, come Oregon, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Maine, California, Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois in the order given. Maine, however, and Michigan in 1887 have since come out of this list. The divorce rate, in 29 cities selected for comparison, was highest in 1880 in the following order: Indianapolis, Providence, San Francisco, Chicago, Portland, Me., Nashville, Cleveland, Memphis, Milwaukee, and St. Louis.

The report shows that the movement in Europe is very similar to that in this country. All Europe now grants about the same number of divorces as the United States, and the increase is only a little less general than on this side the Atlantic.

PRINCIPAL GRANT, of Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, whose authoritative and most timely article on *British Imperial Federation* opens the present number of OUR DAY, has recently returned from a tour of the world. The editorial note in "The Century" for January, 1889, to which he refers with commendation in his closing sentence, contains the following suggestive passage, with which we believe the most enlightened American opinion to be in substantial agreement:—

What could be more natural than the "federation" scheme for British

reconstruction, which has been before the British public for years and is now renewed? It offers to Great Britain the maintenance of every interest, legal, economic, political, and moral, which has grown up in the past and has shown itself worthy of conservation. It maintains all the ties which have held the different parts of the Empire together. It even strengthens them prodigiously by transforming the weak ties of colonialism into a true national life: so that the foreigner shall look upon Canada or Jamaica, not as temporary hangers-on of a distant island, but as component and fully recognized members of a magnificent ocean empire. It distributes the burdens of imperial taxation over the whole empire, so that the Australian may look upon every imperial iron-clad which comes into his harbors as possibly the product of his own state's taxation, while Canadian regiments shall take their tour of duty in English or Irish cities, or at the Cape. It lessens the danger of a new break-up of the empire through colonial discontent. . . . It leaves to every square foot of the empire that alternative of self-government in the present or of the hope of self-government in the future which is afforded by our state and territorial systems. Canada would be at once one of the self-governing states of the empire; but the territories of India would have under the federation such prospects of complete statehood, when they should deserve it, as they never could have under a Russian dominion or protectorate.

JAPAN takes a place henceforth among advanced nations. She has abandoned a form of government which she has held for twenty-five centuries. Her new constitution, proclaimed on February 12, is based on strictly representative institutions. It gives the right of suffrage to all men of the age of twenty-five years and over, who pay taxes to the amount of twenty-five dollars yearly. It provides for a House of Commons and a House of Peers. It guarantees liberty of religion, with freedom of speech, and public assembly. It intrusts to the Parliament, under reasonable limitations, not only legislative functions, but also the control of the national finances.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. III. — APRIL, 1889. — No. 16.

A STRATEGIC YEAR IN SABBATH REFORM.

ADDRESS OF THE REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, FIELD SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN SABBATH UNION, AT THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON, MARCH 25, 1889.

A PETITION of ten million names has recently been presented to Congress for a National Sunday Rest Law. No other year of the last twenty-five has seen the collection of so many petitions for Sabbath reform, the organization of so many Sabbath associations, the fighting of so many brave battles for the defense or recapture of Sabbath rest, the writing of so many articles and letters, and the utterance of so many fearless addresses and sermons in behalf of this imperiled day, as the year now about to close with the World's Week of Prayer for the Sabbath, which includes the first and second Sabbaths of April. Especially signal has been the unprecedented unanimity of the pulpit cannonade against Sunday newspapers. [Applause.] This is the *Annus Mirabilis*, the year of wonders, in Sabbath reform — and in Sabbath desecration also.

Let me first glance at some facts of the year that show that the Sabbath is *not surrendered*.

At Jabez Bunting's funeral, when the officiating minister said, "There are no more such great and good men left," an eccentric but veracious woman exclaimed aloud, "Thank God, *that's a lie*." The same remark is appropriate when any friend

or foe of the Lord's Day says, "The Sabbath is gone." "Thank God, that's a lie." "He that ploweth, should plow in hope." "We are saved by hope." We are lost by despair. Truth has no greater foe than the distrust of some of its friends in its power. When David, pursued by Saul, had no other encouragement, "he encouraged himself in God." He sang, "The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice." But Joshua received almost simultaneously from God and the people the message, "Be strong and of a good courage." So to-day not only the promises of God but the events of the year in Sabbath reform cry with a thousand tongues to its friends, "Be of good courage."

The year began with a hearing on April 6 before the United States Senate's Committee on Education and Labor on the petition of more than a million citizens of our country for a national law against needless Sunday work in the government's mail and military service, and in interstate commerce, and in the District of Columbia and the Territories. In May this petition was unanimously indorsed by the Central Labor Union of New York city; in October, by the International Convention of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; in November, by the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor; in December, by Cardinal Gibbons, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in America. Mrs. J. C. Bateham, the National Superintendent of Sabbath Observance for the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Deborah of us all in this fight by snow-storms of petitions against the Sunday chariots of iron that are crushing both health and conscience, estimates that besides the Cardinal's indorsement, which weighs much politically, whatever it counts, there were, at the close of the last Congress, petitions in its hands representing ten millions of our adult population. [Applause.] This is not by any means all who are in sympathy with Sabbath rest. The parts of the country which have the best Sabbaths, New England and the South, have sent in the fewest petitions. New England, I am sorry to say, has not in this reform kept its usual place, at the head, but leads the other end of the class. Let every one of her churches and labor organizations hasten to indorse the great petition either by vote

or by individual signatures, and send the result to the American Sabbath Union at 23 Park Row, New York. To have been silent in this new warfare for the emancipation of two millions of worthy white slaves, held in the Egyptian bondage of Sabbathless toil, will be almost as great a disgrace as to have been silent in the former war of emancipation. This petition is surely a wonder, being the largest ever presented to any government, and the only one in which labor organizations and churches of all creeds have generally united.

Another wonder, closely allied to this, is the fact that the last Congress published a larger number of the hearings on the Sunday Rest Bill (42,000), than it published of any other public document, except the Agricultural Reports. [Applause.] That the six-day laws, the Sabbath laws, are the most important part of labor reform in the estimation of the people is shown by the fact that their multitudinous letters to Senators and Representatives brought them twelve thousand more copies than had been issued at public expense of the most popular of preceding labor documents.

Yet another wonder, related to the foregoing, is the group of confessions from sixty-five railroad officials, to be published in detail in a few days in the April number of OUR DAY of this city. In response to a list of questions, these presidents, superintendents, managers and other high officials of the railroads, with only nine exceptions, admit that there is "more Sunday work done by railroads than is necessary"; that is, work could be "lessened without loss either to the roads or to the public"; that "the railroad work now done in seven days could be done in six" — some would make exceptions for perishable freight and live stock. Many of them believe "the work could be done *better* in six days than in seven, because of the better condition of the engineers and other employees." Best of all, thirty-one declare that there is no real obstacle to "the complete suspension of interstate Sunday trains." [Applause.] The answers of most of these indicate that they see no obstacle to stopping all Sunday trains. Except the nine referred to, nearly all the other twenty-four who believe the Sunday work of railroads should be reduced, defend only the carrying of perishable freight

and live stock, — some one, some both, — and a few of them “through trains.” One railroad president concisely proclaims the remedy for this needless Sunday work: “The only way is to have a special act of Congress making it a general law.” Many of these officials have signed the petitions for such a law. Here certainly are several wonders. It is a grateful surprise to many that the railroad officials are not generally to join with the infidels and saloonists and Sunday papers and Saturdarians in resisting the plea of the workingmen for a Sunday Rest Law.

Another conspicuous wonder of this year has been the birth and growth of the American Sabbath Union. It originated in a petition to the Methodist General Conference, which met in May, asking it to take the initiative in forming a National Society for the defense of the Sabbath, to be constituted by official representatives of the Evangelical churches, whose “Union” in this matter should offset the “league” that had just been organized by the foes of the Sabbath under the banner of “Personal Liberty.” The Methodists acted accordingly, followed by the Baptists, by four Presbyterian Assemblies and the Reformed (Dutch) Church. The other Evangelical churches are expected to do likewise when their supreme councils meet, but they are all unofficially represented already in the membership. This “organic union,” for work partly legislative, of Presbyterians, North and South, this “Pan-Presbyterian Council” which does not promise not to vote as well as talk; this organic union of Methodists, North and South, white and black; this successful union, to prevent the heathenizing of America, of those churches that have not yet succeeded in uniting to Christianize Japan; this coöperation of such intense Republicans as our President, Colonel Elliott F. Shepard, with such Southern leaders as Senator Colquitt, who has accepted honorary membership; and the coöperation this union has established outside of its membership on the basis of a broad humanity with the leading labor organizations and the head of the Catholic Church — this is surely as wonderful a “union” as the churches can show. There is no subject on which good citizens of this country are so united as the defense of the American Sabbath. [Applause.]

But the wonders of this year of wonders in Sabbath Reform are not all on the bright side. There are some facts of the year that show that the Sabbath, though not surrendered, is greatly imperiled.

It is certainly a wonder both to angels and to men, that in the assault upon the Sabbath of rest during this year, while saloonists and infidels and Sunday papers and Jews have formed the second rank, the front rank has been occupied by two professedly-Christian sects, the Seventh-day Adventists and the Seventh-day Baptists. The January Document of the American Sabbath Union shows, by extracts from the stenographic reports of the speeches of their champions at the hearing on the Sunday Rest Bill, that they "fight as one that beateth the air," against "a union of church and state," "against compulsory church-going," against the "domination of the papacy," all of which their nightmare puts into the Sunday Rest Bill, while they admit all that the friends of the bill claim, namely, that society, for "the general welfare," has a right to pass laws regulating by hours or days, the times for work and business; nor do they deny that public worship has a right to protection against disturbance such as is granted to all legitimate institutions of the people. It is certainly a wonder to see intelligent men, in this century, fighting so excitedly against mediæval castles in the air; to hear Christian men argue for the general adoption "of the no law plan," that has wrought such horrors of Sunday dissipation and Sunday toil in Louisiana, California, Nevada, and Continental Europe.

Another wonder of the year is the spirit with which the invasion of the London Sabbath by New York's "Sunday Herald," has been resisted by workingmen as well as Christians, an indignation like that with which the respectable people of Japan resisted the introduction of round dances. Is not the real wonder that we endure so quietly these immoralities? Is the explanation in the famous lines:—

"Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen,
But seen too oft"—

Yet one more wonder on the dark side I must mention — the darkest of the year — the Inauguration Sunday. Is it not a wonder that the coming to power of a Sabbath-keeping President should have been celebrated by the very master-piece of God-defying law-defying Sabbath desecration, not by soldiers and citizens only, but by Congress also. The greatest wonder of all is that the Christian men of Congress did not, as on a former occasion, prevent a Sunday session, by denying the right of Congress to require Sunday work of any of its members and retiring in a body and so destroying the quorum. Instead of such a protest, there was only the shallow jest, called up by a Sunday motion relating to the Sunday Rest Bill that it was not proper to work on such legislation on the Sabbath. Heaven will count it the greatest wonder of all in connection with this national disgrace, if religious bodies all over the land do not utter their solemn protest against this inauguration of lawlessness.

Thank God, if we have not a Sabbath-keeping Congress, we have at least a Sabbath-keeping President and cabinet. [Great applause.] That means much for our next year of Sabbath reform.

THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF PROHIBITION.

Two hundred and fifty delegates from nearly all the States, each one a leader in his or her own Commonwealth, and many of them nationally recognized, assembled in Louisville, Kentucky, and held an all-day conference on February 13, preceded by the Kentucky Prohibition Party Convention, and followed by a session of the National Committee.

The salient features of these meetings were: *First.* Undiminished enthusiasm for national prohibition, with growing distrust of any movement less sweeping and conclusive. *Second.* A clear conviction that "local option is local selfishness," and does not, as proved by the failure of state prohibition by constitutional amendment, in the local option States of Tennessee, Texas, and West Virginia, educate the people toward the broad and final evolution of the anti-alcoholic war, whose watchword must be: On to Washington. *Third.* Uncompromising opposition to the anti-saloon Republican movement, to high license, indeed to any and all side tracks laid down by belated reformers for the prohibition, through train. *Fourth.* Steadfast adherence to the recognition of women as the reserve power that must be summoned to the ballot-box to help solve the problem of municipal government and enforced prohibition, and to the recognition of women as equal members of prohibition conventions, conferences, and clubs.

The Kentucky State Convention declared for woman's ballot by an immense majority, which was a significant indication of the situation at the South. The following characteristic utterance of Colonel Anderson, a typical Kentuckian, shows that the Southern heart can still be fired: "I am for the ballot for woman, because she has a human soul, she gives children to the world, and by the eternal God she has the right to vote!"

Voters will make no half way work with this question in Kentucky, when fairly under way.

Mrs. James Leech, another native Kentuckian, and a national superintendent of the W. C. T. U., asked the following pertinent questions: Did the prohibition vote increase 300 or 400 per cent. in the South in 1888? The anti-suffragists reluctantly admitted that it did. Had the prohibition vote in the North increased in any such proportion? No. Was it not proved that the equal suffrage plank had not alienated the South? Who could tell how many votes would have been lost there had this plank been timidly set aside? Colonel George W. Bain, our temperance Henry Clay, made one of his electric speeches. Governor St. John, Mother Stewart, and others, were called upon to address the convention, also Rev. Mr. Hector, of California, a colored man of unrivaled wit and eloquence. Governor St. John said that prohibition was carried in Kansas by the help of women. He said women touched nothing that they did not elevate, and as for the fears of degradation to them he thought there was no more danger of that in folding up a bit of white paper and dropping it in the ballot-box than in standing over the washtub, earning bread for the children of drunken husbands. All of this was preliminary to Kentucky's adoption of the National Prohibition Platform, equal suffrage plank, and all.

In the evening came the National Conference, of which the "Louisville Commercial Independent" spoke so favorably that an extract will be of interest, especially in view of the fact that the Prohibitionists never before went South.

The first session of the National Conference of Prohibition Workers opened last evening at Liederkrantz Hall under the most auspicious surroundings. Long before the hour for beginning, the large auditorium was filled to overflowing with one of the most respectable audiences that has ever lent its countenance to the temperance cause in the great Bourbon State. There has usually been a feeling in this part of the country that a temperance meeting is not the place for the *élite*, but rather a rendezvous for the gentry with baggy pantaloons and threadbare coats, and the antique collection of old maids who are termed "strong-minded" and the sad-eyed widows who are charitably credited with being weak-minded. The best people in the city, on the contrary, composed the audience at the conference last evening, and a

stranger could not have detected any difference between the audience that listened to the distinguished temperance workers and the other one that faced the beautiful Kirmess at Macanlay's, save in numbers, and in that particular the conference was a favorite by odds of two to one. While the halls and galleries were being packed with a curious and interested crowd, Eichorn's full orchestra played a number of popular selections, the "Old Kentucky Home" being received with enthusiasm.

Professor Samuel Dickie called the convention to order shortly after eight o'clock, and invited all members of the National Executive Committee to come forward and occupy seats on the stage, together with all those who have been candidates on the national prohibition tickets. He then introduced the Y. M. C. A. quintet, which rendered "Nearer, My God, to Thee."

The conference was then led in prayer by the Rev. Dr. Richardson of Kansas. Chairman Dickie announced the object of the conference. He said that the business would not be official for the party, but the object was only to exchange views and give the workers the benefit of the wisdom of the party. The chairman then introduced General Green Clay Smith, who delivered the address of welcome in a few well-chosen remarks. He said that the two great parties hate one another too heartily to effect any tariff reform. So with the question of civil service reform, the two parties are always in a row over the offices. The speaker believed that the party in power should administer the government through its friends, and the Prohibition party would not be likely to select its agents of government from either the Republicans or Democrats. Coming to the question of temperance reform, the speaker said that no great revolution was ever accomplished without blood, that the martyrs of the cause are already numerous, and that if need be, blood may yet wipe out the greatest sin of the world.

The chairman next introduced the Hon. John A. Brooks of Missouri, the recent prohibition candidate for vice-president. Dr. Brooks is a fine-looking man, and a very pleasant speaker. He paid a very neat compliment to Kentucky, saying that he claimed a kinship with Kentuckians, having been reared here, and having carried away with him one of the fairest daughters of the State. He said that the Republicans had a very barren victory, as they had really not received a majority of the popular vote, and if the prohibition vote had been fairly counted he thought it doubtful if General Harrison would to-day be the President-elect. He declared that the Republicans could not in a thousand years fulfill their pledges to the country. With their con-

trol of the House and Senate, the great and new responsibilities would carry the party down. The election was one of boodle and fraud. Blaine and Hill met in New York and made an agreement that the State should be bought for Harrison and Cleveland. The great whiskey vote was bought, and changed the result in New York. He did not believe that Cleveland would have gone back on his old friends as the whiskey men did with him. It would have been no better if the Democrats had gotten into power, for they could only have triumphed by getting the whiskey vote. In conclusion, the speaker said that he had perfect confidence in the future of the party, because it has God and the noble women of the country to back it up. When the W. C. T. U. says it will drive the saloon out of this country, it will do it in spite of hell and all opposition. The Y. M. C. A. choir then rendered "I Cannot Always Trace the Way," after which Secretary John Lloyd Thomas, of the National Conference, read a letter from General Clinton B. Fiske to Miss Willard, regretting that other duties would prevent his presence in Louisville at this time.

Miss Willard spoke very briefly, and surrendered the remainder of her time to her friend, a Michigan girl, who by pluck and brains had graduated in the Boston University, taking not only the degree of doctor of medicine, but also a diploma in theology, the Rev. and Dr. Anna Shaw, secretary and treasurer of the W. C. T. U. Miss Shaw speaks fluently and forcibly, and is one of the few woman orators who can make an audience forget her sex while she is speaking. She declared that woman's highest duty is to give sons to the State, but when the State calls on her to give sons it should give her the power to give sons who would have clear heads and pure hearts. She could not raise honest men when the yard fence is a dead line, and outside is the saloon. She made a very dignified and powerful appeal for the doctrine that "it is not good for man to be alone" in politics any more than anywhere else. The speaker received the most enthusiastic applause at the conclusion of her speech. The chairman next introduced Governor St. John as the man who beat Blaine out of the presidency in 1884.

The governor said that he was in favor of prohibition because it is right. He is opposed to any kind of license, not only because every saloon keeper and political bumner is for it, but because it is radically wrong. He is opposed to local option, because it is wrong for any government to make it possible for a majority to vote a moral wrong on a minority. In reply to the argument that, because a majority want saloons, they must remain, he said, that if a majority wanted to

turn the filth from the sewers of Louisville into the springs and wells of the State it would not be right. Majorities are responsible for most political crimes because the majority is usually controlled by a small minority of its members. He was in favor of a one idea party. He was opposed to having the markets of the world closed to commerce, and held that Americans should buy goods without paying tribute to any favored class. He was in favor of the election of president and United States senators directly by the people; of putting down trusts; of a free ballot in the South and an honest ballot in the North. We should honor a man for his loyalty to the government rather than revile a man for his disloyalty of a quarter of a century ago. Bribers and corruptors of elections should be disfranchised and sent to the penitentiary. Last, but not least, he was in favor of the ballot for women who stood by the weak temperance cause, who worked and prayed while men slept, and who stood the jeers of men. Now he was for the enfranchisement of the wife who stood by him and suffered with him. Governor St. John closed with a few pleasant remarks, and the big audience dispersed in good humor, and with a good opinion of the Prohibitionists of the country as represented in the conference.

The conference was practically a unit until Mr. Walter Mills of Chicago presented a paper entitled "What next, and how to do it." He advocated dropping such questions as are controverted; seeking by special efforts to enlist two hundred and fifty thousand voters who have never before stood with the party, making its strength at the polls half a million; limiting the next National Convention to two hundred and fifty delegates, and requiring eighty per cent. to acquiesce in any measure before it could carry.

Professor Hopkins of New York, who was in sympathy with Mr. Mills, offered some amendments to the paper, after which Governor St. John moved to lay the whole subject on the table, as it was hoped by its passage to throw out the woman suffrage plank. After a most lively scene, this motion prevailed by so large a majority as to settle the question, it is hoped, in favor of the plank that has been a part of the prohibition platform from the beginning.

Mrs. Governor Wallace, Mrs. Nicholl, President of the W. C. T. U. of Indiana, Mother Stewart, Mrs. Mary T. Lathrop of

Michigan, Mrs. Mattie McClellan Brown, Mrs. Henrietta Monroe, President of the W. C. T. U. of Ohio, Miss Helen L. Hood, Corresponding Secretary of the W. C. T. U. of Illinois, and other chief women, not a few, were present, and it was the universal testimony that their clear voices were better heard than the heavier, thicker voices of their brethren, while for pith and point of utterance they plainly held their own.

Rev. Dr. Evans of Illinois dissected the anti-saloon movement which has so persistently vilified the motives of the Prohibitionists. Mrs. Lathrop discussed women in politics.

W. Jennings Demorest of New York, who has given away about two thousand gold and silver medals to prohibition reciters among the young people, described his admirable plan, and the conference adjourned, committed more strongly than ever to prohibition by law, prohibition by politics, and prohibition by the vote of woman.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

Evansston, Ill.

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S INAUGURAL.

THE President's inaugural, like most human productions, has its excellences and its defects. By way of introduction he points out what to his mind is implied in the inaugural services. He says : —

Surely I do not misinterpret the spirit of the occasion when I assume that the whole body of the people covenant with me and with each other to-day to support and defend the constitution and the union of the States, to yield willing obedience to all the laws, and each to every other citizen his equal, civil, and political rights. Entering thus solemnly in covenant with each other, we may reverently invoke and confidently expect the favor and help of Almighty God, that He will give to me wisdom, strength, and fidelity, and to our people a spirit of fraternity and a love of righteousness and peace.

He next calls attention to the remarkable growth of our country and emphasizes some of the contrasts between the United States as they now appear and as they appeared at the formation of the federal government.

I will not attempt to note the marvelous and, in a great part, happy contrasts between our country as it steps over the threshold into its second century of organized existence under the constitution, and that weak but wisely ordered young nation that looked undauntedly down the first century, when all its years stretched out before it. Our people will not fail at this time to recall the incidents which accompanied the institution of government under the constitution, or to find inspiration and guidance in the teachings and example of Washington and his great associates, and hope and courage in the contrast which thirty-eight populous and prosperous States offer to the thirteen States, weak in everything except courage and the love of liberty, that then fringed our Atlantic seaboard.

The Territory of Dakota has now a population greater than any of the original States (except Virginia) and greater than the aggregate of five of the smaller States in 1790. The centre of population, when our national capital was located, was east of Baltimore, and it was

argued by many well-informed persons that it would move eastward rather than westward. Yet in 1880 it was found to be near Cincinnati, and the new census, about to be taken, will show another stride to the westward. That which was the body has come to be only the rich fringe of the nation's robe. But our growth has not been limited to territory, population, and aggregate wealth, marvelous as it has been in each of these directions. The masses of one people are better fed, clothed, and housed than their fathers were. The facilities for popular education have been vastly enlarged and more generally diffused. The virtues of courage and patriotism have given recent proof of their continued presence and increasing power in the hearts and over the lives of our people. The influences of religion have been multiplied and strengthened. The sweet offices of charity have greatly increased. The virtue of temperance is held in higher estimation. We have not attained an ideal condition. Not all of our people are happy and prosperous; not all of them are virtuous and law-abiding. But on the outside the opportunities offered to the individual to secure the comforts of life are better than are found elsewhere and largely better than they were here one hundred years ago.

What is said on the protective policy of the nation we regard as sound and irrefutable, but of course it will antagonize those who believe that in free trade is the hope of the nation. The President's advice to the Southern States, too, is wise. Indeed, he deems this subject of sufficient importance to justify great boldness of speech. The safety and prosperity of those States and of all States, as the inaugural shows, depends upon a free ballot and a fair count. Resort to violence will educate the blacks in the arts of violence, and the whites, earlier or later, will find that they have been treasuring up wrath against the day of wrath.

At another point he speaks as to the abuse of the ballot wholesome words that are of general application: —

How shall those who practice election frauds recover that respect for the sanctity of the ballot which is the first condition and obligation of good citizenship? The man who has come to regard the ballot-box as a juggler's hat has renounced his allegiance. Let us exalt patriotism and moderate our party contentions. Let those who would die for the flag on the field of battle give a better proof of their patriotism and a higher glory to their country by promoting fraternity and justice.

The following words as to the conflicting interests between capital and labor are well spoken : —

If our great corporations would more scrupulously observe their legal obligations and duties, they would have less cause to complain of the unlawful limitations of their rights or of violent interference with their operations. The community that by concert, open or secret, among its citizens, denies to a portion of its members their plain rights under the law, has severed the only safe bond of social order and prosperity. The evil works from a bad centre, both ways. It demoralizes those who practice it, and destroys the faith of those who suffer by it in the efficiency of the law as a safe protector. The man in whose breast that faith has been darkened is naturally the subject of dangerous and uncanny suggestions. Those who use unlawful methods, if moved by no higher motive than the selfishness that prompts them, may well stop and inquire what is to be the end of this. An unlawful expedient cannot become a permanent condition of government. If the educated and influential classes in a community either practice or connive at the systematic violation of laws that seem to them to cross their convenience, what can they expect when the lesson that convenience or a supposed class interest is a sufficient cause for lawlessness has been well learned by the ignorant classes? A community where law is the rule of conduct, and where courts, not mobs, execute its penalties, is the only attractive field for business investments and honest labor.

The President briefly but earnestly argues for improvement in our naturalization laws : —

Our naturalization laws should be so amended as to make the inquiry into the character and good disposition of persons applying for citizenship more careful and searching. Our existing laws have been in their administration an unimpressive and often an unintelligible form. We accept the man as a citizen without any knowledge of his fitness, and he assumes the duties of citizenship without any knowledge as to what they are. The privileges of American citizenship are so great and its duties so grave that we may well insist upon a good knowledge of every person applying for citizenship and a good knowledge by him of our institutions. We should not cease to be hospitable to immigration, but we should cease to be careless as to the character of it. There are men of all races, even the best, whose coming is necessarily a burden upon our public revenues, or a threat to social order. These should be identified and excluded.

The foreign policy which the President recommends may be safely followed. While that policy if carried out will not allow the United States to receive indignities from any nation under heaven, yet the policy will not seek occasion for offensive warfare, nor will it allow any of our government officials, for the purpose of showing our greatness, or for the purpose of recreation, to twist the tail of the British or of any other lion.

What the inaugural says as to civil service reform in the appointment to office will please all who have the best interests of the country at heart. Of course the carrying out of this policy will be, as the President suggests, somewhat difficult, and will not be satisfactory to many Republican office-seekers; for them, however, we have no tears to shed.

Heads of departments, bureaus, and all other public officers having any duty connected therewith, will be expected to enforce the civil service law fully and without evasion. Beyond this obvious duty I hope to do something more to advance the reform of the civil service. The ideal, even my own ideal, I shall probably not attain. Retrospect will be a safer basis of judgment than promises. We shall not, however, I am sure, be able to put our civil service upon a non-partisan basis until we have secured an incumbency that fair-minded men of the opposition will approve for impartiality and integrity. As the number of such in the civil list increase, removals from office will diminish.

The recommendations of the President as to improvements in our election laws should be heeded by our Congress and by all our state legislatures.

The closing paragraphs of the inaugural are rose-colored: —

No other people have a government more worthy of their respect and love, or a land so magnificent in extent, so pleasant to look upon, and so full of generous suggestion to enterprise and labor. God has placed upon our head a diadem and has laid at our feet power and wealth beyond definition or calculation. But we must not forget that we take these gifts upon the condition that justice and mercy shall hold the reins of power, and that the upward avenues of hope shall be free to all the people.

I do not mistrust the future. Dangers have been in frequent ambush along our path, but we have uncovered and vanquished them all. Passion has swept some of our communities, but only to give us a new

demonstration that the great body of our people are stable, patriotic, and law abiding. No political party can long pursue advantage at the expense of public honor, or by rude and indecent methods, without protest and fatal disaffection in its own body. The peaceful agencies of commerce are more fully revealing the necessary unity of all our communities and the increasing intercourse of our people in promoting mutual respect. We shall find unalloyed pleasure in the revelation which our next census will make of the swift development of the great resources of some of the States. Each State will bring its generous contribution to the great aggregate of the nation's increase. And when the harvest from the fields, the cattle from the hills, and the ores from the earth shall have been weighed, counted, and valued, we will turn from them all to crown with the highest honor the State that has most promoted education, virtue, justice, and patriotism among the people.

While the inaugural cannot in any respect be regarded as a remarkable state paper, still so far as these matters to which we have called attention, and so far as the general tone of the document are concerned, we think the President should be congratulated.

But, on the other hand, the inaugural is a painful surprise to us on account of its omissions — its sins of omission. Not a word is spoken as to temperance legislation; and yet this is one of the great issues before our people. It is not a sectional question of little interest, but a national one of great interest, and therefore should not have been ignored. This silence is all the more noticeable because of the President's outspoken views as to Southern political iniquities and as to the evils of the existing controversies between capital and labor. Daring to speak upon these subjects, why this silence as to temperance legislation is a question on the lips of not a few of our citizens.

This silence will furnish fuel for the third-party movement, and throughout the republic will excite grave misgivings in the hearts of all temperance reformers. This giant rum iniquity confronted the President; he did not speak. Temperance reform fails of support where it had hoped to find it. Temperance people are left, therefore, to surmise that the whiskey ring has been successful in padlocking President Harrison's lips.

There is another omission that occasions painful apprehensions in the minds of many of our people. The President must have known that some of the most intelligent and patriotic citizens of the country are alarmed at the encroachments of the Roman Catholic power. He cannot be unacquainted with the fact that that power is to-day interfering with the freedom of many of our fellow-citizens; that papal ecclesiastics are antagonistic to all our educational institutions; that they teach doctrines that are treasonable; that in many ways the whole Romish priesthood is a menace to our liberties; that Congress is already taking this matter in hand; and yet he is silent. President Harrison cannot claim for himself a wisdom superior to that of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Grant. These men saw these perils and uttered their words of warning.

But President Harrison, when the dangers are not fewer but more in number than they ever have been before, we repeat, is *silent*. If he does not know of these perils he is more ignorant than he ought to be. If he does know of them, his silence forces us, reluctantly to the conclusion that he is timid when he should be fearless, and that the hand of the black Pope thus early has been placed upon his shoulder. We had hoped that when President Cleveland left the White House the Jesuit would go out with him. God pity us! it looks as though he is still to retain his place there.

L. T. TOWNSEND.

Boston.

SUCCESS IN THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE.

SPEECHES OF THE REV. JOHN HALL, D. D., LL. D., AND THE HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW OF NEW YORK.

THE largest meeting ever held at any of the anniversaries of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice took place January 22, in Association Hall. The two speakers, the Rev. John Hall, D. D., LL. D., Chancellor of the University of the State of New York, and Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, were doubtless the great attraction of the evening; and yet the repeated and hearty responses from this audience, largely of leading men in New York city and Brooklyn, whenever the success and importance of the work of the society were mentioned, indicated the very firm hold which this work has upon the hearts of thinking citizens.

The treasurer's report was first presented, and showed that the society entered upon the year 1888 with a deficiency in its treasury of \$1,140.41, and \$100 indebtedness. The actual cost for the work for the year 1888 was but \$8,282.37. The universal surprise was, that so much could have been accomplished with so small an outlay. Mr. Depew put it very tersely when he said, "It is the paltriest investment for the most magnificent results that I know of in financial matters," and this sentiment was greeted with loud applause. The receipts of the treasurer showed subscriptions amounting to \$8,003.74, while fees and earnings from Mr. Comstock amounted to \$466.98, leaving a deficiency for the present year of \$1,052.06. This deficiency has been entirely wiped out by the pledges and subscriptions already received by the treasurer of this society since the 1st of January.

The secretary's report showed that during the year 1888, 94 arrests had been made, 101 convictions secured, with penalties amounting to 14 years and 7 months imprisonment and \$6,585 in fines. 8,088 pounds of books, 50 pounds of stereotype plates,

402 pounds of newspapers with obscene matters, 555,723 obscene pictures, 209 negatives for making photographs, 32,550 circulars, 26 copper plates, 295 obscene figures in dime museums, 200,145 lottery circulars, 674 lottery tickets, 33,200 pool tickets, besides a large variety of other gambling paraphernalia, had been seized ; making a total for the year 1888 of more than 5 tons of contraband matter.

The tabular statement presented, showing a part of what had been accomplished up to January 1, 1889, contains in round numbers, 1,331 arrests, with a seizure of more than 41 tons of obscene matter, and 11 tons of gambling paraphernalia, lottery and pool circulars. •

Analyzing this tabular statement, we find that 278 years and 15 days imprisonment, and fines amounting to \$92,103.95 have thus far been imposed upon persons convicted ; while \$76,700 more of bail bonds have been forfeited ; making a total contribution of fines and bail bonds forfeited to the public treasury of \$168,803.95, not one dollar of which has gone into the treasury of the Society for the Suppression of Vice.

Still further dissecting the tons of matter seized, we have 45,114 pounds, or more than 22 tons, of books and sheets, 26,435 pounds, or more than 13 tons, of stereotype plates for printing books, 700 pounds of lead moulds, 91,974 articles for immoral use, 809,284 obscene pictures, 4,949 negatives for making obscene photographs, 1,495,557 obscene circulars, songs, and leaflets, 298,556 lottery tickets, 394,401 lottery circulars, 1,389,903 pool tickets, 74,852 chips for gambling purposes, besides a vast variety of other kinds of devil-wares, thus far seized. •

One item alone in this tabular statement contains a warning to every parent and teacher, and ought to be mentioned : “ 982,370 names and post-office addresses have been seized in the hands of dealers in contraband wares, to whom circulars were to be sent,” by these “ cancer-planters.”

These are startling facts, and every one of these figures ought to be a trumpet note of warning to those who have the interests of the community, and the moral purity of the children of this country at heart. With such a record as this, we turn upon our

enemies and challenge them to do their worst in their efforts at defamation of character.

By the grace of God this work has been successfully carried on in spite of opposition for seventeen years, and by the same aid it will continue to go forward successfully.

Two eminent gentlemen had the kindness and heroism to brave threats, and anonymous communications sent to them, and lend their eloquence to the success of this meeting. Both of these speakers were received with loud applause.

We select the following trenchant passages from the speech of the Rev. Dr. John Hall :—

As a minister of the gospel, I am naturally interested in the effort to suppress vice. That is one of the great things that as teachers and preachers we are always to aim at ; and the gospel is put into our hands, that through the belief of it men may be taught to deny all ungodliness and worldly lust. But, unfortunately, there is a class in the community that will not permit itself to be reached by the gospel, that gives itself to the doing of positive mischief and the spreading of vice ; and so it becomes necessary that other agencies should be employed to restrain this evil and to protect those who are exposed to its moral contagion.

I have always believed in human depravity, and never hesitated to explain it to my hearers, but I can say to you to-night that I have never in all my life, in Europe or in America, I have never had such demonstrations of the lengths that depravity will carry men as I have had in the acquaintance with facts that I have obtained in connection with this Society for the Suppression of Vice. [Applause.] I declare to you here with all the solemnity with which I am capable of speaking that I have seen things which if they had been described to me beforehand I should have hesitated to believe, and I can only explain those awful facts by another truth,—just as when men are trying to serve God they become godly and like unto Him, so when they give themselves to the services of the devil they become diabolical and like unto him.

It is one of the duties of ministers in leading the devotions of the people to pray for the young of both sexes, just as you know, my fellow-citizens, it is your duty and mine to pray for ourselves, Lead me not into temptation. But if we be sincere in our prayers we shall move in the direction of them. If I earnestly pray, "Lead me not into temptation," I must try to keep out of the way of temptation. If we sincerely pray to God that our young people may be preserved from temptation, we should move in the direction of our prayers, and that is being done and done effectively by the society that has now made its report to us.

I know very well that any organization that aims at doing work such as this may expect to be exposed to severe and not very conscientious criti-

cisms. The natures that are sordid enough to plan and scheme and deceive and lie to make money by the moral and the temporal and the spiritual ruin of their fellow-creatures, those natures will not hesitate as to lying and making imputations of every conceivable kind in relation to those who are defeating their diabolical schemes. [Applause.] I have seen some of the papers alluded to already, with charges of bribery and corruption, and all the rest. Why do not the gentlemen who bring those charges bring them into the law courts and prove them there? [Applause.]

Surely the thing is possible if they have the facts, and it would be rather absurd to say that they are so refined and so modest and so sensitive that they do not like to go into the law courts.

Suppose that you have a sister or a daughter in your home and there comes a communication by the mail to her which falls into your hands and which you examine; it is demoralizing, it is degrading in some degree even to have a look at it, it is corrupt and polluting, and you take pains as far as you can to see that your daughter or your sister shall never have her eyes rest upon anything of that kind, and you take some pains to inquire who it is that has sent the document, and you find out, — I ask you would not every instinct of your nature be in favor of punishing the sender if you could possibly do it? Would it matter anything if he stood up and said, "But, my dear sir, that letter was not to you. This is a free country, and every one has individual rights, and you had no business to interfere with that particular letter. Could you possibly find anything cogent in that? Why, no. And the anger that you would feel would not be mere personal resentment, it would be indignation against one who was trying to make for his own sordid purposes a snare and a curse for the bodies and for the hearts of those whose money he was trying to get.

If there be any war in which, as citizens, we may honestly and legitimately engage with all the energy we possess, it is surely a war against corruption and pollution, against forms of corruption that appeal to the worst elements in our nature, and which if allowed to go on and have their way, will terminate in ruin to the body, ruin to the mind, and ruin to society.

When I tell you here what you have known, that to girls' schools and to boys' schools, by the hundred, by the thousand, it has been common to send literature that pollutes and curses, you can see how large this work has been, and what need there is for its continuance.

One of the things doing some discredit to our institutions at this time is the gradual breaking up of the sacred conception of the home as we see it in the diversions, in the separations, and in the domestic associations that have not been hallowed or consecrated by marriage. I do not mean to say that we are really worse in these respects than other nations, notably on the continent of Europe; we are ahead of most of them as to the standard of pure morality. But because we have such a civilization, and because we have so much Christian light, all the darker is this particular spot that is growing up upon our national character. Now, I suggest to you thinking men, is not the best way to carry on this crusade against moral shipwreck,

against the contamination and pollution of the minds of the young, of girls and boys that become the ready victims of the tempter and the slaves of lusts and passion as the years advance in their lives ?

You cannot give to a better cause than that which makes its appeal to you now. Give earnestly, give freely, give generously, for you give to that which is adapted to put down shocking evils and to protect our sons and our daughters from contagion of the most frightful and terrible kind. [Applause.]

In Hon. Chauncey M. Depew's speech we find the following powerful paragraphs : —

After a busy day yesterday, I was engaged until half past two o'clock this morning in a conference with railway men upon affairs which practically concern the railway world. Our business was to promote those relations among great corporations for transportation in this country which would lead to better service to the public and to more stability in business in the companies. If we succeed in our efforts, the bonds and stocks which constitute so much of the elements upon which are based the business and credit and established income which give comfort and support to the people of this country would be very much better than they are to-day. Our conference meant stability in business ; it meant prosperity all over the country ; it meant larger deposits in the savings banks and larger incomes to all people who are dependent upon them.

I received a note from Mr. Comstock this afternoon stating that he was engaged until half past two o'clock this morning in his work. According to the statistics of the Treasurer's report there were no deposits in that business. [Laughter.] It did not relate to the material interests of the country. It had nothing to do with its business or with its credit, and yet I am not sure but that the work in which he was engaged until that early hour in the morning was more important than mine. [Applause.]

I have had my thoughts directed to-night to the difference that there is between the various charitable, religious, and benevolent movements in this community ; for this is one of the most charitable and benevolent communities in the world, this same much-abused city of New York. [Applause.] The man who endows a hospital, an asylum, or a home is certain of fame and gratitude, not only with each anniversary, but so long as the home which he has endowed survives. The people who minister at the asylum or at the home — the attendants, the self-sacrificing volunteering ladies, members who come in and give their services, and the recipients of that attention feel that gratitude which is the largest and fullest reward for work well done.

This society, which is both charitable and benevolent, receives nothing but abuse, and the persons who are the recipients of the benefits of its activities in most instances do not know that they are benefited and in many instances are not thankful for being benefited ; while arrayed against them are some of the most powerful and best organized elements of our population. There is almost nothing arrayed against the church ; nothing arrayed against the hospital, or the home, or the asylum ; but there is behind the liquor traffic

where it illegally sells, there is behind the lottery, behind the gambling saloons, behind the publication of these obscene tracts and pictures an enormous capital aggregating hundreds of millions of dollars, and the profits upon that capital, if it can be used in these ways without hindrance and without peril, are a hundred thousand times larger than the capital used in any legitimate calling in the world. That is the reason that the risks to character and reputation, the risks of the perils of the law, are taken by the men engaged in lottery, in gambling saloons, and in the dissemination of this literature.

These organizations do not, as a rule, fear the laws in the ordinary enforcement of them. The criminal administration of this city is admirable. There are no better criminal judges than those on the Oyer and Terminer and those that are elected by the county of New York for the higher judicial places. [Applause.] They are honest, they are pure, they are fearless, and they are industrious. The district attorney's office is always vigilant and vigorous in the enforcement of the law. There are no better police anywhere in the world than in the city of New York. And yet we all know that the administration and enforcement of the criminal law reaches only palpably well-known and evident crimes. They require a complainant. Burglary, theft, highway robbery, assault, murder, those crimes have the whole power of the criminal agency for detection and for punishment to seize upon them, and this city is as free, in proportion to its population, and freer from crimes of violence against person and property than any city in the world.

But here are violations of the law, the restriction of which largely depends upon the moral sense of the community. Our community has good laws, but good laws are worthless unless a moral sense of the fact leads to their enforcement. The law itself is nothing but a book upon the shelf of the lawyer or of the magistrate ; it is as dead as a mummy in an Egyptian tomb. But let there be behind it a determined moral sentiment, the sentiment which created it for the preservation of the community, and then it becomes a living force for the protection of virtue and of the home. [Applause.]

Now, to enforce the laws against these agencies which destroy character, which ruin youth, there must be a complainant — a complainant who has courage, who has an organization behind him, and whose business, and whose sole business, is to be a complainant and to be a detective. There might be a lottery upon almost every other block in the city, and the ordinary agencies for the detection and punishment of crime would not reach it, and the neighbors would not complain. The same way with gambling, the same way with immoral houses of all sorts, the same way especially with these immoral publications. No individual is equal to it. There is a feeling in the community against an informer and a spy if he is acting upon his own motion ; it is a feeling which makes his testimony worthless in the courts, which destroys his own self-respect, and there is no man who, standing alone, has the courage to be the informer and to be the detective.

But when a society incorporated under the laws of the State has an agent, provided with all the powers of a police officer, then he moves in a different way, and he has the majesty of the law and the weight of the community behind him. [Applause.] Men are afraid to complain of these evils, the corrupting influences of which they see about them and probably feel in their own households, because they know that oftentimes these agencies are so strong and powerful that they become smutted themselves by endeavoring to put them down.

An organization is necessary. This society does most admirable work. I am sure that I have never known an organization where the treasurer had so little to do. His particular duty, evidently, is to pay the deficiencies in the annual account because the contributors do not perform their duties. [Laughter.] I am glad he is able to do both. But \$9,000, to send these hundreds of vile men to the penitentiary, \$9,000 to seize within the last year and to suppress five tons of literature, an instrument which would have demoralized a city half as large as the city of New York, \$9,000 to protect the seminaries, the colleges, and the schools of the State from influences which destroy and overturn all the education which they give, is the paltriest investment for the most magnificent result that I know of in financial matters. [Applause.]

While the "Lady Thinker" who wrote a letter to Dr. Hall did not care much for my character, yet there was a friend of hers who did. [Laughter.] I know he was a friend of hers because he used the same language, and he signed himself "A Friend." I never yet received an anonymous letter signed by "A Friend" that was not written by a liar, a slanderer, or a thief. [Laughter.]

I have delivered addresses in behalf of every charitable, and religious, benevolent institution and movement in this city. [Applause.] I have spoken upon the political platform. [Applause.] I have occasionally addressed an audience after dinner [Laughter], but this is the first time in my life that I have ever received a warning not to go and speak for a good cause. When I got home last night I not only had several letters warning me of the character of this society, telling me what infamous men were Jessup and Dodge and Van Rensselaer, — I knew something about that myself, — but informing me that any man who stood on the same platform with Anthony Comstock was ruined forever. [Laughter.] And then I received a pile of pamphlets and newspapers and slips and tracts, all of them going to show that he is in the receipt of an enormous income from the lottery dealers, policy dealers, the gamblers, the bad houses, and the publishers of immoral literature, for suppressing them [laughter] as bribes to put them down.

Really the benevolent efforts of the gentlemen engaged in the lottery business, in the handling of colored chips, in roulette tables and all that sort of paraphernalia, in the publication of those most infamous and abominable doctrines, — their interest in my moral and political welfare, in keeping me off this platform, was the most charming indication of friendship for me that I have ever had. [Laughter.] I made up my mind as soon as I read

it that I would risk my character — what there was of it. [Laughter.] They say that Mr. Comstock is rough, that he has no consideration for people or their feelings. Well, a man who undertakes to perform his duties cannot be a dancing master or a dude. Dancing masters and dudes have their uses in the community, and they have their places, and they never get out of them, but they do not wear scars such as he honorably carries.

Of all the work which he does, in my judgment that is the greatest which reaches obscene pictures and immoral publications. I know, as one of the largest employers of labor and of trusted subordinates in the country, what are the effects of lottery and what are the effects of gambling. I have seen hundreds of young fugitives from justice, suicides, or in state prison lured with the bait of enormous returns for a small investment, with the inevitable result of theft covering it up, then the defalcation exposed; a trusted chief clerk of one of the largest and one of the best law firms in this city, after twenty-five years of honorable service, handling millions of dollars, confidant of his employers and of their clients, standing at the bar of justice and now behind prison bars because he could not resist, after he had won a few dollars, putting in all he had — mortgaging all he had, then stealing, then stealing more to make it up, until hundreds of thousands of dollars stolen, — a blasted character, a lost life, and a ruined family were the sum total of his efforts.

But, on the other hand, I know something of the work of Mr. Comstock in that matter which affects every individual who is a father or mother, or a brother or sister. Think of the boy whom a father has brought up, so long as he remains in the house, with all care and attention and love, with all that confidence and that inexpressible tenderness that goes out to the boy before he leaves the house, when heartstrings are pulled by his going to school. The father sends him there to be better equipped than he can equip him, with an education which is to enable him to fight his way in life and to enjoy all the opportunities that God has given to high intelligence properly trained. When that boy comes back from the school a moral wreck, there is murder in that father's heart! If it is a daughter it is infinitely worse, and he is helpless. There is nobody whom he can reach; no one whom he can punish.

I know that within the last year in many cases when there has come from the young ladies' seminary, come from the boys' school, come from the academy the information that a teacher was the instrument for pay of these villains, that a boy corrupted by another boy was the instrument for pay of these villains, — when there was no instrument in the law to reach them, or in the administration of justice to reach them — Anthony Comstock has saved the whole school. [Applause.]

Let ridicule assail this society, let the abuse which comes from large amounts of money, the profits of illegal trade, pay for the publications which assail it and the slanders which are poured upon it, but let every virtuous and honest and home-loving instinct in the community rise with contribution to extend and fortify it.

WOMAN'S APPEAL FOR CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION.

I.

ADDRESS BY MRS. CLARA HOFFMAN OF MISSOURI, AT TRIMONT TEMPLE, IN THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, MARCH 4, 1889. SPECIALLY REPORTED FOR OUR DAY, BY MR. J. P. BACON.

IN the slavery contest we heard men claim the sanction of the Bible for human bondage, they made the plea that the people wanted it, and there was money in it; and like Aaron's rod, that last reason swallowed up all the others. [Laughter.] It is just the same to-day. It is the money there is in it that makes the liquor traffic audacious.

When machinery made cotton king, the price of the human chattel went up from two or three hundred dollars to five hundred and a thousand, and fifteen hundred dollars. Then came the tug of war. Then came the fierce fight over the question in this republic, whether the nation should be half free and half slave, as it had been. When beer was crowned king in this country, when the price of the saloon went up step by step from \$50 and \$100 to \$500 and \$1,000, and in my State even higher, to \$1,500 and \$1,600, then a new fierceness entered into the temperance contest. As in the old slave times, iniquity is not only intrenched in politics, but, by the money there is in it, is intrenched in commerce also. Politics and commerce together, with the social usages and customs of the people, are making the temperance question as difficult to deal with as the slave question was when cotton was king. A black man, such as he whom we have heard from here to-day, once brought in the market \$1,500. The money is the chief difficulty.

No political issue is more important than the question which now stands fairly before the American nation, Shall we prohibit the liquor traffic and cease our unrighteous compromise with it, or shall we continue to perpetuate it by the high-license system, the most iniquitous that ever crept out of Hades? [Applause.] That question is so brought before the people that it is not simply politicians who are asking this; oh, no. I wish to God it were. Unsound sentiment as to license has crept into our churches, until there it is finding its stronghold. Alas, alas, our religious journals and our spiritual leaders are taking sides with the liquor traffic, as in the past times they took sides with the traffic in human beings; just in the same way. And why? Because of the money there is in it! Compromise with evil because of the money there is in it debauches the human conscience, and leads it ever downward. The process is a leveling down and not a leveling

up. Why is it that in Pennsylvania and in Massachusetts to-day, in these old Commonwealths, that have this question before them, with the opportunity to decide righteously and wisely upon it, you have constantly and over and over to meet this argument from Christian people : If you cannot altogether prohibit the evil of the liquor traffic, would it not be better to license it ? That is the argument that you will have to meet constantly in Massachusetts. I have met it already a dozen times, and I have been but two days in your State. The greatest enemy to prohibition throughout the United States to-day is the high-license system. [Applause.] Dear friends, all the profits of the liquor traffic massed together, with all its ill-gotten capital reaching into millions and millions, are as nothing compared with the mischief of this fallacious idea that has taken possession of the Christian men of this country, that the liquor traffic may be sufficiently resisted by "judicious regulation." I never hear that word "judicious" that I do not think of Judas. [Applause and laughter.] He sold his Lord and his Master because he wanted money, because he loved money. But please remember for the credit of Judas, when you compare him with the Christian men of to-day who advocate the licensing of the liquor traffic, that Judas had the grace and decency to hang himself. [Laughter.]

Of course it would be asking too much of these older States to learn lessons from the Western States on the question of license of the liquor traffic. But the most learned often learn from the ignorant, and the greatest from the humblest, and the oldest from the youngest ; and, therefore, I ask, as I have asked again and again in these old Commonwealths, why cannot you take the experience of those Western States that have had high license, and have had it for years, and why must you experiment with it yourselves ? We have a group of States in the West that have had high license for years. There is my own State of Missouri — my State of adoption, for I am a New Yorker — with a minimum price for a license of \$500. No saloon is licensed within the bounds of Missouri for less than \$500 ; with the maximum price running as high as the judgment of the municipal authorities, or the outside pressure brought to bear upon them, compels. We have towns in Missouri where the license is \$1,600. Moberly has had for six years her eight saloons licensed at \$1,600. Marshall, with her saloons, five or six in number, and with four or five thousand inhabitants, licenses at \$1,500. Kansas City, that new Chicago of the West, where is my home, Kansas City, with 500 saloons and with her 200,000 inhabitants, or a little less, licenses at \$850. And St. Joseph, with her 60,000 inhabitants and 160 or 175 saloons, licenses at \$770. So we know something about license. And yet your journals in this amendment campaign in this State and in the State of Pennsylvania, are making assertions without a particle of foundation concerning the working of high license in the State of Missouri. It is often stated that it was high license that closed a great number of saloons in that Commonwealth. I want to stand here and say, and I invite the papers to publish the fact, that I denounce that statement as false. High license never closed a saloon in Missouri, not one. What did close them, for many

were closed? The women closed them. [Applause.] You naturally ask, how did the women close them? Our Downing high-license law contains a provision that in all towns of less than 2,500 inhabitants no saloon license shall be granted until a petition has been presented to the judges of the court, bearing a majority of the names of taxpaying citizens, praying for the licensing of such a saloon. Women very soon found out where their power came in, and they became taxpayers. [Applause.] If they had a set of spoons, or a sewing-machine, or a piano, or an organ, or a horse, or a cow, or a cooking-stove, or anything, they saw that that thing was assessed, and that they paid taxes, and they became taxpayers. [Applause and laughter.] Then our county judges — observe how we defer to the almighty dollar, and not one whit more in Missouri than you in the grand old Puritan Bay State of Massachusetts — said, the men must do something to undo this thing that the women are doing so well and so generally; and so the judges in more than a score of counties in Missouri declared that while the women were taxpayers — they could n't deny that very well, when they were on the certified tax list — yet, they said, the law requires the signatures of a majority of the taxpaying citizens, and women are not citizens. And so they set their names aside and licensed the saloons again and again.

Then the women began to inquire, Well, if not citizens, what are we? [Laughter.] And this inquiry was repeated and repeated until it reached the Supreme Court of the State, and the Supreme Court of the State gave decision, after wise advisement, that women were citizens [laughter and applause]; and not only that women were citizens, but that minors, holding property in the district where the saloon was desired, should also be counted in the list of petitioners in order to obtain a majority. So you see it was not high license that closed our saloons; it was the women of Missouri that closed them. [Applause.] At last women were reckoned among the people. You know we talk with great pride in this country about the government of the people, for the people, and by the people, with confessedly the better half of the people as dumb as the Egyptian Sphinx under this government. [Applause.] We have no such government of the people, for the people, and by the people; it is mythical. We have a government of the men people, and for the men people, and by the men people. [Applause and laughter.]

Nebraska under the Slocum high-license law, which is now in its seventh year, enforces a minimum license of \$500, and a maximum of \$1,000 in all of the incorporated cities of the State. Take Omaha. I said a few moments ago that this high-license system has debauched the public conscience. It has, and the fact is showing itself among the Christian people of our country. It is showing itself in the influence it is having upon the ministry in this country, and upon the religious journals in this country. Omaha reports about 110,000 inhabitants. It is one of those busy, pushing, thriving, energetic, progressive Western towns, of which we have so many. Omaha has 240 or more saloons, and each saloon pays \$1,000, and this fund goes largely into the school fund to support the public schools of the State. I

want you good Massachusetts people to consider that question just a moment — educating the little boys and girls in their arithmetic and grammar with the money that has sent their fathers and brothers to perdition! What a lovely system that is for a Christian government! I beg you to consider it. A compromise with one evil thing, I do not care what that evil is, leads inevitably and invariably to a compromise with other evil things. [Applause.] And this fact is showing itself. It is showing itself in that young republic of Nebraska. In the city of Omaha there are reported by the police over 340 prostitutes, who are recorded in that city, and who at the beginning of each month go to the police headquarters and pay their fines and costs, with assurance that they have immunity from all interference until the beginning of the next month. And these are reported as being arrests for prostitution, 2,600 arrests for that crime. There were no such arrests. The statement is false. How did this state of affairs come about, then? Why, there were these prostitutes coming to the police headquarters at the beginning of each month and paying their fines; the prostitute \$3 fine and \$3 costs; the landlady \$7 fine and \$3 costs; the house of assignation \$25 fine and \$3 costs. I ask you in the name of humanity, I ask you in the name of religion, I ask you in the name of God, if you are willing to take a system that tends in this direction? [Prolonged applause.] And yet we are tending in that direction.

Put against this State of Nebraska the brave young republic of Kansas. that through untold contradiction has struggled onward with the enforcement of law, until not a city in Kansas has an open saloon or tolerates it. Leavenworth and Atchison and Topeka and Wichita and Dodge City, those municipalities that stood out determined to violate the law, and whose mayors and officials winked at the violation of law, have been brought into line. How were they brought into line? How were they made to obey the law? By the women. [Applause.] By the women. [Renewed applause.] You ask how? By municipal suffrage, which God grant your legislators may have the wisdom to bestow upon your women. [Applause.] It was said that only the bad women would vote. You remember it was in the summer of 1887, or the spring of 1887, that the women first voted in Kansas. Over 26,000 were registered and voted. Only the bad women would vote? Well, that would be a pity, because no bad men vote. [Laughter.] But how was it there? The very best class of women registered and went to the polls; and in the city of Leavenworth, where the law had been defied to a greater extent than in almost any other city in that young Commonwealth, the mayor sent policemen to the houses of prostitution and compelled the prostitutes to come and register. They did not come until compelled by the mayor to come and register. [Cries of shame, shame!] Those are the facts, friends, and they can be substantiated by any amount of evidence. But the women went to the polls and voted for men who would enforce the law, and in six months there was not an open saloon in Leavenworth, nor Atchison, nor Wichita, nor Dodge City. The saloons were closed, and such prosperity has come to Kansas as was never known

before, although it came in the reaction after her grand boom in real estate. Your Boston Loan and Farmers' Trust Society, I see, commends Kansas as the safest place for investment. [Applause.]

I was in the Congregational ministers' meeting this morning, and I saw that but two of the ministers voted against the resolutions that were offered there. A week ago this morning I was in Philadelphia and attended the Baptist ministers' meeting, and there were three of the most prominent Baptist ministers who stood up and opposed the amendment, and spoke for the Brooks law. I want to state to you a significant fact about Kansas, and that is that ever since the passage of the prohibitory law a most marked increase has been noticed in church attendance and in church-membership. [Applause.] The same thing I see stated by Senator Colquitt about Atlanta, that a great increase in church attendance and in church-membership has been noticed there. It is time for Christian people to begin to think about these things. When only 25 per cent. of the young manhood of this country goes to any church whatever, and only five per cent. of the young manhood of this country are church-members, when thirty odd per cent. of the convicts in our penitentiaries are incarcerated under twenty years of age, it is time for Christian ministers and Christian journals to have a shaking among the dry bones. [Prolonged applause.]

I was glad, dear friends, to hear our strong and firm friend, Mr. Cook, say the tide for constitutional prohibition is rising; and it will rise. [Applause.] You say it was defeated in Michigan and Oregon and Texas and Tennessee and West Virginia. Aye, and it may be defeated in other States. But it will rise, nevertheless. [Prolonged applause.]

There is no conflict between the great association that I am so proud to represent and the women that have been in fellowship with us save that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union has taken its uncompromising stand against license and all who favor it. [Loud applause.] We have said that we cannot tolerate this, we cannot give it our indorsement, or our sympathy, or our sanction; and there has been untold misrepresentation and untold contradiction, as you know, on this account. But, dear friends, they who have said this will stand by their position until Gabriel blows his trump [applause], and no amount of abuse will move them. They have got beyond the time of vacillating childhood and of youth. They have reached mature womanhood, and their convictions are firm and abiding. The conflict is inevitable.

Like a lion growling low, —
Like a night-storm rising slow, —
Like the tread of unseen foe, —

It is coming, — it is nigh!
Stand your homes and altars by;
On your own free thresholds die.

Clang the bells in all your spires;
On the gray hills of your sires
Fling to heaven your signal-fires.

Whoso shrinks or falters now,
Whoso to the yoke would bow,
Brand the craven on his brow!

Perish party, — perish clan;
Strike together while ye can,
Like the arm of one strong man.

O, for God and duty stand,
Heart to heart and hand to hand,
Round the homes of this great land.

WHITTIER.

[Prolonged applause.]

II.

ADDRESS BY MRS. J. ELLEN FOSTER OF IOWA, AT TREMONT TEMPLE, IN
THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, FEBRUARY 11.

My word to you, Massachusetts men and women, is, The saloon must go. [Applause.] As a daughter of Massachusetts, and at this opening hour of your great amendment campaign, I need not tell you how I have prayed for this day. On the prairies of Iowa, when we passed constitutional prohibition, we children of Massachusetts knew we were working for our mother Commonwealth. We bring our sheaves back to you. This audience represents the church of Massachusetts, and I speak to the church to-day. If the ministers here, if the church-membership here, were absolutely pledged to the support of this movement, it would succeed. [Applause.] If it does not carry on that April day, when the vote is taken, it will be because the church-membership of Massachusetts is slow, or stupid, or wicked — which shall I say? Let ministers be entreated to make it a personal matter. Men of the Methodist Church, when you call your brethren together at quarterly meetings, see that they are all right on the proposed amendment. Presiding elders, see that your preachers are right. The Methodist preachers of Iowa would have carried Iowa if no other preachers had said a word; but we had all the other grand ministers who stood solidly for us. Brethren of the church of the living God, do let me lay this burden on your hearts. Get right down to this work just as you would if it were specifically set before you as an instrument of church work. It is. You must slay this Goliath of the saloon if you are to save the children of our altars. The baptized children of the church will be the victims of the saloon if you do not destroy the saloon. You now have a fair chance to do this. Whatever your political belief may be, nothing is between you and the saloon to-day, nothing. No political party, no pride of previous opinion, nothing is before you in the way. There is the saloon. Now go at it in God's name. [Applause.] The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!

Let any high license man say the best he can for that pet delusion of the adversary, and everything good he says about high license will be a tribute to prohibition; for there is no success which has attended license in any

State anywhere but is a success of the prohibitory features of the license law. Let any man come to this platform, or any platform in Massachusetts, and talk about the success of the Brooks law in Pennsylvania. You may listen to all he has to say, and yet you will know that the number of saloons has been reduced, not because the intending rumsellers did not have money to pay for the licenses, not that at all, but because they could not get suitable bonds, which is prohibition; because their places were disreputable, which is a part of the prohibition of the Brooks law. I have sat in a license court in the city of Philadelphia, and seen men come up in rows to get their licenses. They had the money to pay. They did not get their licenses simply because the prohibitions of the Brooks law said they should not. Any strength license laws have is the strength that we claim for prohibitory laws. I know of what I speak, for I have seen the operation of those laws.

Reference has been made to the fearful wreck and ruin that comes to the native races in Africa from the liquors which are sent from America; two years after our prohibitory law went into effect and all the saloons were closed in Iowa, there was a big distillery running in the city of Des Moines, and the curling smoke that every day ascended from it was a menace to our prohibitory statute, to our constitutional amendment. And people asked, "Cannot you shut up that big distillery?" The men who ran the distillery said, "We do not make these liquors to be used in Iowa, but simply for export." And some lawyers said, "Do you think Iowa can police the whole world?" They disputed as to the extent to which the exercise of police power by a State could go. And those great distillers answered, "We do not sell a drop of this liquor in Iowa." They said they sent it to South America for varnish. [Laughter.] And we had no right to suppose they did sell it in Iowa. At last there were two good men who said, "We will see whether a State can prohibit the sale of liquor for export." I know the men who did it; I remember the conversation I had with them when they said they had instituted the suit. They carried it through our courts to our Supreme Court, and the decision was that a State could prohibit for all purposes whatsoever. But that was not enough. To the Supreme court of the United States it went, and that court affirmed the decision of the Iowa court. [Applause.] Let preachers who are interested in missionary societies remember that you are saving Africa when you are saving Massachusetts.

This state movement is a part of a national movement. We mean finally to sweep the traffic from the whole country. But how will we do it? How can Massachusetts help to secure national constitutional prohibition? In no way so well as to secure constitutional prohibition in its own Commonwealth. That is the way to get it. [Applause.] You as an individual cannot immediately touch the United States Congress. You must touch that great body through men who are elected from your State. Make them right and Congress will be so far right. We will attend to Iowa men. [Applause.] We will see that they vote right. [Laughter and applause.] And in a little while you will attend to Massachusetts men.

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New Hampshire votes that great Commonwealth, on the twelfth day of March; Massachusetts votes April 22; and Pennsylvania, that extends from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ohio River, votes on the eighteenth day of June. Never was there such a gathering of the hosts of righteousness against the Goliath of the saloon; never such since we were a nation. If you carry the vote in Massachusetts, you will have helped to carry it in Pennsylvania. If you fail, how our hearts will sink! But if you carry it, and Pennsylvania shall carry it, what then? The back-bone of the liquor traffic will be broken in this nation. [Loud applause.] God give you strength to labor. God give you of his spirit that you may not falter until the last vote, the very last one, is cast and counted, and the State shall proclaim, as the church now does, that the saloon shall go. [Prolonged applause.]

III.

ADDRESS BY MRS. MARY H. HUNT OF BOSTON, AT TREMONT TEMPLE, IN THE MONDAY LECTURESHIP, MARCH 11.

Mrs. Hunt was received with loud applause and with the Chautauqua salute, and the applause was renewed when Mr. Cook said: "The star of hope of the temperance cause hangs over the schoolhouse, and over Mrs. Hunt's head." Mrs. Hunt spoke as follows:—

Mr. Chairman and Friends: I am deeply moved. This kind expression from you almost takes away my speech. This is a glad hour for Massachusetts. The argument in this whole discussion turns on this one question, What is alcohol? If it is a good thing moderately taken, then we are fanatics here, we are out of place, and history will not join with us in our decision that this is a glad hour. But if alcohol in itself is bad; if, tried by the testimony of modern science, it is a poison, then this is a glad hour.

Just before coming here, in order that I might have a point to put into a letter I was answering on this very question, I took down from the library shelves a volume on Medical Jurisprudence, on Poisons, written by Dr. Taylor, an authority well known on both sides of the water. He classifies alcohol as a poison; and more than that, as a narcotic poison; and worse yet, as a cerebral narcotic poison. There you have it, all in a nut-shell. There is all the argument needed by judicious minds for this prohibitory amendment that is now going to the people.

Shall the State of Massachusetts bring herself into harmony with the nature of things? Shall she license the business of selling a substance to her people that is in its nature a poison; a brain poison; and, worse yet, a poison whose nature it is that a little of it will create an imperious controlling appetite for more? There is the argument against license. From a scientific point of view we must affirm that the very worst institutions we have are the high licensed gilded places, to which your boy or mine, who would not go into a low dive, might be attracted by the gilt, the plate glass, the music, and all the environment which would be in harmony with his

tastes. And over that bar would be sold — what? A terrible narcotic, cerebral poison, whose nature it is to create an appetite for more. And let that be given again and again and again, and the saloon has him. He is mortgaged to the brewers and distillers. There are laws at work in his nature, under the influence of the poison, that really mortgage the boy not only to the saloon, but to the bottomless pit.

Our license laws do not change natural laws. They are God's laws. Many thousands of children in Massachusetts are made homeless, friendless, naked, because of the intemperance of parents; but ah, friends, the greatest wrong to those children is, not that they are homeless, not that they are left as outcasts. The greatest wrong is that in the brain, in the blood, in the moral nature, they are mortgaged to the bottomless pit by the cups of their fathers. These are God's great laws that we violate as a Commonwealth to our peril.

God grant that as the result of this movement, Massachusetts, this grand old State, after this amendment is submitted to the people, may be found in harmony with God's law of total abstinence, written on man's constitution, from the crown of the head to the sole of the feet. My friends, alcohol by nature is an outlaw, and unless we outlaw it, it will make us a nation of outlaws. [Applause.]

HIGH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES IN JAPAN.

THE commercial bondage of Japan through treaty provisions with Christian nations renders the closest economy necessary with public funds. Hence, to supplement grants from the government and the local taxes, fees have to be charged and Japan cannot yet have that boon of America, free schools. The fees are of course very low, 50 sen, 25 sen per month, and in case of absolute poverty they are remitted. Still they are found a bar to the education of hundreds of thousands of children. In the olden times but very little attention was paid to the education of girls, and in this respect the new régime leaves very much to be desired. They still seem to be grossly neglected. In a recent report it appeared that in Okinawaken out of 34,000 girls only eight were being educated. Of course that is an extreme case; as a rule, however, over 50 per cent. of the girls are neglected. This matter depends wholly on the local authorities, and many villages communities are still blind to the necessity of progress and utterly niggardly in expenditure on education. Another drawback is the dearth of trained teachers. These could not be manufactured in a day. With 30,000 schools and only 20,000 teachers helped by untrained and student assistants, the style of work done must be very defective. But time will do much to cure these defects.

Less than twenty years of the new régime have resulted in the accompanying statistics, which will serve as a text for the present article on the actual working of the educational system of Japan. Each item deserves an article by itself, but I shall endeavor to give a bird's-eye view of the whole by a rapid glance at each in this single paper.

| Kinds of Schools. | No. of Schools. | No. of Teachers. | No. of Scholars. |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|
| Elementary Schools . . . | 25,530 | 59,415 | 2,712,899 |
| Ordinary Middle Schools . . | 48 | 561 | 10,177 |
| Higher Middle Schools . . | 6 | 129 | 1,658 |
| University | 1 | 124 | 863 |
| Higher Normal Schools . . | 1 | 30 | 145 |
| Ordinary Normal Schools . . | 45 | 557 | 4,754 |
| Special Schools | 88 | 583 | 13,505 |
| Higher Female Schools . . | 18 | 136 | 2,363 |
| Miscellaneous Schools . . | 1,741 | 3,416 | 81,807 |
| Total | 27,478 | 62,372 | 2,828,171 |

In spite of many drawbacks it will be seen that Japan's scholastic reforms are not like Turkey's reforms, on paper only. Nearly 3,000,000 of scholars in elementary schools is not a bad showing for the work of the educational hierarchy during so short a time. There were many little schools in the olden times, giving a course of easy reading, writing, and arithmetic to the masses; private schools on a higher grade gave a drill in the Chinese classics, writing of the Chinese characters, etc., but the range was very narrow. Still, as the official report puts it, they "were found sufficient to supply the very moderate amount of education needed by the people in those days." In 1872, the first Code being promulgated, a system of school districts was fixed, courses of study established, and seven kinds of elementary schools were started, bringing their advantages within the reach of every possible class and making attendance compulsory. The ordinary course extended over eight years, divided into lower and higher grades, — the lower for children from six to nine years of age, the higher, from ten to thirteen. The lower course consisted of spelling, writing, simple words, arithmetic (Western style), oral instruction in moral conversation, reading, oral instruction on health, explanation of reading books, grammar, lectures on geography and on physics, letter writing, etc. The higher course covered lectures on reading books, grammar, lectures on geography and physics, writing small Chinese characters, letter writing, lectures on history, drawing, geometry, natural history, chemistry and physiology, changed in 1873, '79,

'80, '83, '84, and '86, giving the present plan as follows with time devoted weekly to each subject.

| | Ordinary Elementary Schools. | Higher Elementary Schools. |
|---|------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Hours. | Hours. |
| Morals | 1.30 | 1.30 |
| Reading, Composition, Writing | 14. | 10. |
| Arithmetic | 6. | 6. |
| Geography, History | — | 4. |
| Science | — | 2. |
| Drawing | — | 2. |
| Singing, Gymnastics | 6. | 5. |
| Sewing | — | from 2 to 6. |

MIDDLE SCHOOLS.

An effort was made as early as 1872 to found middle schools (equivalent to high schools, or grammar schools of the West) in each of the districts into which the country was divided for that purpose. The idea was to give a course of general education to those who had passed the elementary course, and also prepare for still higher training in the University and other advanced institutions. These aimed at teaching a foreign language and a wide range of elementary Western science. Under the name of middle schools were enumerated technical schools, commercial schools, foreign language schools, agricultural schools, schools of medicine, and those where foreigners taught. The lack of competent teachers delayed the realization of the scheme, in its entirety, yet a good beginning was made; foreign languages were deemed a necessity, foreigners were employed—rather indiscriminately—as instructors. These furnished students for the colleges and teachers for the schools. Gradually the middle schools condensed into shape. The Code of Education fixed two grades: the lower to comprise the study of morals, Japanese and Chinese literature, the English language, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, geography, history, physiology, zoölogy, botany, physics, chemistry, political economy, book-keeping, writing, drawing, singing, and gymnastics. The substitution of French or German for English was allowable. This course required four years. The higher grade comprised in its course: morals, Japanese and Chinese literature, the English language, book-keeping, drawing, singing and gymnastics, with the addition of trigonometry, mineralogy,

Japanese law, physics, and chemistry. This course occupied two years. According to circumstances a general course of literature, or of science, or of agriculture, etc., might be added, while certain other parts could be reduced or omitted, rendering the whole very elastic.

Between the ordinary middle schools and the University it was found necessary to establish higher middle schools as preparatory to the more technical studies in the highest institutions. The preparatory department of the Tokyo University became the first and most important; the branch of the University in Osaka became another; others were opened in succession in Sendai, Kauazawa, Kumamoto, and Yamaguchi. These are indeed preparatory colleges in which there are five full courses of preparation for the advanced University and Colleges of Law, Medicine, Engineering, Literature, and Science. The ordinary middle schools are under the control of provincial authorities, the higher middle schools are directly under the National Department of Education. The expenses are met one half by local taxation and one half from the national treasury. The five higher middle schools in operation last year cost 150,000 yen in local taxes and an equal sum out of the national cash box.

THE UNIVERSITY.

It would be simply bewildering to attempt to detail the genesis and evolution of what is now the Imperial University of Japan. It has, however, in great outlines at least, crystallized into what will probably be its permanent form. It has become a vast institution by itself and is to a great extent now free from dependence on the rise or fall of ministries. In it are combined several schools that were started with different objects years ago, but have now been blended into a compact and harmonious whole. There are five professional colleges, of Law, Medicine, Engineering, Literature, and Science. In accomplishing this consolidation one great sacrifice, temporary at least, seems to have been made. The Imperial College of Engineering, under the Department of Public Works, was the only great government school intrusted to a foreign expert as principal and responsible head. The result was a magnificent array of

finely adapted buildings, furnished with every possible equipment, material and intellectual, and then of course splendid success in the work done. The Educational Department had long wanted to get control, and eventually they did so, sold the buildings to the Noble's College, and removed to other buildings in Hongo in the University group. The management came like the rest of the colleges entirely into Japanese hands and the ancient glory was gone. There is no doubt that the future will see great and successful scholars among the Japanese, but for the present the weakness of the University is the same as that of all native schools in Japan in the professorial staff. Not that there are no clever men among the one hundred Japanese teachers in the institution, but one expects to find in an Imperial University, with such splendid equipment as is to be seen here, men of mark who have won distinction in their particular sphere. It is no discredit to young Japan to say that the clever young men who have freshly graduated from Western colleges can hardly be counted in that category. The tendency with Japanese teachers is to dispense what they have been taught with very little enthusiasm, originality, or growth. And then the foreign professors are *employed* as temporary assistants with no probability of a future before them, and as hirelings only with very little encouragement to put strength into their work. They are appreciated only as subordinates, and may be dismissed at the end of a short contract, like the long line of their predecessors. It is a splendid practicing ground for Japanese professors, but the immediate result cannot be the best.

In addition to the five colleges, there is what is termed a University Hall, where students can pursue a two years' post-graduate course of special investigation, on any subject for which a decree is given. To enter the University candidates must bring a certificate of graduation from a higher middle school or from a school of equal standing, or pass examinations equivalent thereto. A student specially successful in his examinations may be selected for special treatment and may receive, if needed, special pecuniary aid. Regulations for "loan scholarships" have been made. A loan scholarship is granted to a student who takes a course of study requiring special as-

sistance, who exhibits special proficiency, and is of good moral character, but is unable to meet his college expenses from his own private means. In return the students are bound to enter certain offices or professions for a time, or to pay back the amount loaned within a certain term of years. Tuition is 2.50 yen (\$1.90) per month: all necessary expenses of a student, including tuition, board, clothing, fuel, light, etc., run from yen 7.50 to yen 12.00 per month. (1 yen = 75cts.) The total number of graduates within the last ten years gross is 1,827. That it fares well with these graduates may be seen from the fact that of eleven graduates in law last year, two were appointed judges, three entered the diplomatic and consular service, four were appointed to the home office, one to the Law Bureau of the cabinet, and one took a post-graduate course, and so with the graduates of other departments, they are in immediate demand the highest positions.

While at college, however, the student is confined to very close discipline. The air of freedom was found too dangerous for these sharp brains with little learning and larger conceit, so that the excesses of a few years ago compelled a closer discipline. They must reside in the college dormitories or in approved boarding-houses; they cannot remain outside later than 7 P. M. ordinarily and 10 P. M. on the night before a holiday; they must wear always and everywhere the semi-military suit and cap of gray cloth, which constitute the college uniform; they are not allowed to receive visitors excepting in the room set apart for that purpose; they may not bring intoxicating liquors into the dormitories or smoke in their bedrooms; the gates are shut at 11 P. M.; any student out later than that must bring a letter of explanation from one of his sureties before ten the following morning; he must be guaranteed by two responsible sureties for all matters involved in his connection with the University, and both of these must reside permanently in Tokyo. We are given to understand by a late address by the principal of the first higher middle school to the students who were within a step of the University doors, that the moral condition of society outside of these scholastic halls was very bad, and that within them it was not very much better. The

branches chosen may be seen in the following table, showing the numbers studying in the different colleges last year (1887).

| | |
|--|-----|
| College of Law and Politics | 304 |
| College of Medicine | 211 |
| College of Engineering | 105 |
| College of Literature | 36 |
| College of Science | 40 |
| University Hall | 25 |
| Total (excluding 24 counted twice) | 697 |

This year there are in attendance 863, divided in about the same proportion as above. The expense last year was 386,935 yen.

No part of the school system is more important than the group of normal schools. To prepare teachers for the elementary schools there are forty-five provincial normal schools, and to prepare teachers for these there is a higher normal school in the capital. Great care is given to these. Students are cautiously selected; they must be between seventeen and twenty years of age; all their expenses, personal and academic, even to a weekly allowance of pocket money, are paid out of public funds. In return they are bound for a term of years to teach in the government schools.

I find, in looking over various printed reports, a larger number of schools of almost every grade given than in the last official statements of the Educational Department. The reduction is usually to be accounted for by the fact that all provincial schools depend for their existence on the annual vote of provincial assemblies composed of members generally conservative and often very ignorant.

Aside from the regular school system, one is bewildered at the number and variety of special and miscellaneous schools all over the empire, but more especially of course in the capital. There are kindergartens, foreign language schools, medical schools, pharmaceutical schools, schools agricultural, commercial, technological, of fine arts, music, and so forth, and all as a rule splendidly equipped. Then there are the higher female schools and a vast array of miscellaneous institutions; 814 for Japanese

and Chinese literature, 139 for English, 134 for handiwork, 120 for writing, 89 for mathematics. Under this head are counted the various missionary schools throughout the empire, as well as the great private schools such as Fukuzawa's Keio-gijiku and Nakamura's Doninsha. Mr. Fukuzawa's began before the Restoration in a very small way when foreign books were a rarity in Japan, and has grown up around his most remarkable personality until it holds a proud place as one of the greatest schools of the empire, its influence being felt perhaps more than any other in the politics and the periodical literature of the day.

Thus from base to summit the system is complete, not only on paper but in practice, and in spite of many a rent and many a defect the work done has been enormous. It will of course be a generation or two before the schools are manned by competent men and before the vigorous push and originality of the West will characterize their working. An eminently successful principal of one of the great schools said to me a short time ago, "Our school system is asleep, asleep! The men are all trained in the old manner of droning by rote and dragging in ruts of Chinese models, and although we give them the best system in the world, the system will not work itself. The men are incompetent and the system sleeps." A pretty severe sentence from a Japanese gentleman competent to know and to give an unbiased opinion. There is too much truth in his strictures. And yet things are kept stirring, and improving; another generation will show a mighty advance.

One of the greatest drawbacks to the educational progress of the country is the retention of the Chinese characters in the literature, by which all students are handicapped with a burden unknown to Western students. The Roman letter reform, which is the only literary salvation of the nation, seems as far off as ever, and it must remain so until a more enlightened policy takes hold of the Educational Department. The idea is still too strong that there must be a distinction of classes. The aristocracy of learning will acquire a foreign language, the "masses" will stay on the old lines or get what they can through books in the old form. The policy is suicidal to any literary independence and will keep the Japanese language in perpetual child-

hood and poverty. The Roman letter would put all on a level and give the poorest a chance in the race for the highest prize, and give the language its only opportunity to become an honored tongue among the literatures of the world.

The next glaring defect is that although the schools chose wisely in taking the English as the chief foreign language to be learned, they have adopted very defective methods for teaching it properly. The Chinese classics were read for a thousand years with *Japanese pronunciation* and with a Japanese twist to the sentences, so as to preserve the meaning. For many years a persistent effort was widely made to teach English in the same way. That failed and the effort is now made everywhere to learn pronunciation and idiom. The idiom is, however, so different from their own and in pronunciation there are so many sounds not in their own language, that, unless properly taught at the earliest start, unconquerably bad habits of pronunciation and of speech are acquired. And it is just at the start where the mistake is made of leaving the matter in the hands of incompetent Japanese and then putting the students under the care of foreigners, when they are spoiled forever. I have listened to a recitation in the University when I could not understand one word in three, so bad was the pronunciation. Of course there are exceptions, but the number of Japanese who acquire the English perfectly are exceedingly few; and the reason is not in lack of time or application but solely in the vicious system, for where a right start is made early the best results appear. If the question of expense could be removed, there should be English-speaking foreigners in every school where the rudiments of English are taught. And here is a wide and promising field for missionary work which may yet afford Christendom a crowning opportunity.

It will be noticed that "Morals" occupy a large space in the curriculum for lower schools and "Ethics" in the higher grades. Japan wants morality, but how shall she obtain it? The old sanctions are fast dying and as a rule in young educated Japan are dead. In elementary schools there are the old maxims; in middle schools the musty rules of Confucianism taught as a rule by the driest remnant of the old régime, and in cases that I

know, where the moral teacher comes to his class half-drunk. The present Minister of State for Education is a pronounced agnostic, who is trying to introduce Herbert Spencer's Ethics in practical shape into Japan. His influence is directly antagonistic to Christianity; he insists on indifference, not on overt opposition. The result is that word has gone all through the ramifications of the scholastic hierarchy that Christian influence must be resisted in the schools. Hence many a Christian foreign teacher's influence *seems* lost in many a school. But lost it certainly is not, and Christianity is surely winning the esteem of all in the nation. The change of one rule in the Educational Department might introduce a new régime of larger liberty that would react most favorably for the progress of Christianity, and furnish the very element most of all needed to make the educational work of Japan a colossal force in the Christian civilization of the empire.

C. S. EBY.

Tokyo, Japan.

BOSTON HYMN.

GOD OVER ALL.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,
AT THE 204TH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, FEBRUARY 11, 1889.

GOD over all, the Great Unknown,
The world Thy thought, the light Thy throne,
Thyself unseen, — but all we see,
All time, all space, is full of Thee.

Life of our life, light of our light,
With Thee 't is noon, without Thee, night;
Our life, our light, on Thee we call,
Saviour and King, our strength, our all.

Draw us to Thee, almighty Lord,
Revolving worlds obey Thy word;
Shine in our souls, O central Sun,
All worlds, all souls, are Thine alone.

Come Thou, our King, in regal state,
Thy Spirit's quickening touch we wait;
From every bondage set us free,
And make us temples meet for Thee.

S. F. SMITH.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

FOURTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1889.

PRELUDE II.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION AND ITS RIVALS.

AN immense audience was present at Tremont Temple, Monday noon, February 11, at the 204th Boston Monday Lecture. Hundreds were standing at the doors of the balconies. The Rev. Dr. Plumb presided, and the Rev. Dr. Bates offered prayer. A hymn entitled "God Over All" was sung, and had been prepared especially for the occasion by the Rev. S. F. Smith, D. D., author of *America*. Addresses on Constitutional Prohibition were made by Mrs. J. Ellen Foster of Iowa and Mrs. Mary H. Hunt of Boston. A series of resolutions indorsing the proposed Constitutional Prohibitory Amendment in Massachusetts was unanimously adopted.

NATIONAL UNITY OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

The fiercest and deadliest rival of prohibition is the organized and unscrupulous greed of the dram-shop oligarchy. This is now a national power. From sea to sea the whiskey syndicate is a unit. The liquor traffic in the American Republic is like a skater who can throw his whole weight now on one foot and now on the other as he pleases, and it is the weight of a giant. In the attempt to carry constitutional prohibition in Massachusetts the friends of temperance will be fighting, not merely, against the dram-shops of Lowell and Lawrence, Springfield, Worcester, Fall River, and Boston, but also against those of New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, San Francisco, and indeed of every great municipality from the Lakes to the Gulf. What defeated prohibition in Atlanta? Northern money. What defeated the constitutional amendment in Michigan? Largely local influences in the lumber woods, but chiefly the great cities, the money of the whiskey syndicates all over the land. Why did a proposed constitutional amendment fail in Oregon, West Virginia, Tennessee, and Texas? These Com-

monwealths, in large portions of their territory, are, indeed, far from being ripe for so radical a reform, but would probably have carried it if it had not been resisted on their own soil by the gold of the Liquor Dealers' National League. You go into a contest, therefore, with terrific odds against you. The whole case will be misconceived if you do not keep in mind constantly that you are fighting not only a local but also a national battle.

There are two hundred thousand distillers, wholesale dealers, and retail salesmen in the whiskey syndicate, and they have behind them 1,200 millions of capital. The liquor traffic has the alertness of unscrupulous greed with vast interests at stake. The policy of the dram-shop oligarchy is undoubtedly to control both the great political parties. This has been its disguised plan for years, but now the mask is often dropped completely. Never, in national politics, has the saloon come nearer to dictating what shall be said by each of the parties than within the last ten years. [Applause.]

There is more money behind the dram-shop oligarchy than ever was behind slavery. My conviction always has been that this capital will fight for what it calls its rights; fight, certainly, at the polls and by corruption funds; fight ultimately, if necessary, behind street barricades. It is not at all certain that we shall carry the great reform to which the constitutional amendments in the different States now point, namely, National Constitutional Prohibition, without a stern use of military force to put down in great and corrupt centres the audacity of the whiskey rings.

A State may pass a constitutional prohibitory amendment, and yet on every inch of her border line other States that have no prohibitory laws may open dram-shops. Congress is responsible for interstate legislation. Until there is a national constitutional amendment, that great document which we all revere, that document which in ninety-nine points out of a hundred is very nearly political perfection, the constitution of the United States, is itself the citadel of the rum traffic in its national aspects.

If, therefore, you are sincere in supporting state constitutional prohibition, you must look forward to the hour when you will

carry national constitutional prohibition. I take it for granted you mean to be thorough and do work for the whole nation. When in this State you vote for constitutional prohibition, therefore, you will be promoting the interests of unnumbered millions who are to fill the land in years to come, and you will be advancing the only effective plan of political prohibition, — that is, a national prohibitory amendment.

To be successful in this country prohibition must be both political and national. It must also be supported by educational, social, and religious forces in close alliance. A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together is the only thing that will lift us out of the position in which the sovereignty of the saloon now dictates the policies of great parties.

THE MISCHIEFS OF HIGH LICENSE.

It is fortunate that in a non-partisan contest Republicans can be urged to vote a clean temperance ticket without being liable if they do so to give aid to their political rivals. [Applause.] But Republicans are now very generally urging high license as the best attainable temperance measure. In practical politics, high license is at present the chief rival of prohibition.

The great Methodist denomination officially affirm that the liquor traffic can never be licensed without sin; and that license, high or low, is vicious in principle and powerless as a remedy. The Presbyterian body will not admit a rumseller to church-membership. If we could lift the entire body of Christians of the United States to this Methodist or to that Presbyterian level, there would be, as I believe, no political party that would dare face the public sentiment that would be aroused. [Applause.] The church has the power to lift its members to that height of intelligence and righteous resolution. You Christians have the power to throttle the serpent that is throttling the Laocoön of our civil prosperity. History will justly hold the American church responsible if ever the dram-shop oligarchy rules the republic.

It is true that a large public revenue is received from high license; we collect a large sum from whiskey dealers for the privilege of selling liquor, and they collect that sum from the

victims of intemperance! When we balance the left hand against the right, when we notice what the damages done by the licensed liquor traffic are, we find that we are paying out from ten to fifteen times as much as we get back. On the level of the multiplication table, on the level of the most selfish commercial considerations, high license is an atrocious fraud. It is a method by which we rob Peter to pay Paul, and do not pay Paul. [Laughter.] The financial scales fairly balanced would be at least as one to ten against license, when the calculation is made as favorable to the contention of its friends as facts will warrant. If you count souls worth something, if you count the peace of families as a matter that can be estimated in financial values, where shall we find any income from high license that will balance the iniquity, the misery, the ruin for life and for worlds beyond this, originating in the activity of the licensed trade? The great income from high license is a golden bar to prohibition. It is an appeal to the cupidity of taxpayers, but can succeed only when taxpayers are blind.

Our noble friend, Mrs. Hunt, who honors us by her attendance this morning, says that the star of hope for the temperance reform hangs over the schoolhouse. So, indeed, it does, but another star of hope for the temperance reform ought to hang over every merchant's till, and over the pocket of every taxpayer who has ordinary intelligence. We are fleeced by the liquor traffic. It injures us more than a perpetual war of any moderate dimensions. The facts which prove this are notorious, unanswerable, and trite. They have been emphasized decade after decade; they never were more worthy of attention than at the present moment; and yet we are told by shrewd business men on the streets that the best thing to do is to put a high tax on the liquor traffic, obtain an enormous revenue from it, and let it pay for all the damage it does and a little more.

Why not tax the social evil? Why not tax the gambling den? Can you estimate in financial values the worth of the public sentiment which now forbids us to license these iniquities, evils which go together with high license in nearly every case in great cities?

Licensing a high class saloon is almost equivalent to licensing a gambling hell and a brothel.

We are not Parisians. England lately swept out of existence the statutes that licensed the social evil in India, and she did so in face of the world, proudly lifting up her forehead at last free from this most loathsome stain. Dr. Funk of the "Voice" says that in Paris the licensing of the social evil has gone on so long that it seems respectable. He tells a story of a French manager of a place of unreportable infamy, who wrote on her death-bed a letter to the official who had often licensed her establishment, saying that she was about to pass from life, that her daughters were to continue in the same business, and, as she hoped, would be treated as kindly as she had been, and that from Heaven she would look down and bless his official courtesy and their activity. [Sensation.] To that pitch of unsounded infamy, that depth, that height of shame, public sentiment may reach under a system of license. We are yet poisoned to our finger tips by the idea that the rum traffic, in many respects as dangerous as either of the other evils and as infamous, can be licensed and made respectable by the votes of church-members, and even of preachers!

Milton, describing the creation of animals, represents a lion as emerging from the earth and pawing to get free. The church in America is a lion only half emerged yet. We are sunk in the earth of low notions concerning license. The Methodist and Presbyterian paws of the lion are at last liberated. The whole animal is pawing to get free. [Applause.] Let us hope he may emerge at last [applause]; and, when he emerges, when he stands erect in his rightful authority, we shall see an end of the system of high license. [Applause.]

You say that the land will be full of intemperance if no system of license prevails. It is filled with intemperance already, and has been for two centuries under the system of license. The number of places where liquor is sold may be diminished by high license, but not the amount of liquor sold, nor of drunkenness. But if the gambling hell must ruin its thousands, if the social evil must slay its thousands, let Christians have nothing to do with either. We do not license those infamies but

prohibit them utterly. Christians wash their hands of the whole business. So I say if the liquor traffic is to ruin its thousands, let Christians wash their hands of it utterly. [Applause.] And the evil that results will be one of the sources of a reaction that will utterly destroy the iniquity itself.

Here is a somewhat celebrated dialogue between a father and a mother on the topic "How to save our boys?"

"Our boy is out late nights."

"Well, we must tax the saloons \$50."

"Husband, I believe John drinks."

"We must put up that tax to \$100."

"My dear husband, our boy is being ruined."

"Try them a while at \$200."

"Oh, my God! my boy came home drunk."

"Well, well! we *must* make the license fee \$300."

"Just think, William, *our* boy in jail."

"I'll fix those saloons. Tax them \$400."

"My poor child is a confirmed drunkard."

"Up with that tax, and make it \$500."

"Our once noble boy is a wreck."

"Now I will stop them; make it \$600."

"We carry our poor boy to a drunkard's grave to-day."

"Well, I declare! we *must* regulate this traffic; we ought to have made that tax \$1,000."

The mother demands at last prohibition and female municipal suffrage, and seems likely to get both. [Applause.]

WOMAN'S INFLUENCE IN TEMPERANCE POLITICS.

It has been thought that it was not wise to bring on this contest in Massachusetts until woman suffrage on every topic touching the liquor laws had been attained. The issue is before us, however, and must be settled by men's votes only. Woman can give her moral influence to the support of this party or that, and we need not to be told that her educational influence is immense. We have on the platform this morning two ladies, one of them a great educational, the other a great political, reformer. Mrs. Hunt is one of the marvels of the century. She has brought the legislatures of twenty-five States to make the

teaching of scientific temperance compulsory. What is more, she has not only settled the question that scientific temperance shall be taught, but she has also answered the far more searching inquiry, what shall be taught as scientific temperance. [Applause.] It is an amazement to me, as well as a source of the profoundest gratitude to Providence, that this reform has been carried so triumphantly, not only through state legislatures, but through Congress itself, by the efforts of this distinguished superintendent of one of the departments of the Woman's National Christian Temperance Union, an organization which may God bless for its work in the past and for its purposes in the future. [Applause.] We have with us, also, this morning, a lady, who is soon to address you, who is one of the most dangerous Republicans in the United States. [Applause.] She does not believe in a life of political monasticism. She has a right to her convictions; I am not here to criticise them; and I instance her career as an illustration of the power which a woman has in politics, even when she has not a vote. On the other hand, I might instance the career of the President of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, my dear friend Miss Willard, as illustrating the power of woman over national politics [applause], even when she favors a third party. Without a vote, woman is already a vast political power, and her influence steadily increases.

There are seventeen million children of school age in this country; about twelve million Mrs. Hunt has brought under compulsory laws for the teaching of scientific temperance. The children whose ballots are to determine the future of the country in regard to temperance reform are now being taught that total abstinence from alcohol and narcotics is required by the latest light of science. Let the ministerial users of the filthy weed take notice of the signs of the times. [Applause.] The church ought to rise to a level with the schools. We are to take hope because the majority of the future voters of the nation are now being educated in principles that will lift them out of the low notions many of their fathers held and yet hold.

BOSTON RUM TRAFFIC ON THE CONGO.

Your contest in Massachusetts has not only national but also international importance. The rum traffic on the Congo is becoming almost as mischievous as the slave traffic there has ever been. The liquor we send to Africa is most of it manufactured within seven miles of your State House, and sent out from yonder harbor. We are told that half a million of slaves are yet taken annually from Africa. The slave caravans follow trails marked by the bones of victims eaten up by the hyenas on the right hand and on the left. It has been said most suggestively that if the Atlantic should be drained there would be a windrow of skeletons on the bottom cast over from the floating hells of the slave traffic all the way from Africa to our own shores. Africa has an epaulet of such skeletons at the bottom of the Indian Ocean and of the Red Sea. But the windrows of the skeletons of the victims of the liquor traffic cross every continent occupied by the Anglo-Saxon race. They cover the earth as the horrible tattooing of the savage covers his body. The Congo region holds out its hands to you and implores you to perform your entire political duty. There is not a ripple on any shore of any nation of the world that does not call to you to obey God rather than man.

POLITICAL TIME-SERVING.

Political time-serving and thoughtless cowardice are dangerous rivals of prohibition. After defeat in five States, is not the case hopeless? Are we not fighting a giant who strides across the whole breadth of the way? Are we not likely to be worsted in this conflict? So ask hundreds and thousands of temporizers and faint hearts. If I were speaking to you as politicians, I should be obliged to say that as such you cannot be expected to reform the nation. I do not look for the salvation of the nation from the liquor traffic through the efforts of politicians or of philanthropists. The great change we seek is too much to expect of anything but the Christian church, resolved to do right. [Applause.]

Reformers are a class of men whom nobody owns, except

God. The rule of reformers is to do right, to follow the dictate of the individual conscience under the best enlightenment attainable, and leave consequences to God. Not as Democrats, nor as Republicans, not even as citizens of Massachusetts, but as Americans, as Christian citizens of the foremost republic of all time, you are entreated and expected to adopt the reformer's maxim, Seneca's old epigram, *Deum sequi*, follow God. Whatever the political results may be, trust that God will bring good out of apparent evil. When my friend Dr. Joseph Parker of London was crossing the Atlantic he was accustomed often to sit at the bow of his steamer and contemplate the vastness of the ocean by night as well as by day. His habit was noticed by several frivolous people on board, and finally one young dandy walked up to the preacher in his solitude and said, "Dr. Parker, Dr. Parker, what do you see?" "Nothing but God." And the young man walked away silent. Let Christians in the American Republic, sitting at the cut-water of reform, when they are asked by politicians what they see in this temperance conflict, answer, "Nothing but God." Follow him! and let God take care of the results. [Applause.]

God turned abolitionist and slavery disappeared. God is turning prohibitionist. The supreme duty of politics, as of the church, is to echo God. [Applause.] We have all lived to see slavery swept out of the Mississippi Valley and out of the Valley of the Amazon. Why is it incredible that the liquor traffic may yet be made an outlaw? Who would have predicted forty years ago that human bondage would disappear from this continent before the year 1865? We who have lived to see God perform these wonders may yet live to see him make constitutional prohibition the law for the United States. But he will do it only, as I think, through the political action of the conscience of the nation, and that conscience must be educated by the Christian church. [Applause.] I ask you to follow, therefore, exactly the rule that you now, looking backwards, can see was the wise rule in the conflict with slavery. Make no compromise with evil. Vote for no party that is on its knees before organized iniquity. Let the shifting sands of compromise pass from beneath your feet. Do right and let God take care of the consequences. [Loud applause.]

LECTURE II.

SHALL COMMON SCHOOLS TEACH COMMON MORALS?

EDUCATIONAL BILL APPROVED BY THE SENATE.

THIRTEEN years ago, Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, all the practical measures which I ask you to support as a settlement of the school question passed both houses of Congress by overwhelming majorities. The Judiciary Committee of the House and that of the Senate approved every position that I am now to defend. Senator Edmunds's proposed educational amendment to the constitution lacked only two votes of the two thirds necessary to carry it through the Senate. It covered almost precisely the ground now occupied by Senator Blair's proposed amendment, but as its language was perhaps somewhat more cautious, and as it came so near passing, I quote Senator Edmunds's proposal as a summary of the highest educational demand of the hour.

ARTICLE XVI.

SEC. 1. No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under any State. No public property, and no public revenue of, nor any loan or credit by or under the authority of the United States, or any State, Territory, district, or municipal corporation, shall be appropriated to, or made or used for the support of any school, educational or other institution, under the control of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or wherein the particular creed or tenets of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination shall be taught. And no such particular creed or tenets shall be read or taught in any school or institution supported in whole or in part by such revenue or loan of credit; and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or to promote its interests or tenets.

This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution ; and it shall not have the effect to impair rights of property already vested.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to provide for the prevention or punishment of violations of this article.

Notice that this proposed amendment contains four great points.

1. It prohibits the establishment of a state church in any State of the Union.

2. It forbids a sectarian use of public school funds by any State or municipality.

3. It prevents the formation of sectarian public schools.

4. Nevertheless, it guards against the exclusion of the Bible from public schools, and so does not establish instruction on a purely secular basis.

What could prevent Utah, if brought into the republic as a State, from erecting a state church? Nothing now in the national constitution. New Mexico, under predominantly Catholic influences, might easily erect a Catholic Church. In the present position of our national law, the republic could do nothing to hinder such deterioration. If Quebec were added to the American Republic, there might be a Roman Catholic Church erected in that Province, possessed of all the authority of a state organization, and Congress could not interfere. It is high time to raise the question whether we ought not to put upon individual States the prohibition already put upon the nation against a union of church and state. [Applause.] You will not understand me to desire to secularize oaths and marriages and Sunday. American principles do require neutrality of our government as between Christian sects, but not as between Christian sects and anti-Christian sects. Surely we are not neutral in the conflict between Mormonism and Christianity. We are neutral in the conflict between Romanism and Protestantism, but we are not neutral in the conflict between Buddhism and Christianity, or between Mohammedanism and Christianity. As Professor Schaff declares, our constitution separates church and state, but does not separate in certain particulars the state and Christianity.

The proposed amendment forbids a sectarian use of public

school funds by any State or municipality of the republic. How enormously such a prohibition is needed the recent state history of New York shows. I could have brought here this morning column after column of figures showing state appropriations to Roman Catholic institutions on Manhattan Island and in its vicinity. Great sums are now given by New York city year after year for substantially sectarian education under Roman Catholic organizations. Hon. Dexter A. Hawkins, a distinguished lawyer of New York, has shown in detail that "an amount of public money equal to two and one half per cent. of the entire tax levy, or six per cent. of the administrative expenses of the entire city government, is paid annually to the Roman Catholic Church in that city." The total for seventeen years ending in 1885 was over ten millions of dollars. (See Dr. Daniel Dorchester's "Romanism and the Public School System," Phillips & Hunt, New York, 1888, pp. 66-75.) Such is the political power of the Catholic population that it is notorious that ten thousand children, as the "New York Observer" has said, are now being educated at public expense in strictly sectarian Roman Catholic schools in and near New York. All such mischief would be prevented by the adoption of Senator Edmunds's proposed amendment.

POSSIBLE FUTURE OF CATHOLIC PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

While the amendment prevents the formation of sectarian public schools, it does not forbid parochial schools supported wholly apart from public funds.

Mexico abolished parochial schools not specially because of the opposition of the population there to Roman Catholic religious principles, but because the republic could not endure the disloyal teaching of the clerical party. If a system of supervision shall ever prove that in the United States parochial schools are teaching that a foreign pontiff has more authority over Catholics than the President of the United States, then I shall be in favor of legal suppression of parochial schools. [Loud applause.] In this alert generation, if legal evidence can be given of such treason we shall soon know the fact. I advise you to beware of men in masks. It is a still hunt that the

Roman Catholic Church has conducted against our public school system for years. In the most strategic parts of the field, the hunt is yet as still as it can well be. Average secular newspapers do not care to discuss this matter very largely; very few platforms of the country care to do it. I am told that certain brave reform journals that publish frank discussions on this school question cannot easily get a place on public news-stands. A weekly newspaper of this State, known for its outspoken character in this discussion, is discarded from news stands on no other ground than that it tells too much truth concerning disloyal teaching in parochial schools. If these things occur in a green tree, what will happen in a dry.

It is the hope of certain optimists that the parochial school question will soon vanish from public view. A distinguished lecturer of this city, whose opinions I am usually able to support, tells us that the enlightened laity will soon bring the clerical party in the United States to terms, and that parochial schools have no future before them. There are two replies to this prediction. One is that the laity have no ecclesiastical power; they own no property in the church. The entire hierarchy from the pope outwards is a unit, determined to push parochial schools in the face of all opposition to final and permanent success. Another reply is that if parochial schools succeed for one generation they will train a laity that will obey the priesthood so as to cause them to succeed for another generation, and only God knows for how long. The enlightened Roman laity in this country I respect, I hope, so far as facts warrant. There is a great difference between a Catholic and a Romanist. Many Catholics are not Romanists. Our enlightened Catholics are most of them graduates of our common schools. They have imbibed American ideas. If now you draw them out of the public schools and educate them exclusively under papal dictation, how long will it be before another sentiment will exist among Catholic voters than you find to-day? How long will it be before papal opinions will govern the Catholic population? How long will it be before the opposition you now expect to see among liberal Catholics to the domination of papal ideas will cease to exist, and subserviency of the usual Roman Catholic pattern take its place for Heaven knows how many generations?

REASONS FOR THE EDMUNDS AMENDMENT.

For one, I defend the Edmunds amendment, because —

1. It has already secured the great majority of votes in the national Congress, and came so near passing that it must be called a practicable scheme.

2. It is in harmony with the present practice of a majority of the States, and of perhaps four fifths of the public schools of the Union.

3. It is vehemently opposed by the clerical party, but not generally by the enlightened laity in the Roman Catholic Church.

4. It is greatly needed at present, and likely to be imperatively needed in the future to prevent a sectarian use of public school funds.

5. It bears well the legitimate tests of a safe settlement of the school question. It works well both ways. It prevents a sectarian division of the school funds. It forbids the establishment of a church in any State of the Union. It is historic, or distinctively American, a product of our experience for two hundred and fifty years. It allows the common schools to give instruction on any acts forbidden or prescribed by the common law. It recognizes the American principle that the state is here completely separated from the church but not completely separated from Christianity. It will reach the entire population, so as to produce the largest possible number of intelligent and moral citizens.

If the Boston election of last December had occurred a few weeks before this vote in Congress, the necessary two thirds, as I believe, would have been obtained, and the Edmunds amendment might now have been a part of the law of the land. We must launch this reform when the waves are running high. There are many sand-bars, but I believe that to-day in Congress there would be a chance for the passage of the Edmunds proposal. Senator Blair's bill covers substantially the same ground and a little more. I should not be sorry to see it passed, but I think it would be more difficult to pass it than it would have been to pass the Edmunds bill. The judiciary committee of the Senate and of the House thoroughly approved Senator Edmunds's

form of words. The amendment goes no farther in principle than the famous ordinance of 1787 for the Northwest Territory. "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." That is the language of a great national document, showing that our government is not cut wholly loose from Christianity though it is cut wholly loose from any church as an organization of Christians. This language asserts that the exclusion of a religious basis from the schools would jeopardize public morality. This is the historic, American ground. My contention is that it is also the only safe ground on which to found the schools of the republic.

DANGERS IN A MERELY SECULAR BASIS FOR SCHOOLS.

It is to be candidly conceded that we have a few leaders in public discussion who say that a purely secular basis for the public schools is the only one that can be maintained, and that we should deliver over all religious instruction, and, in fact, nearly all moral instruction, to the family and to the church.

What is meant by a purely secular basis for the public schools? It is not always easy to answer this question, as you read the deliverances of our secularists. A narrower and a broader definition are needed in reply to this inquiry. The narrower is that a purely secular basis is one which excludes from the schools the Bible and all devotional exercises. The broader is that a purely secular basis is one that excludes the teaching of a religiously grounded morality, as well as the Bible and devotional exercises, and also, in extreme cases, according to the French atheistic or agnostic ideal, all recognition of the existence of God. The narrower and milder definition tends in practice to broaden into the wider one. Practically, a secular basis secures a non-religious school.

What are the chief objections to a purely secular basis for American public schools?

1. One quarter or one third of the children of the republic of school age never see the inside of a church, and must be taught a religiously grounded morality in the public schools or nowhere.

2. The church and the family are efficient, but not sufficient to meet the moral wants of the educational system.

No one can reverence more than I the efforts of the churches to reach the masses. No one believes more thoroughly than I do that the family is a Divine institution. No one can contemplate with more gratitude than I do the work of the church and of the family in carrying strictly religious education to the masses of our population. But here I face official declarations, quoted by Senator Blair again and again on the floor of the Senate, that nearly one third of our population of school age does not go to church, and usually receives very little religious instruction at the hearthstone. England established denominational schools, but she found that a large percentage of her population did not belong to any denomination; and so, after grants in aid to this sect and that, she found herself obliged to open schools for a portion of her people that no denomination included. Now the English Establishment is an immensely powerful ecclesiastical organization, and its ideal, like that of every state establishment, is to reach the whole people. If England with her Establishment, if England with her non-conforming bodies, if England with her compact population found great masses outside of the church, how many will you find outside, you who are without a state church, and with your immense frontier of sparsely populated regions? How is the church to be expected to reach all the children of school age? Has it the financial strength to do so, even if it could be brought to take the time?

The demand is in inverse proportion to the need in education and religion. The more the public needs religion and education the less it demands them; the less it needs them, the more it wants them. In many parts of our population you cannot expect the law of supply and demand to bring moral training up to the correct proportion.

3. The church does not teach science or general history, and so cannot be expected to counteract misleading instruction on these subjects in the public schools.

4. The experience of many modern nations, especially of Germany and India, is that a purely secular basis for public

schools inevitably produces vast moral, social, and political mischiefs. When that basis has been adopted, it has again and again been abandoned, and a religious basis restored to prevent these evils.

Let America remember the history of Germany between Basedow and Pestalozzi. After prolonged discussion and experience, the most learned land on the globe decisively rejected a purely secular basis for its schools. (See Boston Monday Lectures on "Socialism," pp. 180-185.)

That is the position of Germany to-day. She has gone back to the denominational plan of securing religious instruction to the whole population. We cannot very well follow that plan, for we have no state church; but Germany protests against a purely secular basis for the schools.

Your distinguished — statesman, shall I call him? — Dr. Clark, Foreign Secretary of the American Board, speaking of "India, its Need and Opportunity," says: —

The government of India — at first unfriendly to missionary effort, and lending its support to the maintenance of idolatry in its grossest forms; making monthly grants for the support of heathen temples, Brahman priests, and dancing girls, thus bringing contempt on the very name of Christianity; later assuming a so-called position of neutrality and indifference, while rigidly excluding the Bible and all forms of religious instruction from its schools and colleges — has at last come to realize that mere intelligence is inadequate to the necessities of India, and turns to the various missionary organizations for aid in the moral and religious culture of youth. The highest officials recognize the missionary work as a most important factor in the development of the new India, as the great source of the moral and social changes in progress, and as the one force above all others that is contributing to the strength and permanence of British rule. Hence, of late years, the generous grants in aid of all mission schools, amounting often to one half of the expense incurred for the purchase and erection of school buildings, and for the support of schools once established, based on the proficiency of the pupils. Already we have an intimation of a desire on the part of the government to pass over its higher education, its colleges and universities, to the care of the great missionary societies. Indeed, the government, dissatisfied with the results of high education without religion of some sort, has come to the conviction

that even Hinduism or Mohammedanism is better than no religion, and deems it wise to make grants-in-aid to institutions established by Hindus and Mohammedans, as well as by Christians, rather than to continue the present system. So disastrous to moral character has high education without religion proved, through the breaking down of all moral and religious restraints, that Hindus of high caste and Mohammedans are beginning to place their children in Christian schools, with a view not only to their better education, but for the moral results anticipated. This change of sentiment on the part of the government of India, and beginning among the higher classes best acquainted with missionary effort, is one of the most hopeful signs of the time. The moral influence of young men educated in government institutions is not satisfactory. Constructive agencies must be employed as well as destructive, and thoughtful men, to use the language of Sir William Hunter, are coming to realize that "the missions do really represent the spiritual side of the new civilization and the new life of India." (See OUR DAY for November, 1888, p. 372.)

How well I recollect the earnestness with which Keshub Chunder Sen, the great Calcutta reformer, now gone to the majority of souls, used to speak of the effect of a purely secular basis for the elementary schools maintained in India. He did not call himself a Christian, but he was a theist, and he held that there could be no salvation for India in politics, or social life, or religion, until a theistic Christian morality should be taught to the youth of the land in the public schools.

5. Without any union of church and state, American schools have taught by the use of the Bible a religiously grounded morality for more than two hundred years, and with incalculably valuable results to society and the state.

We are told by the clerical party that the state has no right to educate. The right of the state to educate is a part of the right of the state to guarantee the foundations of its own permanence. The right of the state to educate is a part of the right of self-preservation and self-development. In his celebrated and now classic oration on the settlement of New England, Daniel Webster said : —

New England early adopted and has constantly maintained the principle, that it is the undoubted right and the bounden duty of gov-

ernment to provide for the instruction of all youth. That which is elsewhere left to chance or to charity, we secure by law. For the purpose of public instruction, we hold every man subject to taxation in proportion to his property, and we look not to the question whether he himself have, or have not, children to be benefited by the education for which he pays. We regard it as a wise and liberal system of policy, by which property and life, and the peace of society are secured. We seek to prevent in some measure the extension of the penal code, by inspiring a salutary and conservative principle of virtue and of knowledge in an early age. We strive to excite a feeling of respectability, and a sense of character, by enlarging the capacity and increasing the sphere of intellectual enjoyment. By general instruction, we seek, as far as possible, to purify the whole moral atmosphere; to keep good sentiments uppermost, and to turn the strong current of feeling and opinion, as well as the censures of the law and the denunciations of religion, against immorality and crime. We hope for a security beyond the law, and above the law, in the prevalence of an enlightened and well-principled moral sentiment. We hope to continue and prolong the time, when, in the villages and farmhouses of New England, there may be undisturbed sleep within unbarred doors.

Our ancestors established their system of government on morality and religious sentiment. Moral habits, they believed, cannot safely be trusted on any other foundation than religious principle, nor any government be secure which is not supported by moral habits. Living under the heavenly light of revelation, they hoped to find all the social dispositions, all the duties which men owe to each other and to society, enforced and performed. Whatever makes men good Christians, makes them good citizens. Our fathers came here to enjoy their religion free and unmolested; and, at the end of two centuries, there is nothing upon which we can pronounce more confidently, nothing of which we can express a more deep and earnest conviction, than of the inestimable importance of that religion to man, both in regard to this life and that which is to come. — (Webster's Works, vol. i. pp. 41-44.)

6. It is impossible in the nature of things to teach history thoroughly even in outline without giving instruction as to the principles and influence of Christianity, nor can ethics, or common morals, be taught seriously, without recognition of religious ideas such as the existence of God and human accountability. (See article by Prof. A. A. Hodge, on "Religion in the Public Schools," *New Princeton Review*, January, 1887.)

Am I asking that a system of theology or a catechism should be crammed down the throats of the pupils in the schools? By no means. I am asking only for what the Massachusetts and the Iowa law provides. The Iowa law enacts that the Bible shall not be excluded from the common schools, but that no child shall be required to read it contrary to the wishes of his parents. With that conscience clause in it, I am for the Iowa law and for Senator Edmunds's amendment, which guarantees by national authority as much as Iowa and Massachusetts now practice.

7. An unbalanced training results from purely secular instruction; intellectual sharpness without moral insight is produced; but the ideal of sound culture and of civic prudence requires that we should "send the whole child to school."

8. A merely secular basis adds just emphasis to the Catholic objection that common schools are godless and breed infidelity and immorality.

We must do what we can to prevent any one from saying reasonably that the common schools are godless. That this will be said unreasonably by the clerical party we ought to expect, but that it will be said by candid citizens if we pass the Edmunds amendment, and live up to the level of Massachusetts and Iowa, is not, as I hope, to be expected after full discussion. The common schools are not godless. In four fifths of them, at least, the Bible is read and there are devotional exercises. The great majority of our public schools are under the control of one of the best bodies of teachers history has ever seen. Take the three hundred thousand female teachers who are found at the head of so many elementary schools in this country. There is not a natural nobility on earth more worthy of reverence. [Applause.] Most of them are devout; they are lofty minded, possessed of a sense of responsibility that goes with them through every hour of public service and of private thought. Some Catholics are found among them, but our custom does not exclude Catholic teachers from service when they do not go beyond the bounds of American ideas concerning public schools. It is certain that we ought to keep living epistles known and read of all men in the positions of teachers, and that then and then only the public schools are safe.

9. A merely secular basis is sectarian, for it puts the whole educational system practically into the hands of the smallest and intellectually the least respectable of the sects — that of the atheists and agnostics and theoretical secularists.

10. A purely secular basis is sure to end in the establishment of merely denominational schools by the great religious bodies, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, etc., as well as Catholic, and so to break up that unity of public elementary instruction so necessary to unity of spirit in state and national citizenship.

An Episcopal general conference passed a resolution some years ago in favor of parochial Episcopal schools, and there has been a movement in the Presbyterian body in favor of such denominational management. Secularize our schools according to the ideas of some of our advisers and denominational schools will spring up inevitably. If children were put under my care, I certainly would send them to denominational schools rather than to merely secular public schools. Multitudes will feel in this way. If you are to prevent your common school system being split up into such fractions that it can do nothing to maintain national unity of sentiment, and will lose the charm which it has possessed now through two centuries in its power to harmonize various nationalities and all degrees of social differences, if you wish to destroy the unifying influence of the public schools, let them be denominationalized in protest against the effort to secularize them.

11. A purely secular basis is not consonant with the principles which presided over the origin of the American common school system and have given it the best part of its social, moral, and political usefulness.

12. A purely secular basis for schools is opposed by the majority and weight of the testimonies of experts in the modern discussion of educational methods.

Horace Mann, the father of the present common school system in Massachusetts, thoroughly believed in teaching in the common schools what he called the perfect system of morality of the Gospels. He always strenuously opposed the exclusion of the Bible from the schools. His opinions, as will appear from

the following extracts, were in entire accord with the present law and practice of Massachusetts and Iowa.

Such is the force of the conviction to which my own mind is brought that I could not avoid regarding the man who should oppose the religious education of the young as an insane man ; and were it proposed to debate the question between us, I should desire to restore him to his reason before entering upon the discussion. . . .

Our system earnestly inculcates all Christian morals ; it founds its morals on a basis of religion ; it welcomes the religion of the Bible, and, in receiving it, allows it to do what it is allowed to do in no other system — to speak for itself. — (HORACE MANN, Reports "On Religious Education," pp. 710-730.)

By the rules and regulations for the government of normal schools, where the board has power, they decided that the principles of piety and morality common to all sects of Christians should be taught in every normal school, and that a portion of the Scriptures should be daily read. — "Life of Horace Mann," p. 111.)

Professor Stowe, in an elaborate report, indorsed by Horace Mann, represents teachers of all grades in Germany as spurning with contempt the allegation that the Bible cannot be introduced into the common schools without encouraging a sectarian bias in the matter of teaching. Pestalozzi, the greatest of German educational reformers, insisted on the use of the Bible in schools, and Germany follows him to this day as faithfully as Massachusetts and Iowa follow Horace Mann. Edmund Burke, in a well-known majestic passage, ridiculed the French scheme of a merely civic education ; but it is to that scheme that our careless secularists would have us return.

13. It is opposed by the present almost universal practice of the most enlightened modern states. . . .

14. Without a religiously grounded morality, the system of oaths, on which life, liberty, and property depend for protection, would lose the chief part of its power.

15. Merely natural morals, if taught thoroughly, must include the morals taught in the highest of all historical realities in morals — namely, the character of Christ as a man, and, therefore, the picture of the character of Christ, as contained in the New Testament literature, is not to be excluded from the public schools.

Let our schools have broad outlooks. The distinction between the secular and the sacred is important, but there is no history that is absolutely profane, there is no ethical truth that is not Divine. Behind the seen and tangible everywhere in nature lies the unseen and intangible; behind the natural, the supernatural. In all reality, there is a self-revelation of God. In Christ, the highest ethical reality known to established and incontrovertible history, there is the highest self-revelation of God. That revelation, so far forth as Christ is man, is a part of natural morals. Any system of instruction which shuts its eyes to this fact, shuts its eyes to reality. A book on architecture that should not mention the Parthenon, or one on painting that should say nothing of the Sistine Chapel, would be no more defective than is any book on purely natural morals without a definite account of the highest historical reality in morals — the character of Christ as a man and the ethics of the Gospels. Natural morals, if taught thoroughly, teach of course the highest attained moral ideals. The character of Christ, as exhibiting the highest ideal of morals actually attained among men, is the supreme illustration and contains the organizing principles of every scheme of natural morals that can be called thorough or scientific. No adequate picture of that character exists except in the New Testament. Natural morals, therefore, cannot be thoroughly taught when the Bible is excluded from the schools; and hence the state, in the exercise of its right of self-preservation, has authority to require that the Bible shall not be so excluded. [Applause.]

ROBERT ELSMERE'S SUCCESSOR.

CURFEW JESSELL: THE HISTORY OF A SOUL.

BY DR. JOSEPH PARKER, CITY TEMPLE, LONDON.

CHAPTER IX.

WHEN Mrs. Jessell and Curfew left the pleasant little house in which Mr. Upfield conducted his eccentric but elevating studies, Curfew was suddenly recalled by the maidservant on the plea that "Master wanted to speak to him." As Mrs. Jessell sauntered for a moment or two in the quiet street, a remarkable looking man fixed his eyes upon her and in a tone of the utmost civility said :—

"Madam, pardon me, can it be true? A voice replies, I hear it well, and sweetly says, 'true it is.'"

Mrs. Jessell was dumfounded by so whimsical a speaker, but in no degree alarmed, as the man was evidently innocent and as far as possible from being rude. When Curfew came up he said :—

"I wish you had seen him *now*. I may tell you that he empowers me to give away twenty new shillings every Saturday to poor people, and he has just been saying that he is going to increase the amount to five and twenty, and he wants me to find out five poor old women to whom a shilling a week will be welcome."

"But, my dear, how can *you* find them out? What do you know about poor old women?"

"Exactly," said Curfew, "that is so, of course. How stupid I am. Hallo, where's Doubletoe off to? Here he comes."

It was Mr. Doubletoe. The little man was evidently bent upon some serious purpose, but he stopped a moment. "Just going to a special meeting. I am requested to speak about Lucifer. You know, madam, he became Pharoah. The revelation is not despised. The centurion is dead"—

"Gracious heavens!"

"Yes, madam, he is dead. Pray say nothing to Mrs. Doubletoe as to having seen me. You will find that I have arranged a neat little sausage luncheon for you, just what you are so fond of, sir, with a nice little trifle beside for madam; all will be comfortable. To Mrs. Doubletoe say nothing."

"Why not, Mr. Doubletoe?"

"Because, madam, the revelation is despised in that quarter. Not that I find fault. Mrs. Doubletoe is cheerful, I admit; reads nothing but handbills; [conveying the impression that he himself was a great reader] very

cheerful, undoubtedly ; fond of animals ; but a mind quite blank about the dividing time, and doubts whether Ephraim was the eldest son."

"All right, Doubletoe, off to your meeting and enjoy yourself."

"Thank you, sir."

"My dear," said Mrs. Jessell in real earnest, "I am quite uncomfortable about you. I never knew there were so many lunatics in the world. However did you get to know them ? How do they make a living ? You cannot charge me with being narrow-minded, or caring much for such people as Mr. Bruce, but I really must say I am very uneasy about you. It is positively bewildering. In fact it is absolutely shocking."

"Poor old mother," said Curfew, lovingly hugging her arm, "you know nothing yet. I tell you again this is progress, this is leaving the days of humdrum far, far behind ; but keep a close mouth until you have seen Cuttlestone."

Mrs. Jessell sighed in a very motherly way and went on without making further comment. Curfew was not inclined to speak. Perhaps he began to look at things from his mother's point of view and to catch something of the absurdity of the whole position, anyway he was significantly silent.

"I wish we could often hear that clergyman," said Mrs. Jessell at length. "He is a wise man and a very great preacher, and he would do us good. There was no nonsense about him ; there was something in his looks that I call quite heavenly, and something very sad, too."

"Perhaps he is a fool out of the pulpit," said Curfew.

"Never," his mother replied. "No fool could disguise himself in that way. I think you can tell by the voice whether a man is a fool or not. What a grand voice it was ! Preaching like that would soon drive all these queer people into the church." After a moment's pause Mrs. Jessell continued : "What your poor father would think I cannot imagine. I never saw him in such a state as when Mr. Upfield was at our house. I am sure he behaved most civilly and kept up appearances admirably ; but I assure you he was like a man on the brink of insanity. At times I was quite unable to comfort him."

"Father is not a man of progress," Curfew replied. "He is an antique parishioner. He is an idolater of the parish church. You know why he called me Curfew. He knows every hammer in the belfry and every jackdaw on the tower. But how often must I tell you that this is the age of progress, and this" —

"Good gracious !" exclaimed Mrs. Jessell, "how are you, Mr. Bruce ?"

Fact. Mr. Bruce had come to town, either to see St. Paul's Churchyard, the Zoological Gardens, or something else. There he was ! To Mrs. Jessell he was most polite, but to Curfew, very dignified. Mr. Bruce had no sympathy with dramatists. To Mr. Bruce, Curfew was a play actor, in spirit if not in reality. A play actor ! Perhaps nothing would have induced Mr. Bruce to pronounce the awful words, but he knew and felt them to be true in this distressing case. Mr. Bruce might have entered into conversation with his amiable parishioner, and perhaps have explained the object of his

visit to London had not the little party been suddenly broken in upon by a stranger who directly addressing Mr. Bruce, said : —

"What is thyself which is not as thyself, but which is thyself to be as thyself?"

Mr. Bruce simply fled in dismay. Mrs. Jessell exclaimed in a vigorous whisper, "Curfew, that's the man who spoke to me; I forgot to tell you."

"Mr. Cuttlestone, this is my mother; mother, this is Mr. Cuttlestone."

"I knew it was your mother. Madam, you impressed me."

Octavius Cuttlestone was a remarkable man, simple in purpose, unstained in character, and self-sacrificingly devoted to the good of others. That he had but one eye was his misfortune rather than his fault. He was aware of his infirmity and by no means disinclined to comment upon it, evidently being of opinion that if he began the subject he would put other people at their ease and secure an obvious advantage over their impatience or curiosity, as the case might be. Cuttlestone was the friend of the poor, and the founder of a philosophy. After many years of hard pleading with the public in support of his new system, he determined to establish a school for very poor children over whose unsophisticated minds he hoped gradually to gain a teacher's happy influence. The public would not listen, but perhaps the children would. At all events he would lay some claim to their attention by generously caring for their bodily necessities. This was the real origin of that well-known but imperfectly-understood institution, "The Orphan's Refuge, founded to promote the neglected science of Triation." Nothing on earth would induce Cuttlestone to alter the final word. Even the president of the Balloon Society, an association patronized by many clergymen and supported by the generous contributions of quite a host of ladies, had pleaded with him in vain, a circumstance the more remarkable because Cuttlestone was indebted to the president for the useful suggestion that every umbrella has two ends and a middle. Cuttlestone admitted the new analysis of the umbrella, but the word triation he would never alter. By putting it prominently upon the prospectus he considered he was faithful to that ancient and highly-approved custom which is known amongst gentlemen of high principle as "nailing your colors to the mast." An indiscriminating and ruthless public might laugh such a word to scorn, but by carefully training the dependent young, Cuttlestone assured himself that he would live to see the day when every one would see the three attributes of Life, Soul, and Betterment, and would further see in the reciprocal harmony of the world the complete illustration of the mystery of triation. What could be clearer? What could be more beneficent? What more divine? Say that Cuttlestone was a monomaniac, what does that amount to? What is it but saying that he was a man of one idea? The members of the Balloon Society who pursued their ambitions under the genial name of the Aerial Vagabonds (no offense being intended) had indeed persuaded Cuttlestone to replace the word triation by the more self-explanatory term triadation, but the general public could perceive no difference, and would there-

fore make no friendly advances. Cuttlestone described himself as an Ideal Churchman who endeavored to see everything in the clear daylight of what he called transcendental poeticalism. This he considered gave him a distinct position in society and a lofty aim in life, besides affording his genius ample scope for the devising of diagrams and triads, which through the mystic medium of color would show that every idea is in fact in-triaded, or in other words is three ideas in one. To teach these great philosophies Mr. Cuttlestone founded the Orphan's Refuge, and to the credit of the Orphans it must be said that in return for good food and neat clothes they displayed more than ordinary zeal in the endeavor to comprehend the idealism of color.

Color was Cuttlestone's great subject, and by a copious rather than a judicious use of triplets he revealed himself to the unsophisticated Orphans. Putting the matter symbolically one might say — Color and Triplets equal to Cuttlestone. The crest of the Orphanage was, "A red Ego on a blue ground inclosed by a yellow circle," and the legend was, "The Violet Volunteer, for ever and ever, amen." Thus fortified, Cuttlestone saw no obstacles, and genially ignored all enemies. As to his readiness to explain the mystery of his system there could be no doubt. In this respect Mr. Cuttlestone was in very deed an evangelist. His gift of exposition was not equal to his desire to expound, but that is merely saying that he was a man of like passions with innumerable preachers. One thing, however, was certain, namely, that wherever the exposition was not understood, the failure was, in Mr. Cuttlestone's opinion, entirely due to the stupidity of the listener.

"Madam," said Mr. Cuttlestone, as the party walked towards the Orphanage, Curfew walking in front, "your son is a young man of ideas, as is shown by his interest in the Paradision or Temple of the Universe represented by the radiating compass; in fact, madam, I have made him one of the Radiationists of the sixteen transepts into which the temple is divided, and I have associated with him a Color, a Form, and a Number. All this must, I am sure, charm his mother."

"Oh Mr. Cuttlestone," that mother replied, "my head is all in a swim. Everything is spinning and whirling like mad."

"Quite so, madam," Cuttlestone generously answered. "So was my head until the happy moment when I got the key of the triads and saw my way through the inclosing symbols. Then my head began to settle a little, then I cracked the shell of my isolation, and composed a few verses which I shall have the honor of offering for your acceptance."

Curfew was not so far ahead that he could not hear what was said, nor was he other than impiously amused as he heard his loving mother exclaim, "Mercy on us, what would your father think, — and poor Mr. Bruce!"

Cuttlestone was not the man to trouble himself with interjections when his mind was fairly under the influence of the triads, or when he saw the sixteen transepts of the Paradision ablaze with color.

"Madam," said he, "your son has been by me appointed to the Violet transept, immediately opposite to Miss Pippleton whom I have assigned to the transept of Emerald Green. The young people form quite the outline of a picture which will be completed if I can persuade the rather impracticable Simcox to occupy the transept of the Ultramarine. I may say, madam, that Simcox is too much under the influence of a frivolous mother."

"Frivolous?"

"Yes, madam. More than frivolous. The mother of Simcox is partially dangerous. The mother of Simcox could be influenced by money. When I told her that our Symbol was a Note of Interrogation, she laughed a maniac's laugh."

"Dear me!"

"Painfully true, madam. The mother of Simcox is as inaccessible to the influence of Color and Form as to the inspiration of Number. The mother of Simcox is not a Receptionist."

At this point Curfew turned round and boldly said, "The mother of Simcox is a fool."

"Well," said Cuttlestone, whose gentle tongue could never use harsh expressions towards anybody, and least of all towards women, "perhaps we may say without offense that by some infirmity of nature, the mother of Simcox is unable to look at a statement comprehensionally, consider it sequentially, and express it scientifically. Simcox himself has a rudimentary notion of the sweep of the associative sequence, but he lacks encouragement at home."

Mrs. Jessell might possibly have gone into the Orphanage had not a gentleman been found on the doorstep who particularly wanted Mr. Cuttlestone to go to the other end of London with him to consult an eminent person who had taken some interest in Receptionism, and had even gone so far as to have a diagram painted to represent the complete scale of Color, Form, and Number. The waiting gentleman was the ex-president of the Balloon Society, a man with an eagle eye and a flat nose, whose soul burned with a desire to show all the world, even the meanest of mankind, how the patient universe could be triated without moving a muscle. Mr. Cuttlestone followed him with a light heart. The millennial sun warmed his shrinking frame, and the very stones under his feet were beautiful as flowers. To the excited imagination of the long-misunderstood philosopher the whole sky shone with new glory. His benevolence so expanded that he mentally added two wings and a third story to the Orphanage, and even to the mother of Simcox he turned one generous thought. Oh mother of Simcox, how glad you could have made the great philosopher! Could you but have seen, or even feigned to see, that Citrine meant Sociableness, and Oblong signified Attachment, you might have added years to the useful existence of Cuttlestone. But, mother of Simcox, you are a woman of hard heart, yours is a rebellious spirit. Every thought of your insignificant mind is a thought of vanity, but your destiny is the dust, and your honor is oblivion! Selfish are the hearts that do not exclaim, Away with the mother of Simcox!

Arrived at Curfew's lodgings, Mrs. Jessell desired to be left alone awhile, and having enjoyed half an hour's respite from the buzz of unknown words, she was glad to have an opportunity of speaking to Mrs. Doubletoe and hearing a little common sense.

"I quite agree with you, ma'am, it's all fudge and foolery, and I am sure if I was to worry about it I would be in my grave in a week."

"Your husband seems to be quite given up to those strange ways?"

"Yes, ma'am, so he is, no doubt." Then after a pause — "but Mr. Doubletoe is a poor bugatoo that can neither read nor write. Lor, ma'am, he ain't a bad meaning man, ain't Doubletoe, take him all the year round wet and dry, as one might say."

"Neither read nor write?"

"Neither, ma'am. The perspiration rolls out of his bald head when he writes a slateful of s's, and he comes to show me them when they are done, and is as pleased as a baby if there is not one upside down."

"Whatever can he want with so many s's?" Mrs. Jessell exclaimed.

"That's the point, ma'am; the very point. His great desire is to be able to write Shiloh, whatever that may mean; I hope there is no harm in it."

"Now, Mrs. Doubletoe, there is one question I want to ask you."

"Twenty, ma'am, so it pleases you."

"Very well. Do you think it is safe for my son to lodge in a house where there is so much nonsense talked? You know how young he is."

"Quite safe, ma'am; they get on well together; sometimes I say, 'Now, Doubletoe, I believe Mr. Jessell did some of those s's,' then he hitches up one shoulder, a little way he has when you catch him up on a sudden, and says, 'He did the big one in the middle, but I did all the rest.' Oh, yes, ma'am, quite safe; quite safe, I do assure you. Don't worry, dear."

That night Mr. Bruce was ill at ease. "A very surprising thing that I should meet both of them, and both of them in one and the same day. Bell and Jessell are both in London. What a wicked city is London! What a whirl and buzz I find in London! I cannot free Mrs. Jessell from blame. I am sure she encourages her son in his vain thoughts. And that extraordinary creature who so rudely addressed me! His appearance was most disreputable. I feel disgraced when such people speak to me. Yet I have no redress. They talk me down—they quite overpower me. I feel as if events were becoming too turbulent for my poor strength."

CHAPTER X.

Two years have elapsed since the events which have been recorded, during which Curfew passed through experiences which very much modified his views of life and chastened his buoyant and reckless spirit, chief amongst those experiences being the loss of his devoted and most admirable mother. Curfew was wearied out by the intellectual eccentricities and petty vanities

which had been dignified by the name of religion, and the more so that they were utterly useless to him in the supreme agony of his life. They had no comfort for him as he stood by his mother's bedside and communed with her in the silent eloquence of grief, and they allowed him to go alone to the grave in which he laid her precious remains. Nor were the dead words which Mrs. Oldbody ventured to speak in the hour of bereavement of any service to him in all the solitude and bitterness of his sorrow, words well enough and wise enough and probably-charged with hidden meaning, but as uttered by a worldly and narrow-minded woman, they robbed grief of its dignity and suffering of its spiritual purpose. Even the truest religion is impoverished by an inharmonious tone. Mary Butler had come the nearest to being a divinely-gifted comforter, and not the less so that her words were few, chosen by an instinctive delicacy, and whispered rather than declaimed. Mary seemed, indeed, rather to be comforting herself than comforting Curfew, hence she had all the advantage of that well-regulated indirectness which relieves the listener of the pain of replying, and covers under the form of soliloquy the very balm and blessing of friendship. The two years added ten to Curfew's life. But they developed unsuspected qualities, taking all the rashness out of his courage, and substituting for intellectual arrogance a childlike aspiration after God and truth and rest. It was under such circumstances that Curfew discovered that the clergyman whom his mother and he had accidentally listened to on the bright May morning in London was the Rev. Boston Bell. The fact that his mother had been so charmed by Mr. Bell's urgent and noble eloquence detracted nothing from Curfew's desire to make the acquaintance of that powerful preacher; this fact, too, brought his mother spiritually nearer, and seemed to make her one of their number as they entered upon high religious discourse. We must join their conversation where we are permitted to do so, assuming as we are left to do, that all due preliminaries have been complied with as between the interlocutors. One word, though, about Mr. Bell. He always struck me as a man who lived on a mountain-top, the windows of whose house were open night and day to catch the freshest wind and admit all the richest odors of summer. He was emphatically a healthy soul, buoyant, fearless, independent; a man who had fought a spiritual battle and won it, and longed to tell the secret of victory to every inexperienced soldier. His ardent heart had reached the point of rest. No old theological ready-made clothes did Boston Bell wear. He had his own deep knowledge of God, and his own wide-open way into the kingdom of heaven, and had by many an exhausting process become a trustee of great spiritual riches. And what did Boston Bell love more than to share with others the wealth he had honestly gained? He used to thank God that he was in the national church rather than in a distinctive sect, because, as he honestly supposed, he had greater liberty of thought and speech. "What sect would hold me?" he was wont to inquire in a half-mirthful, half-serious tone. "I should be tried for heterodoxy on the first day of every month, and be a weight on every brother's conscience all the year round,

so I am best in the national church, where the area is larger and the toleration less critical." Boston Bell had thought everything out for himself, hence he held his theology as an owner and never as a borrower, and kept it amongst his riches rather than amongst his lumber. All this will be made clear if you listen to a conversation which took place in his own study — that sweet quaint old room which looked upon an old-fashioned, tangled English garden of a genuine village type.

"I regard scientific theology," said Mr. Bell, "as the greatest enemy Christianity has ever had to contend with."

"Is theology ever reckoned a science?" Curfew inquired.

"Certainly. It has even been called the Queen of the Sciences. It is scheduled and tabulated and accurately distributed into parts and parcels, sections and sub-sections, and handled exactly as if it were a thing measurable and ponderable."

"What is theology, then, Mr. Bell?"

"To begin with, it is a very faulty word. Where do you find it? It is never used in either the Old Testament or the New. It is the most conceited of all words. It is to my mind a kind of verbal sin. We have a dozen ologies which can defend themselves well enough, but an ology of God is to my mind a shocking use of words."

"I never thought of that before, but as a matter of fact I never did see the word 'theology' in the Bible."

"It is not there, my boy. If people would speak of Bible things in Bible words, we should soon get rid of endless superstition, and tests and standards and turnstiles into the kingdom of God."

"Aye," said Curfew, "that is what I want to hear about. I want to know about the kingdom of God."

"All I know you shall know, Curfew, if you like. But what can any man know? Who can attach any definite or sufficient meaning to the one word 'GOD'? At the very first we are blinded by a great light, just as Saul was, and we know nothing except what we are told. We can never forget the light, though."

"Then where shall we begin, Mr. Bell?"

"Begin with the word *God*. In a very considerable sense every man must form his own conception of its meaning. To my mind *God* stands for Life, Personality, Fatherhood. Others think of God differently. My proof is not only in the Bible, which would be no proof at all to some minds, but in the Bible as illustrated by Nature and confirmed by Experience."

"But how can you prove that there is a God, Mr. Bell?"

"That never can be proved intellectually. Moreover, what is proof? What is sufficient proof? What is universal proof? I begin as the Bible begins, that is to say, I begin by assuming God, and then I go out into life, nature, history, and phenomena generally, and no assumption so fully and rationally comprehends and explains all the facts as the idea of the government of God set forth in the Bible."

"Suppose that should be denied?"

"Very good. It may be denied, but what does denial amount to? I deny that the sun shines, what then? We cannot begin any constructive work upon the bog of a denial. I never rest at the point of a denial, but I call upon the objector to take up a definite position; in other words, if we are to have a thorough consideration or discussion he must put his case affirmatively. Let us test the theories, not merely deny them."

"May I ask what you mean by the personality of God?"

"Certainly. The word is imperfect, as, indeed, all words are; yet we cannot do without it. I mean that God is not part of something else, not identical with nature, not a mere influence or energy, but a living, watching, governing, sympathetic, judicial Being. We have never carried our ideas of Being higher than *man*, so by trying to think of man infinite in holiness, wisdom, and power, we may begin, so to say, to *shape* God to the imagination."

"The whole thought is too much for me," said Curfew; "it overpowers me. It is like talking to thunder. It is like" —

"I don't wonder at you pausing for a simile," said Mr. Bell. "The fact is, it is like nothing but itself. We must get away from it if we would make practical use of it. Distance is essential to appreciation and enjoyment. God has always told men to stand back if they would commune with Him. No man can quench his thirst at the cataract of Niagara. A mile away he may drink in peace."

Curfew was silent, yet glad. For a moment he could hardly avoid contrasting this style of speech with the vapidities and absurdities which he had heard in other years, or contrasting his former self when he was audacious and vain-minded with his present self as chastened by affliction and loss. The valley of the shadow of death has often terminated in the sanctuary of reverence and in the temple of praise. We must not, however, deny the existence of the extraordinary speculations, theories, and absurdities through which Curfew has passed. They all exist, and they all clamor for a hearing. He is a wise teacher who recognizes their influence, and waits until some solemn event has tested their frivolity and worthlessness. Controversy is not the best test of theory. When the heart is breaking we shall see what it is that "abides" with us and gives us "bread." Curfew felt himself to be in the hands of a strong man — the stronger because so tender.

"Come back next week, Curfew," said Mr. Bell, "and we will talk about the Bible, and see what is our position in reference to it. Do you know I think the Bible is the worst used book in the world. It seldom gets a fair chance. It is misunderstood and misrepresented even by its friends. Would God, I could make others see it and love it as I do."

BOOK NOTICES.

HEARING ON THE SUNDAY REST BILL. Being the Stenographic Report of a Hearing (of both sides) on the Blair Sunday Rest Bill before the United States Senate's Committee on Education and Labor, December 13, 1888. New York: American Sabbath Union. 8vo, 149 pp. Cloth, 25 cts.

Of this remarkable symposium of arguments for and against the civil Sabbath, the last Congress printed 42,000 copies for free distribution, a larger number, as we are informed by an officer in the government printing office, than Congress has printed of any other document except the agricultural reports, exceeding even the most popular labor documents by twelve thousand copies. This remarkable issue was due to the unprecedented interest which was shown by the people in the proposed Sunday Rest Law. They kept a snow-storm of petitions and letters relating to this subject falling on the desks of Senators and Congressmen all through the recent session. One of the Senate's Committee on Printing, speaking of the popular interest in this matter, said, "It goes far beyond the tariff." An Illinois Senator replied to one of his constituents who asked a free copy of the hearing, "A million copies would not half supply the demand already created." Unfriendly Congressmen sought to belittle the meaning of the thousands of letters that came from every section of the country asking for the hearing by saying that the American Sabbath Union had prompted them to write. The Union simply informed the people that such a document had been printed and could probably be had by those who wanted it. The people are notoriously reluctant about writing letters, as every preacher and publisher and statistician knows, and only a real interest would have made the announcement effective.

The American Sabbath Union bought a thousand copies and has bound them in red and gold for college and other libraries. We subjoin from its pages some of the dialogues between Senator Blair (who showed himself matchless in cross-questioning) and the opponents of the bill, to show that they repeatedly admit the nation's right to make all that the friends of the Sunday Rest Law ask the nation to make, namely, a law of weekly rest with reference to the good of men — none of the petitioners having any desire that the law should enforce any religious observance of the day. The American Sabbath Union will circulate these admissions (with an address on "Liberty") at fifty cents per hundred as the best answer to the attacks of Saturdarians upon the Sunday Rest Bill.

ADMISSIONS OF THE OPPONENTS OF THE SUNDAY REST BILL.

JOHN B. WOLFF (representing the Secular Union). You have no right to interfere with the conscience of anybody.

Senator BLAIR. What if a man conscientiously believes in Mormonism ?

Mr. WOLFF. You have no right to interfere with his conscientious belief in any form of religion, even if it is devil worship.

Senator BLAIR. Have you any right to interfere with his practice if it be in conformity with his conscientious belief ?

Mr. WOLFF. If his practice impinges upon the convictions of the majority, the majority makes right in this country, whether moral or otherwise.

Senator BLAIR. How if the majority see fit to establish the Sabbath ?

Mr. WOLFF. He has to submit to inevitable necessity. . . .

Senator BLAIR. This right of individual conscience remains. Now we come to the condition of society and those regulations which are necessary in order that society may be preserved and improved and elevated. The majority, including the ecclesiastic whose reasons may be the same as those which influence the man who is for the civil Sabbath plus those which come from our relations to the Creator, ask for legislation. You say there may be legislation, and that you will assist in obtaining it.

Mr. WOLFF. Yes ; I am in favor of right legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it invalidate the right for this legislation that ecclesiastical denominations come here and add to all the reasons which you may give for it, the other and to them the stronger sanction of their belief that the Divine command requires it ?

Mr. WOLFF. The objection I make, in answer to your question, is that it is not merely an addition to my argument in favor of a secular period of rest established by law, but that it carries with it the ecclesiasticism, and that the argument is founded on the fact that the Sabbath is of God-origin specially instituted.

The CHAIRMAN. But these people come here and argue for the God-origin of the Sabbath. You concede that the legislation is for the public good, whether their reason be true or false. Is it fair to come here and discuss this bill, and urge against the bill, or some bill like it, the fact that reasons which you do not believe in can be given in its favor when you concede that there should be a Sabbath from your own stand-point ? Why reply to their argument ? Meet the bill.

Mr. WOLFF. In the first place, I have only conceded under the generic false system of society that this day of rest is useful.

Senator BLAIR. In matters of civil conduct the majority necessarily regulates and we have to obey, although the majority may be wrong.

Mr. WOLFF. Yes, sir ; it is majority power and you cannot maintain civil society in any other way. I will admit that. . . . It would be legitimate for you to set apart a day of rest ; you do set apart holidays where the people take recreation, are exempted from work and the performance of public duties, and that is just about as far as you have any right to go.

Rev. A. H. LEWIS, D. D. (Seventh-day Baptist). Mr. Chairman, I

rise for a word of personal explanation in regard to the "giving away" which my friend Dr. Johnson seemed to discover. The committee will remember that I distinctly said that if the running of a railroad train on Sunday were determined or shown to be detrimental to the interests of the Commonwealth I would not ask for that privilege. I did not agree that the running of a railroad train should be determined to be detrimental to the Commonwealth upon the ground that Sunday is a sacred day, for I do not believe that; but for me to ask the privilege of doing any business that was proven upon scientific grounds and grounds well understood to be detrimental to the general interest of the Commonwealth would be a sign of bigotry rather than of intelligence. I therefore do not say I would consent to this prohibition upon the ground that Sunday is a sacred day, but on the ground that it would be inimical to the best interests of the Commonwealth.

Senator BLAIR. Is not the fact that a particular thing is thus detrimental to the interests of the Commonwealth a demonstration that that thing is prohibited by the law of God, and, having a common origin, the will of God, as well as the just requirements of society for its own preservation?

Dr. LEWIS. True; but the facts of history, as well as the philosophy of our relation to God, show that the benefits of the Sabbath can only come as a Sabbath from God downward, not from the civil law upward, and the intervention of the civil law in the case of the seventh day would do as it has done in the history of the first day, desabbatize it, or rather prevent it from being considered as a sacred day. Since the Divine law alone is the standard of action and the ground of conscience in the matter of Sabbath-keeping, I insist that to talk of a civil Sabbath is a misnomer; but if careful investigation shall prove that the Commonwealth must protect itself against general injury by compelling men to rest (a thing which I did not even grant in my first reply, nor do I now), then the Commonwealth is at liberty thus to do.

Professor A. T. JONES (Seventh-day Adventist). The principle upon which we stand is that civil government is civil and has nothing to do with religious observances in any way in the matter of legislation. The basis of that is found in the words of Jesus Christ, in the twenty-second chapter of Matthew, twenty-first verse. When they asked whether it was lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not He replied: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." In this the Saviour certainly separated that which pertains to Cæsar from that which pertains to God. We are not to render to Cæsar that which pertains to God; we are not to render to God by Cæsar that which pertains to God.

Senator BLAIR. May not the thing due to Cæsar be due to God also?

Mr. JONES. No, sir. If that be so, then the Saviour did entangle Himself in his talk — the very thing which they wanted Him to do. That is what it says, that they wanted to entangle Him in his talk. If He has drawn the distinction He has between that which belongs to Cæsar and that which belongs to God and there are those things which belong to both, then he did entangle Himself in his talk.

Senator BLAIR. Is it not a requirement of God that we render to Cæsar that which is due to Cæsar ?

Mr. JONES. Yes.

Senator BLAIR. If Cæsar is society and the Sabbath is required for the good of society, does not God require us to establish the Sabbath for the good of society, and if society makes a law accordingly is it not binding ?

Mr. JONES. It is the good of society to be Christian ; it would be for the benefit of society.

Senator BLAIR. Do you not confuse this matter ? A thing may be required for the good of society, and for that very reason be in accordance with the will and the command of God. God uses his command for the good of society, does He not ? God does not give us commands that have no relation to the good of society.

Mr. JONES. His commands are for the good of man.

Senator BLAIR. Man is society ; it is made up of individual men.

Mr. JONES. But what He has issued to man for the good of men He has given those things which pertain solely to man's relationship to his God, and He has also given things which pertain to man's relationship to his fellow-men. Those things in which our duty pertains to our fellow-men civil government can have something to do with, and yet not as a duty to God. . . . Whenever any civil government attempts to enforce anything in regard to any one of the first four commandments it invades the prerogative of God and is to be disobeyed (I do not say resisted, but disobeyed). . . . The State in the legislation can never legislate properly in regard to any man's religious faith, or in relation to anything in the first four commandments of the Decalogue ; *but if in the exercise of his religious convictions under the first four commandments he invades the rights of his neighbor, then the civil government says that it is unlawful. Why ? Because it is irreligious or because it is immoral ? Not at all ; but because it is uncivil, and for that reason only.* [Italics ours. — ED.]

Senator BLAIR. Now apply that right to this case.

Mr. JONES. Yes ; to Mormondom.

Senator BLAIR. No ; to the institution of the Sabbath among men for the good of men.

Mr. JONES. Let us look at that point. Here are persons who are keeping Sunday, we will say. It is their right to work on every other day of the week but that. It is their right to work on that day if they want to. They are keeping that day. It is the Sabbath ; they recognize it as Sabbath. Very good. Now, then, when they are doing that all right, here are other people who are keeping Saturday, or we will say Friday. The Mohammedan recognizes Friday. Here are other people who keep Saturday, the seventh day, as the Sabbath. Those who keep Sunday, and who want legislation for that day, ask that other people shall be forbidden to work on Sunday because it disturbs their rest ; it disturbs their worship, etc., and they claim that their rights are not properly protected. Do they really believe that in principle ? Let us see. They will never admit — at any rate

I have never yet found one of them who would admit — that their work on Saturday disturbs the rest or the worship of the man who rests on Saturday. If their work on Saturday does not disturb the Sabbath rest of the man who keeps Saturday, then upon what principle is it that our work on Sunday disturbs their rest because they keep Sunday? I have never found one on that side yet who would admit the principle. If their work does not disturb our rest and our worship, our work cannot disturb their rest or their worship. More than this, in a Sunday convention held in California, in which I was present, there was a person who spoke on this very question. Said he, "There are some people, and a good many of them, in this State who do not believe in Sunday laws, and they keep Saturday as the Sabbath. But," said he, "the majority must rule. The vast majority of the people do keep Sunday, and their methods must be respected, and they have a right to enact it into a law." I rose and said, "Suppose the seventh-day people were in the majority, and they should go to the legislature and ask for a law to compel you to keep Saturday, out of respect to their rights, would you consider it right?" There was a murmur all over the house, "No."

Senator BLAIR. Upon what ground did they say "No"?

Mr. JONES. That is what I should like to know. There is no ground logically except the claim that the majority has the right to rule in matters of conscience.

Senator BLAIR. That does not follow; at least it does not strike me that it follows. The majority has a right to rule in what pertains to the regulation of society, and if Cæsar regulates society, then the majority has a right in this country to say what shall be rendered to Cæsar.

Mr. JONES. If nine hundred and ninety-nine people out of every thousand in the United States kept the seventh day, that is Saturday, and I deemed it my choice and right to keep Sunday, I would insist on it, and they would have no right to compel me to rest on Saturday.

Senator BLAIR. In other words, you take the ground that for the good of society, irrespective of the religious aspect of the question, society may not require abstinence from labor on the Sabbath if it disturbs others?

Mr. JONES. No, sir.

Senator BLAIR. You are logical all the way through that there shall be no Sabbath.

Mr. JONES. I deny the right of any civil government to make any law respecting anything that pertains to man's relationship to his God under the first four of the Ten Commandments.

Senator BLAIR. Then you assume that this bill and all Sunday laws concern only the relation of man to God and not the relation of men to each other?

Mr. JONES. That is the principle by which other things come in.

Senator BLAIR. Right there I found fault with your original proposition. You have got to establish, before you can defeat the ground of Sunday laws, that Sunday laws are not for the good of Cæsar, that is, not for the good of society.

Senator BLAIR. Now, if the Sabbath is necessarily for the general good of society, a republican form of government must make and enforce the observance of the Sabbath just as the theocracy did. You seem to be laboring, as it strikes me, under the impression that a civil government for the good of the people, carried on by us under the republican form, cannot do anything that the theocratic form of government does when the theocratic is the only form. They necessarily cover the same subject-matter, the control, the development of the good and the health of society, it makes no difference which one or the other it may be.

Mr. JONES. *The theocratic government is a government of God.*

Senator BLAIR. So are the powers that be ordained of God.

Mr. JONES. *This government is not a government of God.*

Senator BLAIR. Do you not consider the government of the United States as existing in accordance with the will of God ?

Mr. JONES. Yes ; but it is not a government of God. The government of God is a moral government. This is a civil government.

Senator BLAIR. A theocracy is a civil government and governs in civil affairs as well as in the region of spirituality and morality and religion.

Mr. JONES. Certainly ; and God governs it ; and nothing but a theocracy can enforce those things which pertain to man's relation to God under the first four commandments.

Senator BLAIR. But this proposed legislation is outside of the theocratic part of it.

Mr. JONES. This is the point I am making here, that if you allow this legislation you lead to the establishment of a new theocracy after the model of the papacy. That is the very point I am making, that civil government has nothing to do with religious things ; that theocratic governments only have to do with religious things, and if you start in this course of religious things you will end only in a theocracy again, that will be a man made one, and that is just the papacy over again.

Senator BLAIR. We have had the Sunday laws in this country for not exceeding 300 years. They have constantly become more and more liberalized. Have you ever known an instance, though the sentiment in favor of a Sabbath seems to be growing constantly stronger, where any State in this Union undertook to enact a law that anybody should go to church, which is the danger you seem to apprehend ?

Mr. JONES. Not yet. They are now after the first law. This will lead to that.

Senator BLAIR. Do you understand that it is the church or the state that is making this law ?

Mr. JONES. It is the state that is doing it, just as Constantine did, to satisfy the churches.

Senator BLAIR. It may or may not satisfy the churches. The churches give their reasons here, which may be right or wrong, for the establishment of the Sabbath, for this Sunday legislation in all the States. The state, the whole people, make the law. You say that the whole people shall not make a good law because the churches ask for it. . . .

Senator BLAIR. You would abolish any Sabbath in human practice which shall be in the form of law, unless the individual here and there sees fit to observe it ?

Mr. JONES. Certainly ; that is a matter between man and his God.

Senator BLAIR. I have been all through this that the working people go through. I have been hungry when a boy. The first thing I can remember about was being hungry. I know how the working people feel. I have tugged along through the week and been tired out Saturday night, and I have been where I would have been compelled to work until the next Monday morning if there had been no law against it. I would not have had any chance to get that twenty-four hours' rest if the Sunday law had not given it to me. It was a civil law under which I got it. The masses of the working people in this country would never get that twenty-four hours' rest, if there had not been a law of the land that gave it to us. There is that practical fact, and we are fighting with that state of things ; the tired and hungry man, woman, and child all over this country who wants a chance to lie down and rest for twenty-four hours out of the whole seven days. . . . Abolish the law of rest, take it away from the working people, and leave corporations, and employers, and saloon-keepers, and everybody at perfect liberty to destroy that twenty-four hours' of rest, and law-givers and law-makers will find out whether or not the people want it, and whether they want those law-makers. . . . Certainly the hard-working man needs rest, and the preachers, church-members, and millionaires may do as they please. The bill comes in here and says that the national government, taking part of the jurisdiction of the civil government of the States by a concession made by the States, by virtue of its control of interstate commerce, and the post-office business, and the army and navy, will take advantage of what the States have given to the general government in the way of jurisdiction and introduce practices which destroy the Sabbath in the States. To prevent this is the object of this legislation. That is all that is undertaken here. *It is simply an act proposing to make efficient the Sunday-rest laws of the States and nothing else.* . . .

Senator BLAIR. There must be laws which prohibit immorality.

Mr. JONES. Immorality is itself a violation of the law of God, and civil government has no right to punish any man for a violation of the law of God as the law of God. . . .

REV. STEPHEN M. HASKEL (Seventh-day Adventist). We do not say that the United States government has no right to legislate in reference to certain days on which men may work, but we say that it has no right to legislate with a view to enforcing as a religious ordinance or religious observances certain days. There are certain days as fast days and thanksgiving days in regard to the observance of which we make no question, but enforcing a religious observance on individuals is the point to which we object.

There is room to add only some brief extracts from the other replies with which Senator Blair was reënforced.

WILBUR F. CRAFTS. The requirements of religion and the requirements of civil law sometimes coincide. For instance, both forbid murder and incest and thieving, and in most cases needless Sunday toil ; but it has been well said that while religion forbids these things as sins against God, the civil law forbids them as crimes against man.

Professor D. B. WILSON. I wish to say that when my brother, Mr. Jones, divides the Decalogue into four and six commandments and puts the fourth with the three first, a truer view of the Decalogue is that the fourth commandment is the key-stone of the arch, and that God and man meet together in the fourth commandment ; duties to God and duties to man meet together. If you construct the arch in that way you have it in a better view than to set the four to one side and the six to the other side. I also wish to say that the view that the Old Testament institutions were purely and simply a theocracy is not entirely correct. That subject has been fully examined. Moses was the head of the civil state ; Aaron was the head of the Jewish Church ; and there were kings and high priests. Their judges sat in the gates of the city and administered law. Their ecclesiastical laws and institutions were not mingled so that the king was the head of the church, and church and state were not united under the Old Testament dispensation.

Rev. GEORGE ELLIOTT. Of the Seventh-Day Baptists, so ably represented by Dr. Lewis, and the Jews, who I do not understand are asking anything of this committee either for or against the bill, [and the Seventh-Day Adventists] they were all at the last census but two sevenths of one per cent. of the entire population. . . .

It has been remarked by Dr. Lewis that there is no want of Sunday legislation. There is, indeed, no want of *state* legislation on the subject, except in some remote localities. Perhaps we would desire some amendments and improvements in the laws of many States, but there is an almost entire want of national legislation. The President of the United States has called your attention, in his recent message, to the recommendations of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, and the fact that the confused state of the Sunday laws in this very community, in which many of us live, require some action by Congress. I have hardly dared to speak it publicly, for fear that advantage might be taken of it by saloon men and others, but it is very uncertain whether we have any Sunday laws whatever, in this District, which can be relied upon to stand the test of judicial analysis.

Senator CALL. The law requires certain work to be performed on Sunday, but it does not compel any man to do it who is conscientiously opposed to working on that day. You say the state is trifling with the conscience of the church. How does it do so ?

Mr. ELLIOTT. You make it difficult for men to hold office. Of course you do not compel a man to work on Sunday ; he can resign his office.

Senator CALL. Suppose he could get somebody else to do the work who did not have conscientious scruples ?

Mr. ELLIOTT. The fact that he is compelled to put somebody else in his place would put him at a disadvantage. And a man of very delicate conscience would believe that what a man does by another he does by himself.

Senator BLAIR. Your position is, if I may epitomize it, that the postal and other government employees who do public work on the Sabbath, and the employees of railroad and other private corporations who perform work which is now done on the Sabbath, by the will of the employers of such laboring people, must choose between the violation of their conscience and the abandonment of their means of livelihood under the present customs and laws.

Dr. HERRICK JOHNSON. Dr. Lewis has given his whole case away in saying that he wants nothing that will interfere with the best interests of the community. It would be simply impossible to destroy the rest day and allow one person to take one rest day during the week, and another to take another, and conduct the public business. . . . If one of the Seventh-day Baptists should start west from Chicago to go around the world, always keeping each seventh successive day, when he got back to Chicago he would be keeping Friday instead of Saturday, as the Sabbath; and another Seventh-day Baptist who went the other way around the world would be keeping Sunday instead of Saturday for the Sabbath when he got back. That is what comes of making a fetish of the letter.

Rev. BYRON SUNDERLAND, D. D. The Christian Sabbath is the seventh day of the Christian week and comes directly under the fourth commandment of the Decalogue: "Six days shalt thou labor and do all thy work, but the seventh is the Sabbath of the Lord; in that thou shalt do no work: thou shalt rest."

Senator BLAIR. You claim that our Sunday is the seventh day?

Mr. SUNDERLAND. It is the seventh day of the Christian week.

Senator BLAIR. And therefore Dr. Lewis in observing the seventh day, should observe the day following that which he does observe?

Mr. SUNDERLAND. Certainly; he is back in old Jewish times. He is following the Jewish calendar to-day, with which we have nothing in the world to do.

Rev. C. R. HUNT. The men who are working for railroads fear that as soon as they quit their railroad work they will be unable to support their families, because railroading is their business; the only work they are accustomed to. So we see at once if they have a conscience against Sunday work and religious convictions against it, it is religious oppression to keep them in this employment. Yet those bodies of men who prefer the seventh day come here and cry out against all legislation, and say that we should not have a civil Sunday, because they do not agree with us as to that day. What are the relative numbers? We can see at once that the wage-workers will outnumber them by a great majority. The only test is whether their religious convictions are worth more than those of the wage-workers.

Rev. C. H. PAYNE, D. D. We claim that nothing but the protection of the law for a civil Sabbath can guard the rest day as a boon to the workman. Amid the exactions of capital, the greed of men, and the competition of business, the rest day must inevitably go and a working day be sub-

stituted for it, unless the angel of law stands at the gate of the Sabbath Eden with flaming sword in hand to keep away the spoiler.

MONTHLY DOCUMENTS OF THE AMERICAN SABBATH UNION. Rev. J. H. KNOWLES, General Secretary and Editor of Publications, 23 Park Row, N. Y.

There is no better or cheaper Sabbath literature than this series. Each month there is issued an eight-page document with a four-page "Extra." The January documents are on "Liberty and the Sabbath" and "The Sunday Rest Bill." The February documents are on "Sunday Mails, Sunday Parades, Sunday Trains" and "The Relation of Sunday Amusements to Sunday Work." Those of March are on "Sunday Newspapers" (Dr. Herrick Johnson's address on "Sunday Newspapers" reproduced from February "OUR DAY") and "What Next in the Fight for the Sabbath?" It is announced that the April document will be on "The Sabbath and the Foreign Population," by Professor C. E. Knox, D. D., of the German Presbyterian Seminary, Bloomfield, N. J. These documents are sent as a monthly to subscribers at 25 cents per year, and sold at \$1 per 100—the Extras separate at 25 cents per 100. In this connection it should be said that the author's royalty on "The Sabbath for Man," by Rev. Wilbur F. Crafts, has from the first been devoted to the promotion of Sabbath observance. He has now arranged that all the profits (beyond the mechanical cost of the printer's and binder's work), on copies ordered from the American Sabbath Union, shall go into its work. His support having been provided for, he has also devoted to this work all moneys that he may receive as royalties on his other books (list sent on application) and for articles, lectures, and sermons.

PROFIT SHARING between Employer and Employee. A Study in the Evolution of the Wages System. By NICHOLAS PAINE GILMAN. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1889. 8vo. Pp. 460.

This work is dedicated to the Hon. C. D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor, and is introduced to the public by his commendation, and by that of Prof. R. S. Ely and Pres. F. A. Walker. It is an impartial history of the numerous experiments in profit-sharing enterprises, at home and abroad. It is the first comprehensive and thorough book in the English language on the topic of industrial partnerships. We most heartily commend it to the attention of all students of labor reform.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLIES BY RAILWAY OFFICIALS—FIRST INSTALLMENT.

58. *What obstacle, if any, do you see to prevent the complete suspension of interstate Sunday trains (leaving out of account, as belonging to state jurisdiction, the question of local summer excursions)?*

Of sixty-four managers and other practical railroad officials whose replies are the first installment of answers to a series of questions, of which the above inquiry is the last, *twenty-five declare there is no real obstacle to the complete suspension of Sunday trains.* One would make exception only for perishable freight, another only for live stock, and several others only for these two kinds of trains. *All except eight admit that more Sunday work is done by railroads than is necessary,* and favor a reduction—most of them would stop more of the Sunday work than they would continue. Only seven deny the statement that the same amount of work that is now done in seven days could be done in six. Some think this would require either a slight increase of employees, or of their hours of work, or of increase of expenses, but most of these railway officials think such condensation would result in no loss either to the roads or to the public. Some are confident it would be a gain. Only seven deny the assertion of the engineers that the work would be done *better* in six days than in seven, because of the better condition of railroad employees. Of this seven, two believe it would be done as well, but think the “better” an overstrong statement. In short, nearly all these railway officials favor a great reduction, and thirty-one of them the total suspension of Sunday trains. — WILBUR F. CRAFTS.

“None.” C. K. Griggs, Supt. Danville & New River R. R. — “I see none.” N. Brettingham, Supervisor M. & G. R. R., and C. & Rome R. R. — “None whatever.” M. S. Henry, Gen. Man. Bentonville R. R. — Same. William Hassman, M. M. R. & A. R. R. — Same. W. T. Hubbell, Master Car Painter, C., H. V. & T. R. R. — Same. Geo. Tefft, Master Mechanic, Leb. Sp. R. R. — Same. A Supt. and Man. who wishes name withheld. — Same. A Chief Clerk. — “We run no Sunday trains whatever.” Fletcher D. Proctor, Supt. C. & R. R. — “We do not turn a wheel on the Sabbath, and believe if all other than perishable freight were held for the remaining six days of the week, that railroad interests would be promoted thereby. Shall watch with deep interest results following the recent order to the above effect on the Penn. R. R.” C. C. Woolworth, Pres. New York Central, Hudson River & Fort Orange R. R. — “Not any. A Sunday train is run on our road because a competing road runs trains — that is all. There is no need of it at all.” F. M. Dean,

Gen. Foreman Dak. Div. C. & N. W. R. R. — "None except the law of the United States requiring all railroads to do so [that is, for mails]." A Vice-Pres. and Gen. Man. — Same. J. H. Garside, Chief Clerk, A., T. & S. F. R. R. — "None at all, if exception were made for rare emergencies, and the general government would sanction the delay of the mails." A Div. Supt. — "No unsurmountable obstacle if suspension was enforced on all lines by law." C. H. Platt, Div. Supt., Hartford, Ct. — "There are many which could be overcome gradually in time." J. A. Spielmanns, Roadmaster, B. & O. R. R. — "None but what can be adjusted by the people or commerce if willing or required." J. Houston, Gen. Supt. P. O. & P. A. R. R. — "Nothing in the way but the habits and customs of the people. If all Sunday trains were suspended all business and travel would soon conform to it, and a very happy condition of things would be the result. Sabbath desecration is wrong, and evil results must come from it in many ways. I have had a railroad practice of forty-four years in almost every capacity, and so have had opportunity to judge closely of the effects of Sunday work upon men and railroad interests, and I believe Sunday work is a losing business. I have charge of a road that does no work on Sunday. It works well, and it will work everywhere." Norman Beckley, Gen. Man. Cin., Wab. & Mich. R. R. — "I cannot see anything to prevent. A few would get caught, but people would soon accept the situation." F. F. Bentley, Receiver, Syracuse & Baldwinsville R. R. — "I can't see any. It is custom that leads people to imagine that railroading is a necessity on Sunday." A Master Car Builder. — "Previous education would have to be overcome. Public opinion would have to be remodeled to some extent." Geo. W. Ogilvie, Supt. D. M. & N. W. R. R. — "Cannot see any obstacle except the public desire to travel and get their mail on Sunday." T. S. Nicholl, Pres. and Gen. Man. N. J. & C. R. R. — "None except the habit which has grown upon the nation. The boon to the laboring man on the railroad would be far greater than is generally realized." E. H. Mumford, Dist. Foreman, Leavenworth, Kans. — "The same shortsighted greed of immediate gain which is causing various other kinds of business to open on Sunday. But there is no worthy obstacle." E. K. Kane, Pres. B. L. & K. R. R. — "If you stop one branch stop all. Sunday excursions are, in most cases, frolicking, drinking, and boisterous, instead of real rest and recreation. Railroads and steamboats have no more right to run on Sunday than a farmer has to plow his field." J. R. Wadsworth, Gen. Supt. P. H. & N. W. R. R. — "There are some serious difficulties in the matter of the transportation of fruits and other perishable articles in extreme hot and extreme cold weather. [See OUR DAY, January, 1889, p. 86. — ED.] It is probable that some reduction in passenger service could also be made on Sundays by a concerted action. I strongly favor the Sunday rest so far as it is practicable to have it." J. Thomas, Supt. C. & P. Div. Penn. R. R. — "The only obstacle I can see is, that on long through lines in order to avoid laying over on Sunday, so large a portion of travelers would start on the same day that on three days the facilities would be overtaxed,

while on the other days they would be in excess of the requirements." [Very many of those who now travel on these "long through trains," do break their journey, stopping off for business or pleasure. If these through trains stopped for Sabbath rest at leading cities, those who wished being allowed to use the cars for their hotels, and so having no extra expense except the extra drafts on their lunch baskets, even the emigrants would find these stops physically and morally agreeable. — Ed.] L. W. Palmer, Supt. Providence, R. I. — "Shippers would so time the sending of their freight that it would require more help of every kind the first part of the week." W. H. Badger, Gen. Supt. R. H. & L. R. R. — "The railroads have revolutionized methods of transacting business to such an extent that trade, and commerce, and travel by these roads cannot be *entirely* suspended for one day." C. M. Hobbs, Gen. Pass. Agt., D. & R. G. R. R. — "Public necessity requires the running of at least one through mail and passenger train each way daily." C. A. Wright, Gen. Man. and Supt. Mineral Range R. R. — "I do not believe in the entire suspension of either freight or passenger business, but in running as few trains as reasonable — transcontinental, fruit and live stock to feeding points." A Div. Supt. — "I hardly think it would be thought best by the people at large to stop running suburban trains to cities, or through trains on Sundays. The roads could have extra men for this work." [No other day can take the place of the general rest day, as rest requires companionship. — Ed.] William Tinkham, Pres. Prov. & Sp. R. R. — "The difficulty is that the extent of our country makes land travel much like ocean travel. The stopping of an ocean steamer on Sundays at islands would be absurd, tending to vice and immorality. [That Sunday rest would demoralize passengers is a curious theory, but that Sunday work demoralizes many railway men and their families is not a theory but a well-attested fact. See OUR DAY, April, 1888, pp. 341, 342; also "Sabbath for Man," p. 294. — Ed.] "A remedy I would suggest, that no train should be permitted to start on Sunday after six A. M., or before five P. M., that did not have as a part of such train a through car that had started at least twelve hours before midnight, or unless it could reach destination before eight A. M." Railroad Officer. — "If an effort is made to reduce the Sunday traffic to a reasonable minimum, it will, I believe, be productive of better results than a movement to absolutely stop Sunday traffic." H. F. Whitcomb, Gen. Man. Mil., Lake Shore & W. R. R. — "The necessity for prompt delivery of the mails — the extra work that would come on the following Monday — the preachers must get to their congregations when they serve more than one place — it is contrary to republican ideas and the constitution [The constitution protects the President against Sunday work — why should not others who are under its jurisdiction have the same protection? — Ed.] — because the people have not demanded it yet." [Millions have, by petitions and letters to Congress. — Ed.] A Railroad Officer. — "None. I believe through traffic can be so arranged as to avoid loss or serious inconvenience. In fact, I believe in the Divine Law — 'Six days shalt thou

labor and do all thy work : but the seventh day is the Sabbath—in it thou shalt not do any work.' ” L. L. Lincoln, Supt., Portland, Me. — “I see no objection to stopping all trains on Sunday. I would not run a train even for religious purposes. I believe that was the stepping-stone from the good old way. One kind of Sunday work follows another. Let us slow up around the curves, or as a nation we shall go into the ditch.” L. D. Berry, Master Mechanic, Osceola, Ia.

To those answering “none” as to obstacles to complete suspension, add — John M. Robinson, Pres. of the R. & E. R. R. — John W. Gemmill, Supt. Stewartstown, Pa. R. R. — M. S. Marquis, Pres. New Castle, Pa. — F. M. Drake, Pres. of Indiana, Ill. & Iowa R. R. — D. W. Rogers, Pres. Renfroe, Ala. — James Glass, Master Mechanic and Engineer. — Wm. Semple, Allegheny, Pa., Pres. of Cleveland and Western R. R., would allow “through trains” only. Jas. H. Muir sees no obstacle to stopping all trains except “through live stock.” Bayard Cutting, New York railroad director, believes Congress has the power to stop every wheel for the twenty-four hours of the Sabbath and has “no doubt that the railroads could adapt themselves to the law,” although “the obstacles from the public’s point of view are many and obvious.” Robert Harris, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Northern Pacific R. R., favors “a general suspension of freight transportation and the restriction of through passenger trains to one each way.”

Other answers will be given in the May number of *OUR DAY*.

REPLY BY MR. COOK AT TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 25.

59. *What is the present state of the Andover case ?*

The Andover case is yet before the courts. Any reply to a public question concerning the somewhat complicated proceedings involved in it should be studiously courteous toward the eminent legal authorities who have the matter in charge. So much has been said of the case in the newspapers, however, that it would seem evasive and unmanly were no reply at all to be given here to a question of so great general as well as local interest and importance, and so often and emphatically urged upon the attention of this platform. I have taken extraordinary pains to collect trustworthy information, and have every reason to believe that the written statements I am now to present are accurate in every particular.

On June 4, 1887, the Board of Visitors in the Theological Seminary at Andover, after a full hearing, removed from office, by decree, Egbert C. Smyth, D. D., Brown Professor of Ecclesiastical History.

Prof. Smyth, availing himself of his legal privilege to do so, appealed to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts.

The grounds of Prof. Smyth’s appeal are not theological. They pertain largely to the form and method of conducting the trial, and are, for the most part, merely technical. For example, one of them is that a certain meeting of the Board of Visitors, at which they received and listened to the complainants, was not an annual visitorial meeting. Another is that the meeting of the Board of Visitors, at which Prof. Smyth was removed from

office, was held in Boston and not in Andover. A third ground is that under the statutes of the Seminary, Prof. Smyth could not be removed except for maintaining and inculcating, in the *lecture rooms* of the Seminary, doctrines antagonistic to the Creed, even though, beyond question, he had taught such doctrines in *his publications*. Prof. Smyth himself, in his defense, on his trial before the Visitors, repudiated this sort of defensive action as unworthy of an honest man, or of a trustworthy religious teacher. His language was this: "I would not draw any fine or artificial distinction between my utterances in the 'Review' and in the lecture room. No honest man, certainly no trustworthy religious teacher, can hold a double and mutually contradictory set of opinions, one for his pupils, another for his own privacy or for some other use. If I have taught in the 'Review' what is contrary to the Creed, I shall not plead that I have been more reserved or utterly silent in my lectures." ("The Andover Defence," p. 101.)

That Prof. Smyth intended that these words of his should be understood as an admission on his part that he abandoned the claim, already urged by his lawyers, that he was not responsible before the Visitors for what he had *published*, unless he had *taught* the same in *the lecture room*, clearly appears from the interpretation given to his words by one of the counsel of the complainants, who, in opening the case on his side, reverted to the claim of the appellant's counsel, that the statutes require the professors to teach sound doctrine *only* in the instruction *given in the Seminary*, and then, in the presence of the appellant and his counsel, without objection on their part, used these words: "From such sentiments it is refreshing to turn to the position of the respondent as explained by himself, for he repudiates them, as an honest man should and must. In his exceedingly able and scholarly defence, he met the questions in a frank and manly way, and did not attempt to skulk behind any cover which his counsel had set up for him; and I thank him for it. He avows his full belief in the Creed, as he interprets it, and admits that to publicly advocate doctrines repugnant to that Creed *anywhere*, or in *whatever manner*, would be a violation of his obligation. We do not concur either in his rule of interpretation, or in the soundness of his conclusions, but we *do* concede that, upon his admissions, the issue is fairly presented." ("The Andover Case," pp. 8, 9.)

But *now* Prof. Smyth takes this very position which he *then declared*, in solemn promise, he would *not* take, and which he also *declared* "no honest man, and especially no trustworthy religious teacher," could take, and *for* declaring which he had received without objection on his part the hearty praise of the counsel of the complainants.

On May 15, 1888, Dr. Eustis having died March 30 preceding, Prof. Smyth filed in court "additional causes of appeal." One of these is that the Rev. William T. Eustis, D. D., a member of the Board of Visitors at the time the appellant was removed from office, did, during the pending of the prosecution and before the final hearing, "form and repeatedly express to divers persons the opinion that the appellant was guilty of the matters charged against him;" also that Dr. Eustis, during, the same period, "held

communication with sundry persons interested and known to him to be interested in the promotion and maintenance of said prosecution," and "that he thereby allowed himself to be and was submitted to undue and improper influences." This serious charge against Dr. Eustis, who has now gone to his rest, is perhaps the only ground of appeal presented by Prof. Smyth which is not strictly technical.

Prof. Smyth, in response to an order of the court, in a communication dated November 23, 1888, charges that "Dr. Eustis held communication with the Rev. Edwards A. Park, D. D., LL. D., of Andover, and, as the appellant believes, also with Rev. J. W. Wellman, D. D., of Malden, and Rev. John M. Greene, D. D., of Lowell, . . . in such manner that he thereby allowed himself to be and was submitted to undue and improper influence." These three gentlemen have all testified under oath that they had no communication with Dr. Eustis during the period, and upon the subject-matter indicated in Prof. Smyth's charge. The legal investigation of this remarkable charge against Dr. Eustis is still in process before an able and impartial commissioner, appointed by the court, ex-Gov. George D. Robinson.

Somewhat more than a year ago a bill was filed in the Supreme Court against the Visitors obviously in aid of Prof. Smyth's appeal. This bill, in addition to the same points which had been raised by Prof. Smyth in his appeal, contained the further allegation that the whole visitorial system connected with the Seminary, and which had existed ever since its foundation, is unconstitutional and void.

But if the Trustees succeed in abolishing the Board of Visitors, they will also abolish the Andover Theological Seminary itself; for the founders intrusted their funds to the care of the Board of Trustees *only* upon the condition that they should accept *with* the funds the *constitution and statutes* provided by the founders themselves for their Seminary, and should strictly and faithfully conform to them in all the administration of their trust. But the constitution and statutes imperatively require that there shall be above the Trustees a self-perpetuating Board of Visitors; that these Visitors shall act "in the place and stead" of the founders, and shall have all needed power to see that the trust is administered by the trustees "agreeably to the true intent" of the founders, and to "effectually guard the same in all future time against all perversion or the smallest avoidance of our [the founders'] true design," as expressed in their statutes; and it is also provided that the Visitors shall be the authorized interpreters of the constitution and statutes. The statutes further require that, if the union of these two Boards of Visitors and Trustees shall, after an experiment of seven years, be permanently established, it "shall be established *upon visitorial principles*, to continue, as the sun and moon, forever." If, therefore, the Trustees succeed in abolishing the Board of Visitors, how can they longer hold in trust the funds which were committed to them *only* upon the condition that the administration of those funds should be under visitorial control?

The present attitude of the Trustees is also indicated by the fact that

they have ordered the Treasurer to refuse to pay the necessary expenses of the Visitors incurred in defending their authority, their rights, and their very existence as a Board in the Seminary, while the Trustees themselves have taken money from the Seminary funds to pay liberally the expenses of their own attack upon the visitorial system, which they had solemnly promised to maintain and support as a condition of receiving in trust those same funds. It is but fair to say that in this crusade against the Visitors, one of the Trustees has steadily refused to join.

In the mean time, in defiance of the visitorial decree removing Prof. Smyth from the Brown Professorship, and in defiance of an additional formal protest of the Board of Visitors against continuing him in that chair and paying him a salary, and apparently in violation of the constitution and statutes of the Seminary, the Trustees still continue Prof. Smyth in the Brown Professorship, pay him from the trust funds a salary, provide for him a house to live in, and even elect him President of the Seminary Faculty. Yet, according to the decision of the Supreme Court in the notable case of Prof. Murdock, if the decree of the Visitors of June 4, 1887, is sustained by the court, the payment of Prof. Smyth's salary should have ceased at that date. It will be seen, therefore, that all sums paid to him since that date have been paid illegally, unless the decree of the Visitors shall be set aside. Will any one contend that the payment of *trust money*, on such a risk, can be justified? There are many of all denominations and of no denomination who think that a very different course is dictated by mere business prudence and ordinary commercial honor.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

MANY hundreds of ministers of Massachusetts have voted for the following admirable resolutions of which the Rev. Dr. Dorchester is understood to be the writer. The resolutions were unanimously adopted by the mass meeting which convened in Tremont Temple, Monday, February 11, in the interest of the passage by the people of the prohibitory constitutional amendment and were afterwards on the same day unanimously adopted by a rising vote of from 2,000 to 3,000 people in the audience of the Boston Monday Lectureship : —

Resolved, 1. As an assemblage of clergymen of all denominations, representing 300,000 communicants, and 1,000,000 adherents of Christian churches in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, we gladly respond to the bugle call for a forward movement, in the action of our legislature, submitting to the popular vote an amendment to the State constitution, prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages.

2. That we express our gratitude to those members of the legislature who stood firmly to the vote for the amendment against the taunts and reproaches of its opposers.

3. That we appreciate the magnitude of the task devolved upon us in the campaign thus inaugurated, its grave responsibilities and arduous labors, presenting a field in which good men and women of all classes, political parties, and nationalities, sinking conflicting differences, should concentrate for the overthrow of the common enemy. We call upon the friends of temperance, in every locality, to institute lectures, to circulate literature, and to secure space in the newspapers for the advocacy of this measure.

4. That, after an experience of 250 years in this country, and several centuries more in England, it cannot now be pleaded that the license policy has not had a fair trial. After innumerable modifications, amendments, and revisions, after many revivals with fresh claims of "close restriction," "high license," "high taxation," etc., we recognize the same old sanction of society's greatest curse, the same old incompetency to reduce the evil, the same old folly of dalliance with the treacherous Delilah ; in short, the same old fallacy that has so fatally tantalized many generations. Even in the so-called "high-license" law of Pennsylvania, so highly commended of late, the effective features are not the high fees charged for license, which are only \$75, \$150, \$300, and the highest only \$500, but the prohibitory clauses inserted by radical members of the legislature, and without which

that law could not have been enacted. We believe that, amid the great advances of this now closing century, the time has fully come to put into the organic law a more radical policy in the treatment of this great evil, which shall outlaw it forever.

5. That, in advocating the policy of prohibiting the traffic in alcoholic beverages, we are proceeding upon an irrefragable basis of scientific, economic, and legal principles. Medical science and life insurance investigations have incontestibly demonstrated that, for alcoholic beverages, there is no legitimate place in healthy living organisms. Political economy has demonstrated that to the liquor traffic may be traced an untold amount of crime, poverty, and public taxation. And the highest civil jurisprudence, in formally uttered judgments, has again and again approved and vindicated the principle of prohibition.

6. That even though prohibition may not always and everywhere completely suppress the liquor traffic, nevertheless several things undeniably sustain the policy of prohibition : (1) Prohibition puts the Commonwealth in the right attitude toward a traffic which so fatally menaces its best interests. (2) In every prohibitory State, as can be demonstrated by government statistics, the number of liquor traffickers, and the *per capita* consumption of such beverages, is incalculably less than in the license States. (3) Prohibition more effectually embarrasses the saloon power than any other form of liquor policy. (4) Prohibition is the only policy that diminishes drunkenness, and the poverty and crime incident to the traffic in alcoholic beverages. Abundant testimony sustains this position. (5) While, in the large cities, the contest for prohibition is always a severe one, we should not forget that the smaller communities are also entitled to protection ; that even the license laws, in the large centres, exert no perceptible influence in restraining the evil, and are disregarded by the licensees with impunity ; that the alarming tendencies of the cities, in our times, call for more heroic treatment ; and that all good citizens should lend their aid in a grand effort for adopting and enforcing a more rigorous policy in these great centres which exert a controlling influence upon the national life.

7. That any proposition so broadly and vitally affecting society, in its physical, social, moral, economic, and commercial interests, as the suppression of the traffic in alcoholic beverages, involving so many questions of natural rights, should be referred for its ultimate decision to the verdict of the whole people, and thus be lifted above the accidents and fluctuations of partisan legislation.

8. That when that eminent American statesman, Hon. Lot M. Morrill, declares the drink traffic is " the giant crime of crimes against humanity ; " when Hon. W. E. Gladstone declares the evils it inflicts " are greater than the combined ravages of war, pestilence, and famine ; " when England's most eminent Chief-justice Coleridge declares, " I can keep no terms with this vice that fills our jails, that destroys the comfort of home and the peace of families, and debases and brutalizes the people ; " when the " London Times " declares it " baffles us, confounds us, shames and mocks us at every point —

it outwits alike the teacher, the man of business, the patriot, and the legislator — and that every other institution flounders in hopeless difficulties when compared with the saloon ;” when Hon. Richard Cobden declares that “every day’s experience tends more and more to confirm me in my opinion that the temperance cause lies at the foundation of all social and political reforms ;” and when Professor Huxley says, “Talk of political questions ! . . . the man who can see, I think, will observe that, in these times, there lies beneath all these questions the *great question*, whether that profligate misery which dogs the footsteps of modern civilization should be allowed to exist. . . . This is the great political question of the future” — when these weighty utterances from the most eminent men of our times, not known as temperance specialists, but practical scientists, statesmen, and civilians, thus lift the subject into a plane of the first magnitude and importance to society, who can doubt that the proposition to suppress the saloon is of sufficient consequence to deserve a recognition in the *organic law*, among the safeguards of the constitution of the State.

9. That in this contest we recognize an interesting and important feature of the best moral, social, and intellectual progress ; it is eminently *popular*, carrying a great question into the arena of public discussion, and necessitating the plowing, enriching, and sowing of the common soil of our citizenship with great political and reformatory principles ; and, therefore, as an educational measure, and a means of lifting public sentiment, it cannot fail to be of prime importance to the State.

10. That while the governments of Christendom are considering how, in their legislative functions, they can discriminate against the exportation of ardent spirits to native races, and Christian missionaries, amid the gloom of the Dark Continent, find the shadows they would dissipate deepened by the more direful, damning shadows of alcoholism, projected from Christian lands, we joyfully hail this proposed constitutional amendment as the means of ridding the old Bay State of her terrible complicity in this monstrous crime against the native races. We are glad of the opportunity it affords to effectively correct this gross anachronism of the nineteenth century — a professedly Christian State sending to barbarous tribes, and often in the same vessel, the gospel and the most deadly enemy of the gospel, the greatest boon and the greatest bane of Christian civilization.

11. Deeply impressed with the need of the Divine blessing, we earnestly implore the aid of Almighty God, and ask the ministers of the gospel in their public prayers, and all good people in social religious services, in family devotions, and in their closets, to earnestly plead with God for his blessing upon this great movement.

| | |
|--------------------|--------------|
| DANIEL DORCHESTER, | } Committee. |
| A. H. PLUMB, | |
| D. GREGG, | |
| E. H. CAPEN, | |
| ALVAN HOVEY, | |

THE Congregational ministers meeting in Boston, March 4, at a crowded session, adopted, with only two dissenting votes, the following highly significant resolutions, presented by a committee of which the Rev. Dr. Mears of Worcester was chairman.

Whereas, After forty years of legislation relating to the liquor traffic, with various reverses and successes, there is presented to the people of the Commonwealth a proposition by the law-makers, under a constitution, to embody in the state constitution a provision that shall lift the question of the destructive liquor traffic a long remove from the reach of party or sect ;

And *Whereas*, Two successive legislatures have upon their oath declared the expediency of constitutional prohibition, the question has been thus invested with a dignity and solemnity which admits of neither cavil nor silence ;

And *Whereas*, The importance of this measure has been intensified by the fact that, during the past ten years under the so-called "regulation of the traffic," the increase of commitments to our prisons for drunkenness is 125 per cent. ; that our jails are not large enough to accommodate the prisoners assigned to them on account of this terrible curse — four fifths of the whole number being for drunkenness ; over against the fact that, wherever the trial of prohibition has been tested in other States, the result has been successful beyond controversy, therefore ;

Resolved, 1, That the proposed amendment to the constitution, while aiming no blow at any honest industry, or against medical practice, or compounding or dispensing, by druggist or pharmacist, provides such an absolute inhibition of the saloon, and the manufacture and sale of intoxicants as a beverage, as commends the amendment as worthy of our most zealous support in every effective method.

2. That the outlawry of the saloon and dram shop being the high purpose of the amendment, patriotism and religion alike demand that the principle become incorporated and imbedded in the bulwarks of the constitution, to insure stable legislation, clad in the armor of state sovereignty, by a majority vote, and in a new covenant of mutual and sacred obligations.

3. That, in our judgment, the Congregational Churches, borrowing from their traditions, and on a theatre of grand opportunities for the lessening of human misery and crime and the promotion of morality, hold neutrality to be derogatory to the ministerial office, and must count those who are not for the amendment as against it, and indirectly coöperating with the enemies of religion and the State.

4. That the religious press forfeits its claim to leadership, and waives its prerogatives as a co-teacher with the pulpit, by an avowal of neutrality in this momentous crisis. Such a course awakens distrust and is the occasion of deep sorrow, and invites brotherly but earnest expostulation on the part of the Congregational ministry of the commonwealth.

5. That, in the judgment of this body, pastors should prayerfully inquire if it be not their duty to urge the importance of this amendment from their

pulpits, in the secular press, at mass meetings called for the purpose, as opportunity offers, and to use their influence in all legitimate ways to arouse public sentiment in its favor and to insure its success at the polls.

6. That we will use our best endeavors to secure collections in our churches to aid in this campaign.

THE municipal woman suffrage bill was defeated in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, March 12. The vote, including 12 pairs, was yeas, 90, nays, 139; 11 not voting. This was the largest affirmative vote ever given for the measure in Massachusetts. In 1888 it received, pairs included, 50 yeas and 121 nays. In 1887 it received, pairs included, 86 yeas and 122 nays, the largest affirmative vote ever given for it until the present year. Of the 90 affirmative votes and pairs this year, 82 were Republicans, 7 Democrats, and 1 Independent. Although not a majority, the weight of character, talent, and experience was overwhelming in favor of the bill, as is shown by the fact that the chairmen of 30 of the house committees out of a total of 41 were recorded in its favor.

The probable effect of woman's municipal suffrage in Massachusetts is outlined in the following highly suggestive paragraphs from the "Woman's Journal" of Boston:—

We have often been told that whenever any considerable body of women voted the right would be extended, and, eventually, this will probably prove true. In the present case the large increase in the Massachusetts School Committee vote last December does not seem to have materially increased our Republican supporters in the legislature, while it undoubtedly solidified the Democratic opponents. It should be remembered, however, that the present legislature was nominated and elected before the Boston election took place, March 16.

Good municipal government can be had only by putting control into the hands of the intelligent and enlightened portion of society. The most intelligent and enlightened class of our citizens are, as a rule, the men and women of American birth who have been educated in our common schools. The problem is how to give to this better element its fullest legitimate control without doing injustice to our naturalized citizens. This can be done by extending municipal suffrage to women who can read and write, as is shown by the following facts and figures:—

1. There are in Massachusetts 574,390 women over twenty years old who can read and write; 401,365 of these are Americans, and only 173,025, of foreign birth. (See Massachusetts Census of 1885.) Only citizens who can read and write can become voters. Therefore municipal woman suffrage in Massachusetts will give 228,340 additional American majority. Practi-

cally it will give a much larger American majority than this at first (probably 250,000), because very few unmarried women of foreign birth are naturalized.

2. There are in Boston 118,036 women over twenty years of age who can read and write ; 68,020 of these are Americans ; 50,016 are of foreign birth. (See Massachusetts Census of 1885.) Municipal woman suffrage in the city of Boston, therefore, will give 18,004 American majority of women voters. Adding to this for the unmarried women of foreign birth not yet naturalized will give at least 25,000 American majority in Boston.

3. There are, in all our cities and towns, more Protestant women than Roman Catholic women ; more American women than foreign women ; therefore municipal woman suffrage will strengthen that element which is Protestant and American. This is partly due to the fact that in emigrations from the old country men are apt to preponderate. The American adult male population, on the other hand, is greatly diminished by emigration to the West and South, leaving behind them in this State 40,000 American women who have no male representatives. These "surplus" women may all become voters ; they are graduates of our schools, members of our churches, and readers of our newspapers.

These facts and figures may account in part for the almost solid opposition to woman suffrage by Catholics and foreigners, dominated by the saloons. Last year the woman's license suffrage bill was defeated in the Massachusetts Senate by one vote. On party lines it stood as follows :—

FOR WOMAN'S LICENSE SUFFRAGE.

| | |
|-----------------------|-------|
| Republicans | 19 |
| Democrats | 0 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 19 |

AGAINST WOMAN'S LICENSE SUFFRAGE.

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Republicans | 11 |
| Democrats | 10 |
| | (All the Democratic senators.) |

In the House the woman's license suffrage bill was substituted for the adverse report of the committee by a vote, including pairs, of 123 to 100, as follows :—

FOR WOMAN'S LICENSE SUFFRAGE.

| | |
|-----------------------|-------|
| Republicans | 115 |
| Democrats | 8 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 123 |

AGAINST WOMAN'S LICENSE SUFFRAGE.

| | |
|-----------------------|-------|
| Republicans | 89 |
| Democrats | 61 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 100 |

The election of Mayor Hart and a non-partisan reformed city government last December by the better elements of both parties was largely due to the interest and enthusiasm shown by the women voters for school committee. More than 20,000 women registered, and of these, in spite of the worst northeast storm of the winter, 19,490 voted. These women roused thousands of men to vote who are usually conspicuous by their absence from the polls. Mayor O'Brien received 3,000 more votes than elected him the previous year; but the Republicans and Citizens increased their vote, 7,000, and were a majority. At more than a hundred voting precincts volunteer committees of ladies stood all day at the polls distributing ballots. There was no smoking, no drunkenness, no profanity, no disorder, and in character and intelligence the women voters of both parties were far above the average of the male voters. Not a single "bad" woman is known to have voted. Not a single act of discourtesy is reported. Everywhere unexampled good temper and good order prevailed. This shows that women will vote when allowed to do so on questions of public importance.

In Massachusetts women constitute nearly three fourths of our church-members and less than one fifth of our criminals. That tells the whole story. Their admission to the municipal suffrage will do for the better elements of society, in every town and city of our State, what it did in Boston at the last city election.

ALTHOUGH Congress has adjourned, the work of circulating petitions for the Sunday Rest Law should not cease. Two versions of this law are given as a basis for wholesome discussion in churches, colleges, and labor organizations, the results of which should be sent to Senator Blair at Washington for his consideration, as he will reintroduce the bill, with such changes as may seem to be wise, in the next Congress. In most cases the best form of petition will be one that asks for a Sabbath Rest Law, not for *the* "Sunday Rest Bill" in which most persons would wish *some* changes to be made, and so might refuse to sign though in favor of Sunday rest. The following is substantially the form of petition that has been used in most cases:—

To the United States Senate:— The undersigned organizations, and adult residents of the United States (twenty-one years of age or more), earnestly petition you to pass a bill forbidding, in the Government's Mail and Military Service, and in interstate commerce, and in the District of Columbia and the Territories, all Sunday traffic and work, except works of necessity and mercy, and such private work by those who religiously and regularly observe another day of the week by abstaining from work and business, as will neither interfere with the general rest nor with public worship.

This should be duplicated for "The United States House of Representatives." Signatures must be in the handwriting of the petitioners (not copies), and names should be preceded by Mr., Mrs., or Miss, the State and town whence petitions come being indicated at the top of the petition. In cases where organizations indorse the petition by vote, this fact should be stated, with number of members, place and date, and attesting signature of at least the presiding officer. During the interval of Congress, such petitions may be sent to the American Sabbath Union, 23 Park Row, New York. There are several new reasons for expecting favorable legislation in this matter at the next Congress, if the desire for it, as shown by petitions and letters, goes on unabated.

The World's Week of Prayer for the Sabbath begins the 7th of April. Its observance is recommended by the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the American Sabbath Union. This week has been increasingly observed for several years. It deserves universal recognition.

THE two chief charges against Sunday newspapers, Sunday trains, and Sunday saloons are too seldom emphasized. One of these is that these evils are, in most cases, not only sins against God and crimes against man, but also crimes against the civil laws. There are few railroads, few newspapers, few saloons, whose proprietors are not escaped convicts—in the sense that they have broken the civil laws and escaped the punishment. As Rev. Dr. Brand said in a recent address, "The chief fault of our people is not that we are a nation of Sabbath-breakers, but that we are a nation of law-breakers." The other charge is kindred to this, but applies to the public as well as to the proprietors,—the iniquity of allowing these rich and influential men to use the Sabbath for works of gain, while holding back the poor and obscure from an equal chance at the Saturday night's wages. We challenge any man to stand, with his Sunday newspaper in hand, and form an argument, consistent with his own practice, against any kind of Sunday work or Sunday amusement which he may there encounter; to show why lawyers and schoolmasters should not work on the Sabbath as well as

editors; carpenters as well as printers; shoe-dealers as well as newsdealers; the hucksters that cry cabbages as well as those that peddle the less wholesome Sunday newspapers; the carriers of cotton as well as the carriers of gossip; the amusement-venders who invite you to the theatre as well as those who thrust so-called "amusement" into your door in the shape of columns of crime and gaunt pages of "wants." The Sunday newspaper breaks down every gate of Sabbath rest, and the people who permit it by law or custom cannot fairly forbid any other form of Sunday work or Sunday amusement. Let the Law and Order Leagues that stop the Sunday sales of cigars and patent medicines and liquors call the attention of the rich proprietors of Sunday newspapers and Sunday trains to the fact that these too are crimes.

JOHN BRIGHT'S DEATH, March 27, is a deep bereavement to Americans as well as to Englishmen. He, of all public men in the United Kingdom, best understood the American Republic during our Civil War. "Every morning the journals of London," said he, "appear on the streets of Europe to curse the United States;" but he supported proudly and unflinchingly from the first the cause of the Union. Since the death of Wendell Phillips, John B. Gough, and Henry Ward Beecher, Mr. Bright has been unsurpassed in the English-speaking world as an orator, and has been equaled only by Mr. Gladstone. As a reformer of unfailing consistency, a tribune of the people, a champion of Christian principle in the greatest affairs of statesmanship, he has had no superior in the history of our times. The entire family of man owes honor to his memory.

ABSENTEEISM was the chief cause of the defeat of the constitutional prohibitory amendment in New Hampshire, March 12. Hardly more than half the voters came to the polls. If Massachusetts casts a full vote on April 22, we predict the victory of the prohibitory amendment.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. III. — MAY, 1889. — No. 17.

A NEW EPOCH IN JAPAN.

THE morning of New Japan brightens into day. Two and twenty years ago the dark pall of solid feudalism broke and in the dim dawn of modern progress the youthful Emperor was made to say that he would give his people a constitutional government. That promise has been kept steadily in view by both rulers and ruled. It has at last become a reality, amid the unbounded rejoicing of a united people. Other than the return of Count Inouye to the cabinet, nothing striking had occurred for some months except steady progress in all departments. Early in the year it began to be understood that we were on the eve of the proclamation of the constitution, and excitement began to rise. Eventually the 11th of February was fixed upon and announced, leaving a very small margin of only a few days in which preparations for the event could be made. The brief opportunity was well employed, however; and all Japan went into holiday attire, with splendid decorations, arches, and illuminations, in addition to the pageant of an Imperial progress and a grand review of troops. For days before the event the weather was very unsettled, and on the morning of the 11th the capital was covered with a white mantle of snow, the clouds still pouring down flakes as though there was nothing to do that day but to snow. By noon, however, the clouds gave place to sunshine, and the mantle of snow, upon the highways, became limitless

mud, and beside the roads along which the Imperial cortege was to pass, miles and miles of ankle-deep slush in which tens of thousands of men, women, and conspicuously the children of all the schools gathered and stood in the best of humor for hours, waiting until they could greet their sovereign, now coming perceptibly nearer to them.

The Emperor had been scarcely a month in his new palace. Conservatism won the day there, as the structure is still in the old Japanese style of building. It is an Imperial Sanctuary of the Shintō faith. The first event of the day was the entry of the Emperor into this sanctuary, where he swore the following oath to his Divine Ancestors : —

We, the Successor to the prosperous Throne of Our Predecessors, do humbly and solemnly swear to the Imperial Founder of Our House and to Our other Imperial Ancestors that, in pursuance of a great policy coextensive with the Heavens and with the Earth, We shall maintain and secure from decline the ancient form of government.

In consideration of the progressive tendency of the course of human affairs and in harmony with the advance of civilization, We deem it expedient, in order to give clearness and distinctness to the instructions bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial Ancestors, to establish fundamental laws formulated into express provisions of law, so that, on the one hand, Our Imperial posterity may possess an express guide for the course they are to follow, and that, on the other, Our subjects shall thereby be enabled to enjoy a wider range of action in giving Us their support, and that the observance of Our laws shall continue to the remotest ages of time. We will thereby to give greater firmness to the stability of Our country and to promote the welfare of all the people within the boundaries of Our dominions ; and We now establish the Imperial House Law and the Constitution. These Laws come to only an exposition of grand precepts for the conduct of the government bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial Ancestors. That we have been so fortunate in Our reign, in keeping with the tendency of the times, as to accomplish this work, We owe to the glorious Spirits of the Imperial Founder of Our House and of Our other Imperial Ancestors.

We now reverently make Our prayer to Them and to Our Illustrious Father, and implore the help of Their Sacred Spirits, and make to

Them solemn oath never at this time nor in the future to fail to be an example to Our subjects in the observance of the Laws hereby established.

May the Heavenly Spirits witness this Our solemn Oath.

After this, at exactly half past ten A. M., His Majesty entered the throne room, magnificent in its architectural proportions and decorations and resplendent with the varied uniforms of all the notabilities of the empire and the representatives of foreign governments. Around the open sides of the throne room, on the wide verandahs, stood those high in honor second only to those within, but among them — a sign of the times — were ten chosen representatives of the press. His Majesty, in a uniform such as European sovereigns wear, and carrying on his breast the Grand Cross of the Chrysanthemum and several foreign orders, took his seat on the gold and red throne under a canopy of straw-colored silk bearing the Imperial arms in purple embroidery and suspended from two slanting lances. A few moments later the Empress entered, seated herself near the throne, the princesses and ladies of the household standing near. Her Majesty and all the ladies wore foreign costumes either of white or pale yellow silk. The Emperor now rose and having bowed to the left, the front, and the right, read with dignity from a parchment the following speech: —

Whereas, We make it the joy and glory of Our heart to behold the prosperity of Our country, and the welfare of Our subjects, We do hereby, in virtue of the supreme power We inherit from Our Imperial Ancestors, promulgate the present immutable fundamental law, for the sake of Our present subjects and their descendants.

The Imperial Founder of Our House and Our other Imperial Ancestors, by the help and support of the forefathers of Our Subjects, laid the foundation of Our Empire upon a basis which is to last forever. That this brilliant achievement embellishes the annals of Our country, is due to the glorious virtues of Our Sacred Imperial Ancestors, and to the loyalty and bravery of Our subjects, their love of their country, and their public spirit. Considering that Our subjects are the descendants of the loyal and good subjects of Our Imperial Ancestors, We doubt not but that Our subjects will be guided by Our views, and will sympathize with all Our endeavors, and that, harmoniously coöperating together, they will share with Us Our hope of mak-

ing manifest the glory of Our country, both at home and abroad, and of securing forever the stability of the work bequeathed to Us by Our Imperial Ancestors.

Thereupon His Majesty presented the draft of the constitution to the Minister President of State, who received it with deep obeisance and returned to his place in front of the assembled cabinet and notables. The Emperor then retired, followed by the Empress, and thereupon the cannon of the Tokyo garrison and the ships of war in the harbor sent forth a salute of 101 guns, proclaiming that, first of all Orient states, Japan had been given the inestimable privilege of constitutional government. And was it an augury of good that just then the snow clouds scattered and sunshine cheered the waiting crowds?

At one o'clock the Imperial procession left the palace and wended its way slowly through the crowded streets to the parade ground at Aoyama, amid the cheers of a thankful populace and the songs of numberless school-children. A notable event that, not only for the splendor of equipages and the charm of the panorama, but from the fact that for the first time in the history of Japan the Emperor rode in the same carriage with the Empress. The entourage of the Court is still fossilized conservatism, and every advance towards a freer, newer life is hailed with joy by New Japan. The enthusiastic loyalty of the Japanese to their sovereign is an interesting study. Originally founded on the belief that he was Divine, nourished by the long unbroken line antedating all reliable Japanese history, it is no wonder that Japanese themselves can hardly analyze it and that it sometimes breaks out in the form of religious fanaticism. And thereby hangs the story of the one event which casts a shadow over these days of rejoicing. In the minds of Shintoists loyalty to the Imperial house is religion to the gods; disrespect to the gods or their sacred shrines is likewise disloyalty to the Emperor. The headquarters of this, one of the most ancient faiths in the world to-day, are in the town of Yamada in the province of Ise. The "two great Divine places" are here. One of these is the outer palace called the Geku dating from 478 of our era; the other, the Naiku or inner palace, three miles beyond, dates from 1892 years ago. Within this is hidden the original sacred mirror

said to have been forged out of metal from the heavenly mines and bestowed by the Sun-goddess herself on her adopted grandson, the founder of the Japanese Imperial dynasty. This place for nineteen centuries has been the Mecca of the most intensely devoted of the Japanese. A revival of this faith had much to do in overthrowing the Tokugawa usurpation and bringing about the last revolution, which however went much farther than the Shinto promoters had any conception of. True Shintoists are still where they always were; a slight to the thatch-roofed temples of plain wood containing the sacred emblems is an equal insult to the gods and to the reigning Emperor, and hence an indelible stain on Japan. Viscount Mori, Minister of State for Education, cared for none of these things, and on a visit to Ise tramped into the sacred place in his boots, a thing he would not have done in a neighbor's house, and irreverently lifted a sacred curtain with his cane. This rankled in the breasts of fanatical Shintoists, and one of them resolved on expiation. He chose the most striking moment for his deed of blood, for just as the doomed minister was leaving his residence, resplendent in his official uniform, to meet with his colleagues before the Emperor, the assassin's knife severed an artery in his abdomen, inflicting a wound from which he died the following day. This assassination must not be taken as an indication of the spirit of New Japan any more than that of Lincoln and Garfield can be taken as representative of American sentiment; but it does show that an intense religious faith still runs in a deep but silent groove, and it may be that some shining Christian mark will yet feel its power before it dies out.

But to return to the constitution. Let it ever be kept in mind that this is the capitulation of a peculiar despotism, a voluntary gift to an expectant people. The following is the preamble: —

Having, by virtue of the glories of Our Ancestors, ascended the throne of a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal; desiring to promote the welfare of, and to give development to, the moral and intellectual faculties of Our beloved subjects, the very same that have been favoured with the benevolent care and affectionate vigilance of Our Ancestors; and hoping to maintain the prosperity of the State, in

concert with Our people and with their support, We hereby promulgate, in pursuance of Our Imperial Rescript of the 14th day of the 10th month of the 14th year of Meiji, a fundamental law of State, to exhibit the principles by which We are to be guided in Our conduct, and to point out to what Our descendants and Our subjects and their descendants are forever to conform.

The rights of sovereignty of the State We have inherited from Our Ancestors, and We shall bequeath them to Our descendants. Neither We nor they shall in future fail to wield them, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution hereby granted.

We now declare to respect and protect the security of the rights and of the property of Our people, and to secure to them the complete enjoyment of the same, within the extent of the provisions of the present Constitution and of the law.

The Imperial Diet shall first be convoked for the 23d year of Meiji, and the time of its opening shall be the date when the present Constitution comes into force.

When in the future it may become necessary to amend any of the provisions of the present Constitution, We or Our successors shall assume the initiative right, and submit a project for the same to the Imperial Diet. The Imperial Diet shall pass its vote upon it, according to the conditions imposed by the present Constitution, and in no other-wise shall Our descendants or Our subjects be permitted to attempt any alteration thereof.

Our Ministers of State, on Our behalf, shall be held responsible for the carrying out of the present Constitution, and Our present and future subjects shall forever assume the duty of allegiance to the present Constitution.

[His Imperial Majesty's Sign-Manual.]

[Privy Seal.]

The 11th day of the 2d month of the 22d year of Meiji.
(Countersigned)

Count Kuroda Kiyotaka,

Minister President of State, etc.

The gift put into the hands of the Minister President of State consists of five fundamental laws, viz., "The Constitution of the Empire of Japan"; the "Imperial Ordinance concerning the House of Peers;" the "Law of the Houses;" the "Law of Election of Representatives;" and the "Law of Finance." The constitution proper, the first of these documents, contains

76 articles ; in all five there are 332. A general idea of this important legislation will probably satisfy the ordinary reader ; for fuller light we refer the student to the text itself which can be had in English translation. The first chapter naturally deals with the relation of the Emperor to the new order of things. As a matter of course also, the sacredness and inviolability of the Imperial title and the perpetuity of the throne are emphatically asserted. The wording of the document leaves nothing to be desired by the most fanatical Shintoist. The Emperor is "shinsei" (god-holy). The Shinto preacher can still stick to his purism in language and to his ancient theology as foundation for his worship of the throne ; but Young Japan insists that the word does no longer mean "divine" but simply "sacred" in the sense that his inviolable rights or precious things are "sacred" to an Anglo-Saxon. No doubt that will be the wide interpretation, while the fossil Shintoist will go on his way in peace with his old reading. Put it into Roman letters and the Divine drops out ; in the old ideograph the "god" stays intact, but like many another ideograph will be recognized only as a letter in spelling.

The Emperor is still the fountain of law, but hereafter he exercises these functions with the sanction of the Diet. Only in grave crises does he reserve the power to issue ordinances in place of laws ; these are, however, to be submitted to the next meeting of the Diet, and if disapproved they become invalid. The government consists of the Emperor and his chosen cabinet ministers. Through them he issues all ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws or for the maintenance of public peace and order. He controls the administration, appoints and dismisses officials and fixes their salaries. He also has supreme command of army and navy ; determines their organization and peace standing ; has the power to make war or peace or treaties ; confers titles of nobility, etc.

All this seems to leave, and does wisely leave, the supreme power in the hands of a select few ; but there remains the fact that the Emperor now is to rule with the assistance and consent of a parliament, and if the privilege thus given is wisely used by the newly enfranchised people the power reserved for the

Emperor may come to mean as much as and no more than the unwritten constitution of England, where "Her Majesty the Queen, with the advice and consent of her faithful Lords and Commons," announces laws which are wholly and only the voice of the people. In fact young Japan will tell you now that "the Emperor is, after all, only a figure-head."

Chapter II. deals with the rights and duties of the subject. Herein lies the treasure of the new inheritance. A Japanese subject is to be free to change his abode at will; he cannot be arrested, detained, tried, or punished except according to definite law; he cannot be deprived of his right to be tried by lawful judges; except in certain cases provided by law, his house cannot be entered or searched without his consent; within similar limits, his letters are inviolable; his right of property is sacred; he is similarly entitled to freedom of speech, of public meeting, and of association.

Article XXVIII. must be given entire as it marks a revolution in itself: "Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy *freedom of religion*." The limits of freedom of speech, of the press, and of public meeting are to be regulated by special laws as circumstances demand. Only those who have lived under a despotism can have any idea of what a new world is contained in the section referred to in the above paragraph indicating the larger rights of the subject.

The next chapter deals with "The Imperial Diet." There are two chambers, the House of Peers and the House of Representatives. The upper chamber consists of members of the Imperial family, princes and marquises, together with an elective portion of lesser noblemen and commoners. Counts, viscounts, and barons elect from their respective orders a number not exceeding one fifth of the members of each order. The commoners are elected by cities and prefectures, one from each, from among the highest taxpayers; the persons selected must afterwards have the approval of the Emperor. Finally His Majesty may nominate persons to a seat in the upper house for meritorious services or on account of exceptional erudition. Imperial nominees are life members, elected members sit for

seven years; the nominated and elected commoners together must never outnumber the nobles in the upper chamber.

The House of Representatives is to consist of three hundred members. Each candidate must be of the full age of thirty years; he must have been a taxpayer to the extent of fifteen yen annually for at least one year and have paid an income tax for at least three years. Certain officials and army and navy officers are ineligible.

The suffrage is conferred on persons twenty-five years of age who reside permanently in the place where they vote. They must have been one year in residence before the electoral list is made up, and they must have the same financial qualifications as candidates, as are above stated. Members are elected for four years; the term of the House is the same; there is to be one session annually of three months' duration, which time, however, may be shortened or lengthened, or an extraordinary session may be convoked. Besides its legislative functions the lower house deals with the budget, scrutinizes all financial matters, yet with such restrictions that the Imperial interests cannot be endangered by unwise precipitancy, and the government can be temporarily at least independent of a hostile diet.

The remaining three chapters deal with Ministers of State and Privy Council, the Judicature, and Finance. Judges are to be regularly appointed by law, and the machinery of the administration of justice is to be very much as in western lands.

On the whole, it is difficult to conceive of a constitution more adapted to the transition stage of Japanese history. It contains as much as a newly enfranchised people can safely handle until ripened by longer experience, and in it lie all the potentialities of desirable progress. It places Japan on a par constitutionally with some so-called Christian nations. Let them look to their laurels. The contents of the constitution were kept a profound secret until the day on which it was officially announced, so that the exuberant exhibitions of joy were made on faith of what was coming. But the result seems to have given general satisfaction.

The only thing now needed to complete the new era in Japanese history and to remove all hindrance to progress and good

fellowship, is a just revision of the treaties with foreign nations that will free the land from shameful and unnecessary swaddling clothes and let her go free. I believe there is hope of an early consummation of that long-expected and long-delayed action, when treaties shall be made with individual nations and not wholesale; when justice shall at last be done, opening the way for free intercourse of foreigners with Japanese on Japanese soil. Would to God that the church at home could fully appreciate and act on the full appreciation of this unique opportunity for Christian work and rise to the magnitude of the responsibility thereby entailed.

C. S. EBY.

Tokyo, Japan.

BERLIN ADDRESSES TO STUDENTS.

BY PROF. J. H. W. STUCKENBERG, D. D.

RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE STATE CHURCH IN GERMANY.

AN American Baptist minister once appealed to me to contradict false reports published in the United States respecting religious life in Germany. He had lived abroad long enough to learn that it was not uncommon for his countrymen to pass final judgment on what is deepest and most sacred, without waiting to learn the language, the history, the traditions, and the peculiar circumstances of the people they judged. German travelers in America treat our churches in the same way, and thus grossly unjust views of our religious life are spread in Germany. What is exceptional, and striking because exceptional, is apt to be reported as characteristic and therefore coloring the whole religious life. This injustice of nations towards one another has become so flagrant that earnest efforts to prevent it are urgently needed. The International Arbitration and Peace Association bases its hopes chiefly on securing correct reports respecting foreign affairs in the press of different countries. The press is thus recognized as largely responsible for peace or war; its false sensational reports inflame popular passion, and this carries the government farther than it would otherwise go. A liberal member of the German parliament has consulted me on the best means for transmitting correct news from one country to another. Lying abounds so now, that it is difficult to get reliable reports, particularly when national animosities are excited, and the abuse of a hated people becomes popular.

Most of all should religion be exempt from hasty and prejudiced judgment. The surface indications do not always reveal to a foreigner the secrets of the heart. Some may prefer to hide their religious convictions rather than to wear them on

their sleeve. Who does not know that the most demonstrative religion is by no means always the deepest and the most real? And is it not a piece of impertinence, not to say impudence, for a stranger to make himself, with his peculiar training and perhaps prejudiced views, the absolute standard to which all spirituality must conform? The man who makes truth the sole aim of his search will be careful to master a subject first and then attempt to criticise it. To himself more even than to the subject under consideration he owes it to be thorough and fair and true.

The inherent depth of religion, the difficulty of interpreting aright its springs, the different modes of its manifestations, owing to traditional, national, ecclesiastical, and individual peculiarities, are not the only things to be considered. Only as the product of the past can the present status of the religion of a country be understood. Religion is, as a rule, peculiarly conservative, each stage of development conceiving elements of all the preceding stages. In the study of religion in Germany another factor must be considered. Here historical development means more than in the New World, so that individual opinions and preferences are more readily subjected to what national processes have approved during long ages of trial.

Of the historical religious factors which have been especially potent in determining the present state of religion in Germany I can give only the barest outline. But even this will show how important is their bearing on present tendencies.

First in importance is the Reformation, with its opposition to Romanism, its emphasis on Scripture instead of the councils and traditions, the exaltation of Christ instead of the Virgin Mary and the Pope, and the proclamation of faith instead of formal works as the condition of salvation. The works of the reformers, particularly of Luther, and the various confessions of that period, are exerting a powerful influence on the German church to-day. The Reformation was intended to be recreative, restoring the doctrines and life of Scripture; but some treat it as creative, regarding it rather as an original fountain than as the reappearing of a stream that for a season had been lost in the earth. Such of course stop with the Reformation, instead

of making it a hand-board which points to original Christianity and a guide to the discovery and appropriation of the real treasure of the Christian religion. Some are so fascinated by Luther and his work that they look upon the Reformation as having finished what it only began ; they have anchored where they should have begun their journey.

All who are familiar with the Reformation know that this is an abuse of its principles. Like all periods of wonderful depth and wealth, its various elements did not continue to constitute an organism of thought and life, but they were rudely severed and were subjected to one-sided and very partial development. Parties were formed, each one of which appropriated some favorite treasure of the Reformation, circulated it, and treated it as all the wealth that was at that time restored to the church. The right of reason, the freedom of conscience, the duty of individual interpretation of Scripture, and the universal priesthood of believers had been proclaimed ; but at the same time certain doctrines had been formulated in creeds. These creeds naturally aimed at a clear statement of the points wherein the evangelical doctrines agreed with and differed from those of Rome. In the post-reformation period faith came to mean doctrine, doctrine became dogma, and this dogma was regarded as absolute and final. Thus at the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century we find prevalent a rigid, dead orthodoxy, making Protestant creeds as great fetters of individual faith and conscience and reason as ever the Romish church had made the decrees of councils and the teachings of the church. Those who opposed this as a Protestantism with the best Protestant elements omitted were mercilessly persecuted — just as in the Catholic Church. Mathematical doctrinal formulas took the place of living truth. So narrow were the limits that no two people could occupy them ; hence constant quarrels, each claiming that his standpoint was the only correct one.

Upon these disputes and dogmatic petrifications broke the Thirty Years' War in 1618. After its awful ravages and desolations, when populous districts were turned into a wilderness, and the dwellings of men became the abodes of ravenous beasts, the first prominent sign of a religious awakening appeared in

Pietism, with Spener as its leader. It was a revival similar in some respects to that of Methodism one hundred years later in England. The dogma was not rejected; but it sank in importance because the living word of Scripture received greater prominence than heretofore; the religious instruction of children was promoted; meetings were held for expounding the Bible; religious services in general were enlivened; the pulpit became more biblical and more popular; and where the acceptance of a dogma had formerly been emphasized, now the stress was laid on faith which works by love. One need but understand human nature in order to comprehend how easily sickly elements might take the place of healthy Pietism. By giving especial prominence to experience the intellectual elements of religion were in danger of being neglected, and the efforts to make the life conform strictly to the principles of the gospel in some instances degenerated into legalism. But in spite of this, Pietism must be regarded as one of the most important phases of religious development since the Reformation, and Spener justly deserves the title of a reformer.

Reactions belong to history and characterize whole nations as well as individual life. In the world's processes one extreme begets another. Thus human nature avenges itself for the injustice and insults to which it is subject. It looks as if there were too much in religion for any ordinary age to do it full justice; so each takes a part, and develops that to an extreme; and then comes another age, takes up the neglected part, and develops that into an extreme. Hence we find that an excessive dogmatism is followed by a pietism which develops into an extreme, and this again is followed by rationalism. The neglect of the rational elements in religion is followed by an exclusive intellectualism, just as we also find in the church history that a one-sided supernaturalism is followed by an equally one-sided naturalism.

Last century, especially the latter part, was the period for the prevalence of naturalism in France, of deism in England, and of rationalism in Germany. Rationalism made reason the sole arbiter in all religious problems. What the reason could not comprehend was simply rejected as unworthy of credence. Unfortunately, reason was not taken in that ideal sense according

to which all that is true must also be rational, though my limited faculties may not enable me to see the reason in the truth. But each one made his own fallible reason the test of truth; and often by reason was meant simply common sense. This sense some called vulgar, and it led to such vulgar consequences that the period itself is characterized as that of "vulgar" rationalism. Religion was reduced to morality; prosaic moral rules took the place of the sublime Christian ideals; in the pulpit, instruction in the most ordinary affairs banished the essential doctrines of the gospel; and this period of "enlightenment," as it was called, was far more intent on the secular and moral instruction of the people than on real spiritual enlightenment. The effort to rationalize Scripture led to the ignoring or actual rejection of what constitutes the essence of Christianity.

At the beginning of this century Schleiermacher is the most important factor in theology. In distinction from the prevalent cold intellectualism he defined religion as consisting essentially in the feeling of absolute dependence on God. The epoch which Schleiermacher makes in theology and religion is largely owing to this emphasis of feeling. He was too thoroughly intellectual himself to make religion exclusively emotional; but while making feeling the essence of religion, his whole life was devoted to the intellectual elaboration of the various departments of religious thought. In theory he separated theology from philosophy, but in reality he united them most intimately. His free criticism in many cases ended in negative results; but the central position he gave to the person of Christ has been of great constructive force in the theology of the century.

Among the most important historical factors since Schleiermacher is the Tuebingen school with its destructive criticism. It is commonly called biblical and historical criticism; but it would be more correct to call it philosophical criticism applied to Scripture and history; for it starts with speculative theories or with philosophical assumptions, and applies these, as absolute tests, to the teachings of the Bible and the facts of history. The influence of this school dates from 1835, when the "*Leben Jesu*" by Strauss appeared. In this book the gospel narrative was turned into mythology and an effort was made to destroy

the quickening power of the very life of Christ. No wonder that the deepest and most earnest Christian scholars were aroused to annihilate the theories and arguments which were intended to annihilate Christianity. Even in his own school Strauss met with opposition, because he did not go deep enough. How far his views are from being final is evident from the entire history of theology during the last fifty years.

Take Christ from the gospel, and what is left of Christianity? Christ must somehow be explained. The solitary position given to Him in the gospel must be accounted for; and this cannot be done on the supposition of imposture and fanaticism. Those who are unwilling to accept Him as the gospel represents Him therefore resorted to various theories to account for the person of Christ as described by the evangelists. The historical Jesus was regarded by the Tuebingen school as having made a deep impression on his disciples; but these disciples instead of giving a true historical account of Him are supposed to have idealized Him. Whether consciously or unconsciously, they are declared to have given a mythical instead of a historical account of Him. The central facts of the gospel are merely an embodiment of great ideas; thus the idea embodied in the accounts of Christ's resurrection is the doctrine of a life after death. The gospel thus teems with philosophical and religious notions in the form of historical facts. The picture given of Christ is drawn by the disciples and the Christ of the gospel is made a product of the disciples. Strauss revealed remarkable shrewdness in so handling Scripture as to make his assumptions and theories plausible.

The effect of this attack on the person of Christ was overwhelming. In some quarters the effect so stunned the people that a kind of paralysis seemed to have come upon the mind. But after the first shock scholars subjected the book of Strauss to the severest criticism and exposed its groundless assumptions and weak points. There are of course some who know only the work of Strauss, not the replies; and they think that the theories of the work have never been answered. They do not seem to know that Strauss himself found it advisable to modify his views.

I cannot stop to speak of the vast literature occasioned by the "Leben Jesu." That book became the centre of theological thought and discussion, and the most eminent theologians of the day wrote on the subject. Among the most searching reviews of the book is one by Julius Mueller; he places himself on the standpoint of the author and then proves this standpoint false. Those who think Strauss has not been met ought to read this review. Neander, Tholuck, Ullmann, Lange, Dorner, and in fact all the eminent theologians, found it incumbent on them to decide what their position should be respecting the points discussed by Strauss.

Christological problems thus became the centre of all theological thought. A mighty impulse was given to the critical study of the New Testament and the early history of the Christian church. Not only the testimony of the original disciples of Jesus was to be considered, but also that of Paul. An effort was made by the Tuebingen school to put the composition of the Gospels and Epistles as remote as possible from the times to which they refer. But a most significant fact is worthy of note: four Epistles are admitted by the negatively critical Tuebingen school to be the works of Paul himself, namely the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians — the very epistles which are so peculiarly rich in Christological thought. If these give us genuine Paulinism, what a basis they likewise give us for Christology!

All the historical factors mentioned still live and work in the German evangelical church to-day, such as the Reformation, the severe orthodoxy of the post-reformation period, pietism; rationalism has also left its impress on a large part of the church and its influence is felt in theological literature; and German theological thought is still affected by the philosophical, historical, and biblical criticism of the Tuebingen school. But these are not the only factors which live in the theological literature and religious agitations of the age. From the church itself have proceeded influences which have shaken it from centre to circumference, volcanic shocks. But influences from without have also affected the thought and life of the church. These are storms through which the church is obliged to pass. These

storms, these attacks from without, have been largely philosophical. Kant, Schelling, and Hegel have been used in the interest of rationalism, agnosticism, pantheism, and even atheism. Schopenhauer became a favorite with journalists; and many who are unfit for the earnest work of philosophic thought are found capable of sentimental pessimism.

But still more powerful than speculative philosophy is the influence of natural science. The wild speculation of former days has yielded to sensationalism and empiricism. Scientists ridiculed as fantastic the theories and methods of Schelling and Hegel. One extreme begat another. The effort of thought to get along without facts was followed by an attempt to get along with facts and without thought. The mind was treated as if it could step out of itself and lose itself in nature. Thus in the land of idealism materialism was made the explanation of the universe. Materialists opposed speculation; and they were innocent enough to think that materialism itself is something else than a speculative theory. This same innocence led them to make matter the seed of the universe without taking the trouble to define matter. It will always be a mystery to the intellect how science can limit itself to experiment and facts, and the laws of the facts, and at the same time can deal with principles which lie far beyond all facts, principles which account for facts and laws and must forever lie remote from all experiment and all empiricism. Science opposed philosophy, particularly metaphysics; and then science itself became metaphysical. This accounts for the fact that from the first scientists of Germany warnings have come lest science wander beyond its limits and become speculative or fantastical. Not from science within its own severe limits, but from the speculation of scientists have come the attacks against religion.

In a period of great intellectual activity, particularly when the mind is concentrated on criticism and on negation, the foundations of morals and religion are subjected to severe scrutiny. If new theories are advanced and new discoveries made, religious thought is apt to be confused; it cannot at once adapt itself to the enlarged views. It was so at the time of humanism in Italy, in the fifteenth century, and at the discoveries of Copernicus

and Galileo. The great intellectual crises in the past have served to confuse theological thought, but only to make it more fully conscious of itself and prepare it for new advances.

It is a characteristic of modern times that philosophy and science cannot be confined to the study, the laboratory, and the university. There is a constant tendency to popularize them. The massive thoughts of scholars are spread among the people; and they usually become thin in proportion as they are spread. The solid gold gets beaten; in proportion as its surface increases its thickness is sacrificed. Sometimes nothing but the infidelity or religious indifference of a scientist becomes the contagious element with the masses. What a pity that only diseases are contagious, not health?

Beside the attacks on religion which have a supposed philosophical or scientific basis, we must now reckon with another element; the opposition of the masses to the church. I need but mention the social democracy, which is so largely incorporated by an atheistical leaven.

From its own bosom, from intellectual systems other than theological, and from the masses come the enemies with which the church must contend. Its difficulties are enormous; and in view of them it is not surprising that its trials are great. In order to understand the German church we must know its history, must study the various elements which have helped to mould the church, must consider the peculiar relation of the church to the state, and must comprehend the influence exerted on religion by philosophy, science, modern culture, and by the movements among the masses. Such considerations will of course prove the worthlessness of all superficial and hasty judgments respecting religious life in Germany.

Where the church has a rich past and lives in a present full of agitations, we cannot expect its members to be the heirs of the entire historical development or to be equally alive to all the tendencies amid which they move. The mind is limited; and of the infinite variety presented to it only a part can be appropriated. By their capacities, tastes, circumstances, training, and calling, men are limited. No one can embody in his person all the historical developments of the past or all the ten-

dencies of the present. It is therefore natural that there should be different tendencies in the church itself, representing with different degrees of prominence factors which have wrought in the past or are mighty in the present. There are different schools in theology; various elements predominate in different pulpits; and in the religious life and Christian efforts stress is laid on different elements. Thus there is a Lutheranism which goes back to Luther and the Reformation for inspiration; there is a confessional tendency which emphasizes the confessions of the Reformation and the dogmatic writers of the post-reformation period; pietism still lives in many sermons as well as in literature; so rationalistic elements are found, modified by the influence of Schleiermacher; the critical element of the Tuebingen school is still affecting theological thought; the aversion created by excessive speculation is seen in the Ritschl school, which proposes to divorce theology from philosophy; the effect of scientific tendencies and of present culture is seen in the numerous efforts made to mediate between Christianity and modern thought; and the influence of socialism is seen in the emphasis on popular sermons, on a practical theology, on works of Christian benevolence, and on the return to the spirit and teachings and method of Christ in order to bring the church nearer the masses.

MR. GLADSTONE ON THE DEATH OF JOHN BRIGHT.

IN the session of the House of Commons, March 29, Mr. Gladstone spoke as follows, of the death of John Bright:—

Mr. Bright has been, to a very remarkable degree, happy in the moment of his removal from among us. He lived to see the triumph of almost every great cause to which he specially devoted his heart and mind. He has established a special claim to the admiration of those from whom he differed through his long political life by marked concurrence with them upon the prominent and dominant question of the hour. ["Hear! Hear!"] While he has in that way opened the minds and hearts of those with whom he differed to appreciation of his merits, he has lost nothing by that concord with them on the particular subject we so much represent. Though Mr. Bright came to be separated from the great bulk of the Liberals on the Irish question, on no single occasion has there been any word of disparagement. I acknowledge that I have not, through my whole political life, fully embraced the character of Mr. Bright and the value of that character to the country. I say this because it was at the particular epoch of the Crimean War that I came more to understand than before the position held by him and some of his friends and the hold they had laid upon the confidence of the people. I was one of those who did not agree with the particular views he took of the Crimean contest, but felt profoundly and never ceased to feel what must have been the moral elevation of men who, nurtured all their lives in the temple of popular approval, could at a moment's notice consent to part with the whole of that favor they enjoy, which opponents might think the very breath of their nostrils. ["Hear! Hear."] They accepted undoubted unpopularity, for that war commanded the enormous approval of the people. It was at that time that, although we had known much of Mr. Bright, we learned more. We had known of his great mental gifts, his courage, his consistency, and his splendid eloquence. We had not known how high was the moral tone of those popular leaders, and what splendid examples they could set their contemporaries.

Another circumstance of his career is better known to me than to any other person present. Everybody is aware that office had no attractions for him. But few can be aware what extra efforts were required to induce him to become a servant of the Crown. In the crisis of 1868, when the fate of the Irish Church hung in the balance, it was my duty to propose to Mr. Bright that he become a minister. I never undertook so difficult a task. From 11 o'clock at night until 1 o'clock in the morning we steadily debated the subject. It was only at the last moment that he found it possible to set

aside the repugnance he felt at doing anything that might in the eyes of any one, even of the more ignorant class of his countrymen, appear to detract in the slightest degree from that lofty independence of character which I have mentioned, and which never throughout his career was held in doubt.

It was a happy lot to unite so many attractive qualities. If I had to dwell upon them alone, I should present a dazzling picture to the world. It was a happier lot to teach moral lessons by simplicity, consistency, unflinching courage, and constancy of life, thus presenting a combination of qualities that carried us to a higher atmosphere. ["Hear! Hear!"] His sympathies were not strong only, but active; not sympathies awaiting calls to be made upon them, but sympathies of a man seeking objects upon which to bestow the inestimable advantages of eloquence and courage. In Ireland, when support of the Irish cause was rare; in India, when support of the native cause was rarer still; in America, at the time when Mr. Bright, foreseeing the ultimate issue of the great struggle of 1861, stood as the representative of an exceedingly small portion of the educated community of the country, although undoubtedly representing a large part of the national sentiment ["Hear! hear!"]; in all these cases Mr. Bright went far outside the necessities of his calling. Whatever touched him as a man of the great Anglo-Saxon race, whatever touched him as a subject, obtained, unasked, his sincere, earnest, and enthusiastic aid. ["Hear! Hear!"] All causes having his powerful advocacy made a distinct advance in the estimation of the world, and distinct progress toward triumphant success. Thus it has come about that he is entitled to a higher eulogy than is due to success. Of mere success, indeed, he was a conspicuous example. In intellect he might claim a most distinguished place. But his character lies deeper than intellect, deeper than eloquence, deeper than anything that can be described or that can be seen upon the surface. The supreme eulogy that is his due is that he elevated political life to the highest point — to a loftier standard than it had ever reached. He has bequeathed to his country a character that can not only be made a subject for admiration and gratitude, but — and I do not exaggerate when I say it — that can become an object of reverential contemplation. In the encomiums that come from every quarter there is not a note of dissonance. I do not know of any statesman of my time who had the happiness of receiving, on removal from this passing world, the honor of approval at once so enthusiastic, so universal, and so unbroken. ["Hear! Hear!"] Yet none could better dispense with the tributes of the moment, because the triumphs of his life were triumphs recorded in the advance of his country and of its people. His name is indelibly written in the annals of Time and on the hearts of the great and overspreading race to which he belonged, whose wide extension he rejoiced to see, and whose power and prominence he believed to be full of promise and glory for the best interests of mankind.

WERE THE APOSTLES CONVERTED BEFORE PENTECOST?

AN ADDRESS BY REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS, OF NEW YORK CITY.

THIS question is of more than speculative interest. It is of the highest spiritual importance, for it enwraps the practical question whether the grade of discipleship which we should expect to realize to-day is that described in the Gospels or that pictured in the Acts and Epistles. The question is not whether the apostles would have been saved if they had died before Pentecost, but whether *we* who live since Pentecost will be saved if we have no better experience than they had before that day. If you disagree with my conclusion as to the apostles, you will perhaps agree in the more practical inference in regard to ourselves, namely, that whether the apostles before Pentecost were unconverted or "imperfectly sanctified," it is inexcusable for any Christian to live on that level since Pentecost has inaugurated a new dispensation. If I shall make the apostles seem to you more human in their earlier ministry than they have seemed before, I shall also, I hope, make them seem all the more encouraging miracles of grace in their later spirituality.

For a favorable outlook in examining these questions, we go to the Mount of Transfiguration, where the three best apostles are seen at the highest point of experience to which they attained during Christ's visible ministry, and in a blaze of light that reveals their innermost being. Did they show there, and in the related scenes before and after, satisfactory evidences that they were converted men? It was after the Transfiguration, on Christ's last journey to Jerusalem, that He rebuked James and John for their unchristian proposal to call down fire from heaven on the Samaritan village which refused to entertain their Master. It was just before the Transfiguration that Christ said to Peter, "Get thee behind me, Satan; thou art a

stumbling-block unto me, for thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men." It was after the Transfiguration, at the Last Supper, that Jesus said to Peter, "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." The word here translated "converted" in the Old Version, "turned" in the Revised, is the same that Peter uses in his Pentecostal sermon when he calls on his hearers to "repent and turn" (Acts iii. 29). Does the New Testament support the meaning which an unprejudiced mind naturally receives from these passages, that even these best apostles were *not converted* while Christ was visible with them on earth? *Are there two distinct levels of discipleship in the New Testament*, divided suddenly, as by a precipice, by the Day of Pentecost? And does the lower level of the Gospels represent "imperfect sanctification" or imperfect conversion?

I champion neither of the two theological opinions of conversion and sanctification. Perhaps we shall find parts of both in the Bible — the two sides of one shield, varying names of the same experience.

Conversion begins in *conscience*, that faculty which has put the words "right" and "wrong" in every language, and "ought" and "ought not" in every heart — in conscience, the thermometer of motives, which tells, not what course is best, but what motive is best, and disapproves us if we do not follow it. The Holy Spirit, which is the "present Christ," "the light that lighteth every man, coming into the world," flashes down God's Law into the court-room of conscience, and the arraigned soul pleads guilty. That is "conviction," which simply means that one is convinced that he has sinned. This may or may not bring deep sorrow. "Godly sorrow" is the sorrow of the godly, who have acquired a sensibility to sin. It is not the Bible but the devil that bids men wait for "feeling." They are called to seek not sorrow but the Saviour. When there is no revival one says, "I cannot become a Christian now for I have no feeling;" and when there is a revival he says, "I cannot become a Christian now for I have too much feeling." Those are the two jaws of the Devil's trap for souls. "All the fitness God requireth is to *know* your need of Him."

When the Holy Spirit has vindicated God's law in the court-

room of conscience, He knocks at the next chamber of the soul, the throne-room, whose door-keeper is the *will*, a room which can be opened only from within. Not to Peter only but to every soul God gives the "keys" to his own inner kingdom — but no other — that he may admit to the throne of his being either the King of saints or the Prince of devils. The Devil can only say to the tempted will, "Cast thyself down." He can only persuade; he cannot push. Neither can God. "He that will, let him take the water of life freely." In this and other passages, conversion is represented as the reception of a proffered gift. How long does it take to receive a gift? Conversion must be "instantaneous" — the will's part at least — for every act of the will is necessarily instantaneous.

But when to Christ's "Open to me," a soul has responded, "I will," his conversion is not done, but only begun. Decision is only a part of conversion. It makes a man a *Christian in the will*, but he is not a *Christian at heart* until, in response to prayer, Christ has cleansed and refurnished the soiled apartments of the *affections*, so that he loves what God loves and hates what God hates. That is the meaning of Peter's binding and loosing, — terms which, in the well-defined symbolism of the Orient, mean forbidding and permitting, and so were a promise that when Christ should be enthroned in Peter's affections, what he forbade himself would be what Christ forbids, and what he permitted himself would be what Christ permits.

Conversion not only transforms the affections but also intensifies and illumines the *intellect*. The word "heart" in the Bible seldom, if ever, means the affections only. It means rather the whole mind, and so when David prays that "the meditations of his heart may be acceptable in God's sight," he is praying that his intellect as well as his affections may be converted. The New Testament assures us that in a complete conversion the Holy Spirit "brings into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."

Conversion, then, includes the conviction of conscience, the decision of the will, the transformation of the affections, the transfiguration of the intellect. Conversion means more in one

generation than another, as fullness in a pail means more than fullness in a cup. My real question is whether persons of to-day, who have no better experience than the apostles had before Pentecost, can be rightly considered as converted men. They had heard and heeded Christ's command, "Follow me," and were therefore at least *Christians in the will*. Were they also *Christians at heart*?

The specific point I wish to examine for its practical lessons is, whether before Pentecost the affections and intellectual faculties of the apostles give satisfactory evidence of conversion.

Let us first examine their intellectual faculties. As a physician can tell whether the stomach is sick or well by the tongue and pulse and face, so we may know whether the apostles were *Christians at heart* by looking at their perceptions, memories, and imaginations.

Are there any symptoms of heart-conversion in their *perceptions*? It requires but a moment's thought to recognize the fact that physical sight is the smallest part of perception. Most of it is behind the eye. The skilled sportsman sees game in forest and stream where others see only water and wood. When a man who was viewing a landscape painting said to the artist who stood by, "I don't see all that in nature," the significant answer was, "Don't you wish you could?" A woman to whom John B. Gough showed a very fine reproduction of a Madonna with uplifted finger, commanding silence, exclaimed, "Oh, how cute!" "You will find no poetry unless you bring some with you." You can see no more than you are. Many persons have no natural ear for music. The best that Dr. Johnson could say of it was, that "Of all noises music is the least disagreeable." When a lady said to General Grant, "General, I must sing for you," he answered with reluctant resignation, "Well, if you must, you must." "What shall it be?" "Something short." Those who lack musical perception may acquire it by musical culture. As real as musical perception is spiritual perception. The latter is never natural. It can be acquired only by heart conversion. "Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God." That does not mean, as many think, that a man cannot see heaven unless he

is converted. "The kingdom of God" and its equivalent, "the kingdom of Heaven," mean the kingship of Christ in the hearts of his people in both worlds, the kingdom of the heavenly-minded. As one who lacks a musical ear cannot perceive and enjoy the finer beauties of music, so a man whose heart has not been converted cannot see the deeper truths of the Bible. "God not only reveals to redeem, but also redeems to reveal." Character is the best commentary. Love and see. Christ's words to Nicodemus, turned about, declare, that if any man does not see the kingdom of God he cannot have been born again.

Did even the three best apostles prove their conversion by spiritual perceptions at the time of the Transfiguration, or at any period before Pentecost?

Time will allow us to test their color-blindness only on the one doctrine of Christ's deity. "That is quickly settled," you say, "for on the Sabbath preceding the Transfiguration, Peter made the great confession, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.'" But note how quickly he proved, by rebuking Christ when He proceeded to speak of the atonement, that, like Caiaphas, he had made that confession "not of himself," but by inspiration, like the prophets he afterwards described as "moved (like ships before the wind) by the Holy Spirit." Jesus said to Peter, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my father who is in heaven," that is, Peter had spoken by revelation, like many a prophet, what was far beyond his own understanding.

A similar explanation seems to be required for those earlier words of Peter: "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life, and we have believed and know that Thou art the Holy One of God;" for it was after both these great confessions that Jesus called Peter, not a Christian, but a stumbling-block who minded not the things of God but the things of men. Peter gave further proof of this lack of spiritual perception at the Transfiguration, where he showed how little he realized that Christ was the Son of God by almost falling asleep while Christ prayed. The almost closed eyes of the drowsy apostles picture their almost blindness to his true nature, and also to the great themes of which He there talked with God.

Peter's proposal to honor Moses and Elijah equally with Christ by building "three tabernacles" is yet another proof that he then counted his Master-Messiah as more like Moses than like God. You remind me in reply, that Peter called Jesus "Lord" when he spoke about the tabernacles. But the title "Lord" is commonly used in the Gospels not as an equivalent to the Old Testament Jehovah, but as the opposite of servant, meaning master, teacher, rabbi, sir.

It may be an old story to others, but to me it is a new discovery of my very last reading of the New Testament, that Pentecost inaugurated a sudden and radical change in the titles applied to Christ. In the Gospels, voices from heaven and hell speak of Christ as "the Son of God," and also as "Christ the Lord," and "Jesus Christ." He twice applied the last of these titles to himself. Pilate caught it up with no thought of its meaning. In the introduction to Matthew we find the title "Jesus Christ;" also in the introduction to Mark; and John says in his conclusion that his Gospel was written to prove "that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God." But it is to be remembered that the Gospels were written after Pentecost, before which the evangelists were neither inspired for writing or living. In the utterances of the apostles which are recorded as having been made before the Day of Pentecost, there are none in which He is called Jesus Christ, and only three in which He is called either "God" or "Son of God." One of these, by Peter, I have explained. In Nathanael, as he says, "Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God, Thou art the King of Israel," Jesus bids us "behold an Israelite indeed" — not a Christian. The two titles he gave to Christ both meant to him a temporal Messiah, as he subsequently proved. The words of Thomas, "My Lord and my God," as I shall show, meant the same to him. Nathanael and Thomas, as well as Peter, spoke better than they knew. These exceptions aside, it was the custom of the apostles before Pentecost, when they applied to Jesus any title at all, — and it is significant how often they spoke to Him or of Him without any title, — to call Him either "Jesus" or "Lord" in the sense of "Teacher" or "Master." Occasionally they called Him "Christ," usually without any accompan-

ing name or title. It was the habit of the apostles during Christ's visible ministry to speak of Him and to Him with no recognition of his Divine Sonship or his universal Lordship. This is not inconsistent with the words of Christ in his prayer for his disciples (John xvii. 8): "They believe that Thou didst send me." They believed that He was "a teacher sent from God," a prophet, a Messiah, but not yet did they realize that He was their God.

Pentecost made a radical and immediate change in the names applied to Christ. From that time it became the habit of the apostles not to speak of Christ without some title which crowned Him Lord of all. The Holy Spirit had given their mind's-eye the second touch, and they no longer saw the great Christian doctrines "as trees walking," but beheld all things clearly, especially that their ascended Master was "both Lord and Christ." After Pentecost, the apostles very seldom spoke of Christ by the single name, Jesus, and then only to put emphasis upon what that word represented, his humanity or atonement. When but one name is used it is usually Christ, which means not only Messiah but King. The usual title after Pentecost is, "Our Lord Jesus Christ," often shortened into "Lord Jesus" or "Jesus Christ." In the solitary instance where the title "Lord Jesus" is used before Pentecost, it doubtless meant no more than Our Master, Jesus (Acts i. 21).

"No man can call Jesus Lord (in the Divine sense) but by the Holy Spirit." The reason why some in these days disparage the Christ of the Epistles by raising as their banner, "the historic Christ," or "the Christ of the Gospels," may be that, like the apostles before Pentecost, they have not yet received the Holy Spirit in their hearts, are only Christians in the will, and so "cannot see the kingdom of God" in its spiritual fullness on the higher level this side of Pentecost, to which Luke pointed when he said of his Gospel that it was only the record of what "Jesus *began* to do and teach" (Acts i. 1): to which Jesus pointed when He said, "I have many things to say unto you but ye cannot bear them now; but when He, the Spirit of truth is come He shall guide you into all the truth." That is the Divine Magna Charta of the Epistles as the first and fullest

gospel. Their deepest truths can be perceived and enjoyed only by one who has in his heart the same Spirit that inspired them. It would be as rational to send your daughter for music lessons to the German chancellor, who prefers a hand-organ to an orchestra, as to send your son for Bible study to a German professor who prefers a beer-garden to a prayer-meeting. Spiritual perception is as essential in the one department as musical perception in the other. Let us note as our first point that the apostles proved their hearts unspiritual before Pentecost by their blindness to great spiritual truths, as clearly as they proved themselves converted after Pentecost by their clear spiritual vision.

Once more let the apostles be tested — this time in memory. The four great helps to memory are, (1) attention, (2) exercise, (3) understanding, (4) interest, or sympathy. A man is not likely to remember spiritual things unless he is "spiritually minded," that is, converted; for without spiritual perception, as I have shown, he cannot clearly understand them, and it is hard to memorize words in an unknown tongue. Interest is the greatest of all helps to memory. How easy it is to remember the last words of dying friends! Even old people seldom forget how much money they have, or who owes them. The young lady who cannot tell her sick mother the text of the sermon she has just heard, because she has "such a *bad* memory," will presently give her a catalogue of what a dozen people wore to church. When one is as much interested in the Bible as in fashion or politics or business, it will not be harder to remember a text or a promise than to give the particulars about a dry-goods window, or a political convention, or a day's bargain. It is hard to forget the substance of anything in which one has intense, supreme sympathy.

It will be an encouragement to some to know how "bad memories" were cured in the apostles, who habitually forgot the most important things in Christ's sermons.

We will test their memories only in connection with the one great doctrine of the atonement. On the Holy Mount, Jesus talked with Moses and Elijah of "his decease which He should accomplish at Jerusalem." The apostles either heard the con-

versation, or were told afterwards what it was about. That was but one of more than thirty times that Jesus foretold his atoning death. On the previous Sabbath He told the apostles that "he must suffer many things of the Scribes and Pharisees and he crucified and rise again the third day." It was in the same conversation, as Romanists claim, that Christ constituted Peter the first pope. If so, his very first act, was to show that he was not infallible by uttering a bull against the atonement—"Far be it from Thee, Lord." When a man is appointed pope he receives a new name, such as "Leo" or "Pius." So with Peter. After his utterance on the atonement, Jesus said to him, "Get thee behind me, *Satan*." Satan is also called a lion, that is, "Leo." Peter, then, was Leo I. Many times after that, Jesus described his atoning death, but the apostles forgot all He said on the subject, because they lacked the Holy Spirit, and so had neither the spiritual perception to understand it, nor the new heart of unselfishness to sympathize with it. When Christ was arrested in Gethsemane, his apostles were as amazed as if He had never foretold such an event; and when He hung on the cross not one of them recalled that he had often said that He was to be crucified; and on the third morning when all his friends should have gathered in Joseph's garden in confident faith to welcome him back from the grave, according to his promise, not a human being kept tryst with Him, and those who came a little later brought only spices to embalm his dead body. It has been said that his coming from the tomb was sadder than his coming to Bethlehem. There He met at least his mother's welcome, but not even his mother remembered his oft-repeated declaration that He would rise on the third day.

What cured those "bad memories" of Christ's disciples, and enabled them to recall not only the words and deeds of Christ, but also his very gestures and glances, as recorded in the Gospels, all of which were written later, out of their quickened memories? When the Holy Spirit at Pentecost converted their *hearts*, the Divine light flashed through and converted their memories, giving them full understanding of Christ's self-sacrifice, and sympathy with it, and so bringing to remembrance his every reference to it. This seed that had been lying on the sur-

face of their minds so long, when the Holy Spirit came down as showers that water the earth, took root in their new hearts, and redemption became thenceforth the one thing they could never forget.

The word "Saviour" is found but once in the Gospels as spoken by human voices, and those were not the voices of apostles. But after Pentecost, Peter's favorite name for his Master was, "Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ." Without a full conversion, of heart and intellect, as well as will, we can neither see Christ as our King, nor remember Him as our Saviour. We must accept Him as both to be saved.

Let us now test the apostles in the imagination, which a child has well defined as "looking at something you can't see." It is the very best detective of the heart, for it often runs away with it, breaking from the control of the will. One can control his imaginations to a large degree, by guiding his steps and guarding his eyes and ears. Whether you see flowers or mud in a mirror depends on how you hold it. Those who talk of "holding the mirror up to nature" usually mean *to nastiness*. Remember that imagination can build nothing, even in dreams of night, except from negatives taken by the eye. We can at least control this photography more than we do. But the imagination, oftener than any other mental faculty, steals away from the will, in company always in such cases with the heart. Watching its course in these involuntary rambles, one can tell what are his innermost preferences. Where your real treasure is there will your thoughts be in hours of leisure. Dreams of night, if of any significance, are unreadable hieroglyphics, but day-dreams are revelations of character. A little girl in a new dress wishes she could "stand on the other side of the street and see herself go by." You can do that by recalling your day-dreams. "A man is known by the company he keeps" — in hours of leisure. So the mind is known by the company it keeps in its day-dreams. *You are like what you like.* Hamlet made the murderer of his royal father see his evil self by having a company of actors picture his crime before his eyes — a king sleeping in an orchard — a courtier stealing up beside him and pouring poison in his ear. The murderer's face confessed in

red and white that it was a true picture of himself. Our day-dreams are dramas in which we can see our hearts, our strongest desires, our real character. What are your castles in Spain — palaces of lust and appetite, of luxurious selfishness, of pride? Or are they hospitals, colleges, churches, for the good of men? A steamer's course does not show the direction of the river's current. To find that, set your skiff adrift and rest on your oars. When the steam-engine of will is guiding us, the course we take does not show our innermost preferences, but when the mind is "let go," then it flies "to its own company," and its imaginings will tell whether our hearts as well as our wills are on God's side. You can tell whether you have found eels or snakes by letting them go beside a stream. Those that make for the stone heaps you may kill for snakes.

It is easy to see that the apostles' imaginations were not converted before the Day of Pentecost. We will test their imaginations only with relation to the one doctrine of the Kingdom of God. Three times they quarreled as to who should be premier in the temporal kingdom which they expected Christ to set up — some doubtless "going" for Peter, and others for John, for it seemed clear that one of these two must have it, while the rest expected lesser cabinet positions. It is significant that these three quarrels about political offices, which they were ever day-dreaming about, occurred, in each case, just after Jesus had declared that He was moving not toward a crown of selfishness, but a cross of self-sacrifice. They were so filled with their dreams of personal and national honor that they could not hear what He said. The sorrow of the apostles at the Last Supper, when Christ said He was about to leave them, was partly the grief of disappointed office-seekers. Not that they were bad men. "He that desireth the office of a bishop desireth a good thing." So also of him who desires to be premier or president from patriotic motives, even if somewhat mixed with self-love. The day-dreams of the apostles, except Judas, were those of patriots, but not of Christians. They dreamed of conquering the Romans, not of converting them. Jesus saw the ambitious thoughts of his apostles (and He sees our selfish day-dreams also) as plainly as one sees the movements of the gold-fish in an

aquarium. In Judas He saw the betrayal when it was yet only a day-dream of covetousness. In the other apostles He saw air-castles in which He was enthroned as an earthly king, and vainly strove to tear them down.

The resurrection did not correct the apostles' false view of the Messiah. Rather it caused a resurrection of their hopes of office. Nor did the gift of the Holy Spirit on that first Easter evening when Christ breathed on the ten apostles and said, "Receive ye the Holy Spirit," correct their error. Subsequent events show that this was only an "earnest of the Spirit," not even the "Holy Spirit for Sonship," for Christ found it necessary to spend the forty days between that day and the ascension in further efforts to teach them that the Kingdom of God is a kingdom of hearts, without, however, being able to dislodge from their imaginations the day-dreams of palaces and portfolios, for their last question on the very Mount of Ascension was, "Dost Thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" If Thomas had really comprehended the meaning of his exclamation a month before, "My Lord and my God!" he would have corrected his associates for still looking upon Christ as a temporal Messiah. Christ's ascension promise of "power" was doubtless taken as an encouragement to continue looking and praying for the long-expected liberty and honors, which *were* given at Pentecost in a way beyond what they could ask or think. When Peter's heart was converted by that descent of the Holy Spirit, how quickly he showed it by making Christ's "Name," rather than his own, the centre of his thoughts. When he and John had healed the lame man at the Gate Beautiful, and the multitude gathered to gaze upon him, instead of rejoicing in the fulfillment of his dreams of popularity and prominence, he exclaimed, "Why look ye so earnestly on *us*? *his* Name, through faith in his name hath made this man strong." That word "Name" is the very key-word of the book of Acts, which the apostles never did and never would have called "*Acts of the Apostles*." Had they named the book, it would have been, "*Acts of the Risen Christ*." They sought no glory for themselves, but told "what God had done by them," "what God had wrought." When they came to write the Gospels after Pente-

cost, they were so free from self-seeking that you will find the least of any evangelist's honors, and the most of his faults in his own Gospel. It is evident from the apostles' own record that before Pentecost they were "no saints" in the modern sense. We miss the lesson of their lives if we do not see that before Pentecost they were *samples of the natural man*, as after Pentecost they are *samples of the spiritual man*. The seventh chapter of Romans, it seems to me, is a picture of "the natural man" who attempts to conquer temptation by the aid of will and conscience, only to be defeated until he cries out for the all-conquering Heavenly Ally, the Holy Spirit, the present Christ, by whom he is soon led as a spiritual man through the triumphal arch of "the blessed eighth," exclaiming, "The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death."

Thus far we have looked at the state of the apostles' hearts before Pentecost symptomatically through what are called the intellectual faculties. Let us now glance at their *affections and emotions* directly. Wicked personal hatred the Holy Spirit casts out of every converted heart, and puts in its place the threefold Christian love which includes (1) our love of *esteem* for God, (2) our love of *sympathy* for fellow-Christians, (3) our love of *pity* for the sinful, including personal enemies. Before Pentecost, Peter could respond to Christ's question, "Esteemest thou me?" with the earnest exclamation, "Thou knowest that I *love* Thee," but a few moments after he showed that it was not the love of a converted heart for a Divine Lord. When Christ led Peter aside from that breakfast on the shores of Galilee, while John walked behind them, Peter's heart could not have been right when he asked the question, "What shall this man be?" or Christ would not have said in rebuke, "What is that to thee? Follow thou me." What Christ reproved was doubtless a remnant of their envious rivalries. When Pentecost had converted their hearts, how completely this envy disappeared! Though Peter and John had each a brother among the apostles, these political rivals became dearer than brothers to each other, and we see them everywhere together.

Even Pentecost did not make the apostles incapable of heart-

sins. There may have been momentary anger or envy in the contentions of Paul with Peter and Barnabas, but it was very different from the frequent strifes of the apostles before Pentecost as to who should be greatest.

John's experience is full of encouragement to that great company whose chief difficulty in Christian living is a "quick temper." That John was of such a temperament is evident alike by his proposal to call down fire from heaven on the Samaritan village, and also from the name given to him and his brother — "Sons of thunder." His lightnings were always striking in the wrong place until he took the Holy Spirit, the present Christ, into his heart to direct them. After he received the Holy Spirit in converting power, instead of passionately calling down fire from heaven upon those that were unworthy, he said to quarreling churches, "Little children, love one another," and "wept much," even in sight of heaven, because no one was found worthy to open the mystic book.

And now for a moment in closing, let us come back to the *will*. The apostles were *Christians in the will* before Pentecost, but that day the Holy Spirit added to the grace of decision, the higher grace of *power for service*. The engine of our life-forces can be put on the right track only by the switch of the will, but only the Divine steam power of the indwelling Spirit can drive it forward in a Christian career. Before the Day of Pentecost the apostles were *Christians without power*, dummy engines jobbing about the station, but neither making headway themselves nor drawing others heavenward. But Pentecost gave each of them a full head of steam and a long train to carry. Ten times as many disciples were made in a few days after Pentecost had fully come, by the invisible Christ and his eleven converted apostles, filled with the Holy Spirit, as had been gathered in three years by the visible Christ and the same apostles before the latter received the fullness of the Spirit in their hearts. The earlier preaching of the Seventy was only heralding Christ, bidding people prepare to hear Him.

Whether or not we all agree that the apostles were *not Christians at heart* until Pentecost, we all agree, I doubt not, that the grade of discipleship which we should aim to realize is

not that of another and preparatory dispensation, which is pictured in the Gospels, but that of our own dispensation, which is pictured in the Acts and the Epistles. As in geology, the latest stratum exhibits the higher form of life. We are called to be, not low-level Christians, but high-level Christians, not to be minimum Christians, but to be maximum Christians; to make our inner kingdom like Solomon's, who took possession of the entire Land of Promise, not like Joshua's, who appropriated only one third of it. Whatever our doctrinal views may be about the so-called "higher life," we all know that we ought to live a much higher life than we do. The higher the healthier. Many of us are too much like the "faithless," powerless apostles that gathered about the demoniac boy at the base of the Mount of Transfiguration — no match for either devils or skeptics because we have been baptized only with water, not with the Spirit, of whose satisfying, cleansing, empowering qualities water is but the symbol. All of us might be such Christians as Jesus there described in those words of profoundest import about moving mountains and achieving seeming impossibilities by faith, which mean, at least, that God calls us to far higher achievements than most of us have yet attained. In earnest efforts toward these "greater things" let us be patient with ourselves, taking as our motto, "Always encouraged, never satisfied." "If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, *how much more* shall your Heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that *ask* Him."

BOSTON HYMN.

OUR FATHERS.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,
AT THE 205TH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, FEBRUARY 18, 1889.

ACROSS vexed seas our fathers came,
God's own elect, His chosen,
And took possession in His name
Of new realms, wild and frozen.
They knelt here first, with song and prayer,
The rock's rude pile their altar;
And standing by that altar-stair,
In faith we dare not falter.

The darkness is Thy secret place,
The thick clouds Thy pavilion;
'Mid Time's far shadows we can trace,
Where Thou hast led Thy million:
Hast cloven pathways through the sea,
And stilled the angry waters,
While triumphing, their song to Thee,
Have sung Thy sons and daughters.

O God, who savest not by sword,
Nor 'mid war's thunder rolling,
Who art by Thine almighty Word,
Earth's path through space controlling,
We bless Thee for faith's heritage,
The tale our sires have told us;
Turn Thou for us the Future's page,
Let Thy Right Arm enfold us.

Our fathers' blood flows in our veins,
May all their valor fire us
To self-denials, toils, and pains,
For man and God inspire us;
That we may never lose their way,
Nor break the compact solemn;
Before us go in cloud by day,
By night in fiery column.

J. E. RANKIN.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

FOURTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1889.

PRELUDE III.

NULLIFICATION AND MURDER IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

THE 205th Boston Monday Lecture, on February 18, drew out the usual great audience. The Rev. Dr. Gordon presided and the Rev. Dr. Bates offered prayer. The hymn sung, entitled "Our Fathers," was prepared especially for the occasion by the Rev. J. E. Rankin.

SUPPRESSED BALLOTS AS A SOURCE OF SOUTHERN POWER.

The half prostrate form of the freedman is the vaulting-block from which the Southern oligarchy leaps into the national saddle. Seven millions of American citizens are now practically disfranchised in the Southern States. This is the grave official statement recently made to the President elect at Indianapolis by a delegation of colored teachers, preachers, and college presidents. Secession has been conquered; nullification not. Before the civil war three fifths of the slave population were counted in determining the basis of representation of the Southern States in Congress. This gave Southern whites a great advantage over Northern whites. The wholly prostrate form of the slave was the vaulting-block of the South. But the new vaulting-block is higher than the old one. The entire colored population of the States which once maintained slavery is now counted in determining the basis of representation in Congress. According to the report of Congressional investigating committees on Southern political outrages at the ballot-box, the vote of the colored population is counted only to be almost universally counted out. Instead of standing on the slave half buried in the mire of his unrequited toil, the Southern oligarchy now stands on the shoulders of this same slave lifting himself up for

the first time in history to the erectness of manhood. Counting out the colored vote, the Southern oligarchy sends by force and fraud enough representatives to the lower house of Congress to control it. The difference is between standing on two thirds of the colored population and standing on the whole of it. One confederate soldier with ten negroes in his pocket defrauded of their franchise outweighs in national elections ten federal soldiers casting honest votes.

It is the assertion of the last Republican national platform that "the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States." That charge by the Republican party against the Democratic party contains, as I solemnly believe, so much historic truth that, unless the shame which it emphasizes be soon erased from our national escutcheon, we shall be pointed at by our successors in history as having undertaken to build a house without counting the cost ; and as having paused in the work of reconstruction before the fetters of the freedmen were wholly stricken off. It is the end that crowns the work. The victories of the war made possible the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution ; but those amendments themselves are as yet not victories except on paper.

Appomattox gave new power to the United States to oversee the elections in the individual States for national offices. Familiar as it is to all of you, I beg leave to remind you that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution uses this language : —

. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States ; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws. When the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-president of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation

therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

This amendment removes the colored population as a vaulting-block from under the feet of the Southern oligarchy. If that amendment were executed the Southern oligarchy never could leap into the national saddle. For one, in spite of whatever may be said about the danger of partisan discussion, I am in favor of the thorough execution of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. [Applause.] It is twenty-five years since emancipation was decreed. It is more than twenty years since these amendments became a part of the fundamental law of the land. Is it not now nearly time for a complete recognition of the rights which they guarantee?

Governor Lee of Virginia says the whites own ninety per cent. of the property in the South, that they pay eighty per cent. of all the taxes, and that they are resolved not to be ruled by the ignorant majority of the blacks. What if we were to separate the property class in the Northern States from the poor and recently arrived immigrant class; what if such of us as are well to do should say that we pay ninety per cent. of the taxes, and that we open to millions of children public schools without any cost to the parents? What if we should adopt Governor Lee's principles and narrow the suffrage here in the North without any authority from the Constitution to do so? What if seven millions of people, most of them belonging to the Democratic party, were practically disfranchised in the North by intimidation and assassination? What would the South say? When seven millions are thus practically disfranchised in the South, what ought the North to say? One set of principles must rule the whole nation.

Softly; a rough road this! Yes, but we have waited more than a quarter of a century since the Emancipation Proclamation was given to the world. The American people are very busy; they are very patient over minor faults in the management of their national affairs; but I have yet to learn that the North is fundamentally disloyal to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which were written in its own blood. And for one I

regard the chief claim of the Republican party to honor to-day to be in the fact that it intends to execute those amendments. [Applause.] It is time that its intentions, so often proclaimed, should become deeds.

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." So reads our fundamental law. The bright fact of our history for the last quarter of a century is that the Thirteenth Amendment has been executed, and the law that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime," shall exist among us, has been carried out. But the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments are very largely dead letters. And this is from what causes? The ruffianism of certain unregenerated and unreconstructed elements in a section of the nation not long ago in rebellion; the cowardice of large portions of the Northern populations, afraid that sectional issues will throw favorite political parties out of power, or diminish commercial gain. We yet have gold dust in our eyes; we yet have cotton in our ears; and the cry of seven millions, many of whom fought for the preservation of the Union, does not stir us to decisive action. We are pointed at abroad. Professor Bryce, in his somewhat too genial criticism of this country, affirms that we are careless in many details of public morality. One of the things on which Europe fastens attention oftener than on any other, is the fact that the two greatest amendments of our fundamental law, sacred, divine, as we call it, are yet empty as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal.

REMEDIES FOR POLITICAL OUTRAGES IN THE SOUTH.

What is the reply to be made to honorable gentlemen of the Southern States who say they cannot live under black domination?

The first reply is that they must give up the idea that the Constitution of the United States can be vacated of all meaning to please a section. They must give up the idea of nullification. I believe they have honestly given up the idea of secession or rebellion in any form, but nullification through stuffed ballot-

boxes and even by assassination is a scheme that they have the audacity in certain quarters to champion. It ought to be understood in the South that the North in its more serious portions is practically a unit in demanding the execution of justice for such a murder as that of Mr. Clayton in Arkansas, not long ago. [Applause.] Who cares for party politics when we discuss assassinations? A race problem forsooth! It is a ruffian problem. Why are not more Democrats killed in the South by hot-headed politicians? Seven out of ten of the victims are on the Republican side. The enmity of the ruling oligarchy is not specially against color; it is against political opposition, from black or white.

A second reply is that if the South wishes immigration, it must put down lawlessness.

The Democratic party in the South has done much for temperance and education, although far less than the needs of the section require. But it is determined by fraud or force—it has confessed this at the lips of foremost representatives of that section on the floor of Congress—to override the black vote, to count out, to nullify it, and so trample on the political rights of seven millions of people. And it does this by attacking white leaders of the black population. The South wants immigrants. Does it suppose that such an assassination as that of Mr. Clayton is an allurements to white men to go to the South to develop the almost immeasurable resources of that region? Who was Mr. Clayton? A Republican engaged in unearthing Democratic frauds. Certain ballot-boxes had been stolen and he endeavored to obtain evidence as to the theft, and was shot probably by one of the men who assisted in the theft. Congress has found good evidence that large districts of the South are yet terrorized, and that great numbers of Republicans, white as well as black, live there under a reign of terror.

A third reply to those who say they cannot live under the domination of the blacks is that they should aim to divide the black vote.

There will be a Republican party in the South as well as a Democratic. The attempt to suppress forcibly the growth of Republican ideas in the Southern States must be given up.

The practice of maintaining Democratic unity at the mouth of the shot-gun, Americans will not tolerate forever. We know what the mischiefs of the carpet-bag governments were ; we repudiate certain cormorants from the North who were once held out as its only representatives. The North bewailed the crimes that were committed in the early days of reconstruction ; the North has suffered severely on account of them. The North wants nothing except the execution of these amendments. It wants nothing inconsistent with the utmost sensitiveness of honor and pride on the part of Southern populations. We are not domineering over rebels who have surrendered ; but we are determined that we will not be domineered over by recent rebels who leap to the saddle by standing on the shoulders of seven millions of freedmen denied their sacred political rights. [Applause.]

A fourth reply to be made to these gentlemen is that they must educate the blacks. As Mr. Roebuck used to say in England, "We must educate our masters." There are already two millions of negroes in the Southern States who can read and write. As their intelligence increases prejudice against them will decrease and their power to defend their rights will be enlarged.

A fifth truth to be emphasized is that the South needs all its colored laborers to develop its immense resources, and should study to keep them at home.

Who believes that the regions on which the snow never falls are to be filled with a laboring white population? It was a dream of the Southern slaveholders that an empire might be erected along the borders of the Mexican gulf, west and south of it, and that they might be the aristocracy of that region and the blacks the serfs. Now, there is truth in the expectation that only people of color will labor continuously on fields on which the snow never falls. Our race has never shown its full industrial vigor in tropical or semi-tropical climates. The tropical areas of the globe belong to the bronze, brown, and black populations. And if this is the dictate of nature why cannot Southern gentlemen, in their chivalry and desire to develop this continent, see to it that the negroes shall be so

educated as at least to be partly officered from their own color? Educate the upper tier of the black population, and that upper tier and the leaders among the whites may officer an empire around the Gulf of Mexico, but an empire under our flag and an empire under these great provisions of the American national constitution.

The last reply to be made to these Southern gentlemen is that they might do better than arouse a fierce insurrection, an outburst from a population ground down too long. I believe the negro has considerable spirit; I wish he had more. But as you educate him, as you give him property, by and by he will, I hope, assert his rights under the stimulation of his own ambition, and perhaps under white leadership.

The condition of negro womanhood in the South is a topic which only the independent platform can discuss. It reveals the true level at which a large part of white manhood there rests. You go into a Southern railway train, put yourself in a negro or "Jim-crow" car, if you will allow me to use a rough phrase, common enough in the South, and what do you see? Colored college presidents, colored preachers, colored members of the legislature, colored gentlemen of excellent culture on whom you as a Northerner can see no stain of vulgarity, are obliged to ride there in the smoking stable. And what else do you notice? I am relating only what was told me by an eye-witness, an African preacher of this city, a man of eloquence and public weight. The colored women come into that car, and in the presence of cultured representatives of the colored race, these women are insulted in the most unreportable manner by the lowest type of poor whites and by the train hands. What can the black men do — college presidents, representatives in certain legislatures, men of considerable property? They do not dare to resent these insults to their race for fear of the revolvers of the whites in the car! Over and over this occurs all along the Gulf. The general tone of Southern sentiment does not prevent such outrages. I know the South has produced a George W. Cable, whose advocacy of sound ideas as to Southern reconstruction may God bless. [Applause.] I honor the young South that Mr. Cable represents, and I do not fear

the young or the old South that he does not represent. The barbarism that yet insults negro womanhood in many large portions of the regions where slavery prevailed is a curse to the South, and must change its fashions, or there will be an explosion of which God only can foresee the result. [Applause.]

An eloquent African preacher of excellent standing in this city I heard say to an audience that a negro in Georgia, who had gathered a little money and opened a store of his own, was profoundly attached to his wife and daughter. He was a very curious human being; he thought he had some rights in relation to his own family! He boasted one day on the street that if any white man attacked the honor of his wife or daughter, that white man should receive the contents of his rifle. What happened? Within a very few days that black man was assassinated, his body cut into many pieces, and the ghastly remnants cast into the river, to be covered by Southern sand. I believe that such things as these occur infrequently; but there is ample evidence that they do occur, and that they are winked at in many quarters of the South.

We are by no means to bring a wholesale charge against the entire Southern population; but when assassinations for purely political reasons occur on the one side, and assassinations for social reasons on the other, I maintain that the time has come for the North to recognize the fact that there yet exists a Southern problem [applause]; that the Republican party has a mission [applause]; and that he who is soon to come to power should be called on to carry out the pledges of his party and make good the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. [Applause.] These great and sacred enactments have been passed never to be recalled; neither shall we allow them to be nullified. [Applause.]

A DIVINE PROGRAMME CONCERNING SLAVERY.

Let me ask you to notice what God is doing, and to lock hands with Him. In our own time we have seen the Mississippi valley swept free of slavery. A little later we saw the Amazon valley delivered from human bondage. A little later, or rather, contemporaneously with these great events, we have seen the

Congo valley in Africa opened to exploration and civilization and international effort for the suppression of the slave-trade. Who or what on opposite sides of the globe thus matches events? Americans are not the only nation over which God exercises a Providence. His heart is as large as the canopy above us, and his plans move on here and on the other side of the globe, everywhere matching each other. The events in the Mississippi valley, in the Amazon valley, in the Congo valley, correspond. They indicate a Divine programme. Make it yours. [Applause.]

LECTURE III.

SHALL THE COMMON SCHOOLS TEACH CHRISTIAN
MORALS?

COMMON AND CHRISTIAN MORALS INSEPARABLE.

IT was a remark of Mr. Emerson, in his final stage of culture, to his friend Bronson Alcott, "You may call me a Christian theist, and you must not leave out the word Christian, for to leave that out is to leave out everything." It is very generally conceded that common morals, natural religion, the principles of ordinary utilitarian prudence, may be taught without sectarianism, in the public schools. But we have seen reason for maintaining, also, that natural religion overlaps revealed; that ethics cannot be taught thoroughly without including the ideals exemplified in the New Testament; and, indeed, that history can have no adequate presentation, if it omits an account of the noon which burst upon the world in the character and teachings of Christ. That noon is an historic reality. I am not now speaking of it as a revelation, or at least not as such in any other sense than that in which the universe at large is a revelation.

We are unscientific in our study of ethics if we do not recognize both the unity and the continuity of God's self-revelation in nature, in man, and in Christ. The most masterly of recent works on ethics insist on this unity and continuity. Martineau, Martensen, Dorner, our own Professor Harris of Yale College, and many others make it appear not only irreverent, but actually unscientific, to omit in any modern scheme of ethical teaching an account of the ideals realized in the life of Him who was the chief among ten thousand and the one altogether lovely. Professor Harris, for instance, says: "Christ is the revelation of man to himself as really as the revelation of

God to man." It was a favorite teaching of Schleiermacher and Dörner that when God said, *Let us make man in our image*, His thought was pointing not to man at his beginning, but to man at his climax. Christ, as man, therefore, was the consummation of creation.

It is no part of my purpose to ask you to make a part of your ethical system any truth about which there can be dispute among serious men. There is no dispute among intelligent men that the loftiest ideal of morals possessed by the race was exhibited in the life of Him who spake as never man spake. The character of Christ is an indisputable historic reality. If He were only man, He was man at his climax, and would reveal man to himself. If, therefore, we are to teach the loftiest ideals exemplified by man's development in history, we must teach that ideal which Christ exemplified. Less than this is unhistoric. Less than this is, therefore, unscientific. Less than this is obscurantism. If I were a skeptic as to the claims of Christianity to be a supernatural revelation, in any sense other than that in which all reality is a revelation of God, I should admit that we must include this ideal in any scientific ethical system; and that, although we are not to force elaborate theories upon the minds of children, we must, if we are to inculcate in the common schools merely the outlines of human history at its highest and best development, give them the Gospels to read, and the picture of the character of Christ as it flames forth on the pages of absolutely indisputable history. It is certainly not sectarian to do this. Anything less than this is benighted, belittled, belated instruction. Since the appearance of the Christian ideal as a reality in history, it has become forever impossible for the world in the name of science to go back to Pagan conceptions of ethics. [Applause.]

The magnitude of the interests involved in the ethical standards of education ought to make us serious. Horace Mann used to speak of the children of this State as his eighty thousand pupils. Whoever settles the school question in the American republic to-day will settle it for eighteen millions of children of school age. That number will be doubled and trebled and quadrupled in the future with a rapidity that the

imagination can hardly grasp. You will ultimately have one hundred millions of children of school age on this continent, if Mr. Gladstone's estimates for the growth of our population, moderate, thoroughly cautious, actually scientific, as they seem, turn out to be fairly correct. You are trustees for that immense future. You are not to Romanize or secularize a common school system that is to be more influential, probably, than anything except the church of God itself, in determining the future of this hemisphere.

IMMIGRATION AND EDUCATION.

Look at our immigration, as a vital consideration that should make us pause and discuss our schools as if before God. The voluntary church system has achieved wonders in this republic, but it has reached its marvelous results because acting in connection with the American system of common school instruction, in which the Bible has had a place. Secularize your schools, throw the entire work of reaching our heterogeneous population upon the churches and the families, and your voluntary system will be put on trial under a set of circumstances wholly different from any it has ever seen. Much as I respect those who tell us that we should secularize our common school system, and depend exclusively on the churches and the families to meet all our religious wants, I do not see that the voluntary system has been so successful thus far in this country, even with the American school system and the Bible taught to the youth to help it, as to justify the hope that without such help it will succeed in a degree adequate to meet our necessities under a broad suffrage. Our immigration year by year is being drawn from a lower and lower level in Europe. Ocean passage has become very cheap. Railway passage is cheap in Europe as well as here. A man must be nearly a pauper who cannot gather funds enough now to cross the Atlantic; and if he is a pauper, perhaps his government or some benevolent society will assist him to cross. [Laughter.] We are drawing immigrants from the whole of Europe and Asia. We are familiar with the Irish, English, Norwegian, Danish, French, Italian, and German immigration. Laborers come now from Turkey,

as well as from China, take lower wages than our best native working men are willing to accept, work through the busy season, go home in the winter, and come back the next year.

How are we to assimilate our floating populations, how are we to make homogeneous a vast nation composed of such extraordinarily diverse elements? Thus far we have succeeded because we have had a common school system where the German, the Englishman, the Irishman, and the native born American sat down side by side in their youth. It is the glory of our common schools that they take representatives of all nationalities and turn them all out Americans. [Applause.] Mr. Beecher used to say, "Let immigration come. When the elephant takes the bough of the oak in his proboscis and swallows the foliage, it is the oak that becomes elephant and not the elephant oak." [Laughter.] Yes, I say, but first brush the worms off the foliage. [Applause and laughter.] There is far too much growling in the great stomachs of New York and Chicago and San Francisco from very sickening garbage drawn in with the leaves. I am willing you should take the leaves, but not what is on the leaves. Let no nests of criminals and paupers be dumped into the national stomach. I would have our consuls abroad given power to make inquiries and issue certificates to intending emigrants; and then if a man here cannot show as he comes to Castle Garden a certificate from some American consul abroad that he is neither a pauper nor a criminal, I would turn him back. [Loud applause.] But, after all, a measure of this sort does not reach the heart of our disease. You must educate American children together. You must use the powerful stomach of the American common school system, a stomach, too, with ethical purpose in it, if you are ever to make these miscellaneous populations at once homogeneous and moral. A godless common school system is an immensely unsafe national gizzard. [Laughter and applause.]

PERILS OF A MERELY SECULAR BASIS FOR SCHOOLS.

Can Christian morals be taught in outline in the public schools without sectarianism? For one, I give an affirmative answer for a variety of reasons.

1. Christian morals can be taught without sectarianism, because they have been so taught for two hundred and fifty years in American common schools.

Unless you give a most extraordinary and unjustifiable meaning to the word sectarian, you cannot say that the American common school system, as thus far administered, has been sectarian. I understand that a sectarian school is a denominational school, or one that teaches the particular tenets of this or that denomination of Christians. Lord John Russell once said he hoped the public schools of England would not teach the doctrines of the Dissenters, nor the doctrines of the Church of England, but that they would teach the doctrines of the Church of Christ, and so be unsectarian. That was the old meaning of the word. As Professor Hodge says in his famous article on the question of religion in the schools, we have now come to a degenerate day when the word sectarian is used to discriminate, not between the various Christian sects, but between theist and atheist, Christianity and unbelief. Christianity is the teaching of a sect, so say the atheists. The secularists, who are themselves a sect, tell us we must beware of Christian teachings, for such are sectarian. Now I believe this application of the word is a dangerous one and an unjustifiable one. We must not yield to it. A little more courage on the part of the friends of the American common school system is immensely needed at the present hour, for we are assailed on all sides at once by the various opponents of the common school system, and we are divided among ourselves. [Applause.]

Let me express the full reverence which I feel for several distinguished leaders of public thought who have advocated a purely secular basis for our common school system. I hold in my hand two volumes, each of which advocates that basis, and they are by gentlemen for whom I have a profound personal regard. I will not name either of them. I might commend these books for the learning in them on a variety of points, and for the vigor with which they stand up against the Romanizing of our system of public instruction. But I find one of the volumes saying that there should be no sectarian instruction, that

is, no instruction relating to God. And yet this author, very well-known to most of you, when he comes to ask how the wards of the state shall be treated, admits that there must be religious services in the prisons and orphan asylums. In that admission I think he gives away his case. Such is the responsibility of the state towards its wards that in the charitable institutions, maintained largely by public funds, or, at least in many cases, assisted by the state, he would have a chaplain. Of course, he would have a Romanist chaplain at times and a Protestant chaplain at times, but he would not omit distinctively Christian teaching. Now if the state may do that for its wards, why may it not do that in the American historic common school system? If that is not sectarianism in the institutions of the state, outside of the schools, why is it sectarianism inside the schools?

Here is another volume, in which I read, —

If all classes are to use the public schools . . . there must be *no religious instruction in them*. . . . A purely secular basis is the only basis on which all citizens can unite. . . . The public school can succeed only on a completely non-sectarian, absolutely secular basis. . . . Some great elements of morality may and should be taught — *reverence for God*, honesty, loyalty to law and government, *the duty of worship*, chastity, rights of property, etc.

This extract contradicts itself. If “reverence for God” and “the duty of worship” are taught, then it cannot be said that no religious instruction is given. It is difficult to understand precisely what this writer means by a purely secular basis for schools. He would have the Bible excluded from them, because he thinks the use of it in the public schools is “inconsistent with the American system of government.” Why has this inconsistency not been found out at some time during the two hundred years in which the Bible has been used in the schools? Why did not Horace Mann and the legislators of Iowa and Massachusetts see this inconsistency? Why do not the courts see it?

The Bible is used in four fifths of our public schools yet, so Professor Schaff says he is informed by the highest educational authority in the country. So I am informed by the recent National Commissioner of Education, General John Eaton, one

of the honorary committee in charge of this lectureship, than whom a higher expert authority can hardly be cited. Four fifths of our schools yet read the Bible. The law of Iowa says the Bible shall not be excluded from the public schools; although no child shall be required to read it contrary to the wishes of his parents. That is what I contend for. That is the American system. That is Massachusetts law. That is not the French idea; that is not the secularists' plan, but I believe it to be the plan that we can execute with immensely beneficial results, if we only defend it in the name of our history and in the name of its own utility. [Applause.]

2. Experts have held in the whole vital part of the history of educational discussions at home and abroad that Christian morals, to the extent of having the Bible read in the common schools, without note or comment, can be taught there without sectarianism.

In a previous lecture, I cited Horace Mann's well-known testimony, and recalled the famous language of Pestalozzi in which he declared that before all things else he would teach children the Christian ideals of morals, and especially the efficacy of prayer offered in faith to transform the character. Self-surrender to God is an inseparable element of all true prayer, and brings with it the highest good attainable by man. The reading of the Scriptures inculcates such self-surrender. If a teacher, in leading devotional exercises, however brief, exemplifies such self-surrender, the school is on its way to priceless results. If the schools of a nation are led in this way, such action will regenerate society. Pestalozzi deliberately taught that only through prayer can education be made worthy of its name. So searching and far-reaching are his principles that he has very justly been called the schoolmaster of the human race. Germany, after wandering in the wilderness of educational secularism under the lead of Basedow, came back to ethical sanity and scientific ideals of culture under Pestalozzi.

Now, I am asking far less than Pestalozzi, or even than Horace Mann, desired. I am asking only what the Iowa law, the Massachusetts law, and the proposed amendment of Senator Edmunds provide, that the Bible shall not be excluded from the common schools.

What is the mere reading of the Bible worth in schools for children in their tenderest years?

It is strangely objected that when the Bible is only read and not explained to the young, very little is thus taught to them concerning morals.

God forbid that we should think that the picture contained in the literature of the New Testament has only a small influence when daguerreotyped upon the sensitive soul of youth! I am overpowered by very peculiar emotions when I remember the morning when I first saw a Bible of my own; carried it sacredly to my district school; read from it there with my playmates; and saw a lady, whose memory I yet revere above words, kneel down and briefly lead the devotions of her pupils. The Bible was revered in my home, but there was in that home no family altar at that time. I was immensely moved by seeing a school altar. It was worth something to me to know that education meant harmonization of the soul with the ideals of the New Testament. The reverence paid to the Word of God, the prayers of faith offered daily in that school made upon me my first really profound religious impressions. I would sooner cut off my right hand, I would sooner have my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, than use either hand or tongue to promote the expulsion from the American common schools of the prayers of faith and the ideal of the character of Christ. [Applause.] There was a long course of education before me, but I think that nowhere did public prayers and the reading of the Scriptures impress themselves upon me so much as in those early years. A child in a home where there is no family altar is naturally very much moved by seeing a teacher for whom he has reverence engage in devotion. He is or ought to be very much instructed by the reverence paid to God's Word. I am convinced to the depths of my being, that those who teach us to secularize the common schools are acting in a manner not justified by our own historic educational practice, and its marvelous results in unifying our national sentiment, and preserving the religion of Christian morals in the larger part of our population. They are acting in a manner not justified by lofty ideals concerning the teaching of ethics. They do not rise to the proper height in

their views of what should be taught in history. My conviction is that the advice we receive from so many quarters to secularize our schools completely is unnecessarily timid, and, beyond all that, is unjustifiable at the bar of proper ideals concerning instruction in ethics, in history, and in political and social economy. Not as a denominationalist, not as a politician, but simply as one member of society anxious to see the American population unified, ennobled, lifted from sectarianism, and made reverent toward the undenominational principles contained in a large, broad, tolerant Christianity, I defend the educational ideals which experience has approved. I believe the American common school system, as defended by Horace Mann, and exemplified in our history for more than two hundred years, is the right arm of our political and social prosperity. And I say anathema, anathema, and a thousand times anathema to every effort to break that arm! [Applause.]

3. Many of our state constitutions recognize the right of common schools to use the Bible. But what are we to think of the fact that several such constitutions provide that the family Bible shall be exempt from execution, that each apprentice shall be supplied with one, that a Bible shall be in the hands of every inmate of a jail, penitentiary, or reformatory institution, that the halls of legislation and courts shall be supplied with copies of the Bible, that Christian chaplains shall be in the public service, that the Christian Sabbath shall be observed, and that blasphemy shall be punished? We know very well that all this is not done for religion's sake, but for its civic importance. And precisely that is the argument I am making. For the civic importance of the reading of the Bible in the schools, we claim that it shall not be excluded from them. [Applause.] Such use is in harmony with the common law of the land. Over and over our experts have told us, Daniel Webster among them, that large, general, tolerant Christianity is a part of the common law. Of course I am not now speaking of the common law of the Union, for there is no common law for the Union except the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof; but in the States there is a common law, and it has been decided over and over again that, with perfect religious equality, Christianity

must be regarded as a part of the common law of our commonwealths.

WISCONSIN SUPREME COURT DECISION.

4. It has been decided recently in the courts that the Bible in the Common Version may be read in the public schools, and that this can be done without sectarianism.

It is my fortune to-day to reason against those who would secularize our American common school system. The two gentlemen whom I have quoted anonymously here this morning are both of them revered evangelical preachers, and it is against all their instincts to say aught that will diminish the public influence of God's Word; but they think that when this question is referred to the courts the Bible will be shut out. Let me reply to those gentlemen by asking them to study a recent decision in Wisconsin. The Wisconsin state constitution provides most definitely against sectarian instruction in schools. It has just been decided there, however, that it is not sectarian to use King James's version in the schools, without note or comment. Roman Catholic citizens, not many weeks ago, in the town of Edgerton, made complaint of the reading of the Bible in the district schools, and the case was brought before Circuit Judge Bennett. The school board of this town of Edgerton had upheld its teachers in their right to open the schools with reading of the Bible. A few Roman Catholics joined together and appealed to the courts for an injunction to prevent it, claiming that such reading is in violation of the constitution of the State. Thus, Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, this case brings up, for the first time in American history, the question, Is it possible without sectarianism to have the common doctrines of the Bible taught in schools maintained at public expense? The petition was decisively denied. [Applause.] Professor Blaisdell of Beloit College, whom I met in his own State not many months ago, has published a very clear review and summing up of Judge Bennett's remarkably able and convincing opinion.

You say this decision may be reversed; and that this is only the opinion of Circuit Judge Bennett. I do not expect to see

it reversed in any State that has a constitution like that of Wisconsin. Very palpably it could not be reversed in Iowa. You had a law passed in Massachusetts rather more than twenty years ago, requiring the Bible to be read in schools. In 1880 the law was so changed as to require the Bible to be read without written note or oral comment. In this State such a decision as that would undoubtedly be maintained.

As my friend, the Rev. W. C. Wood, who has written a very searching volume entitled, "Five Problems," on this whole theme, has said, "The state does not affirm that the Bible is a book of God, but it recognizes the fact that the Bible is regarded by the most of our nation as the best book about God." [Applause.] As such it is not to be excluded from the public schools. It is disloyalty to proper ideals concerning the teaching of history, disloyalty to proper ideals concerning the teaching of the outlines of ethics, to exclude from the common schools the picture of the character of Christ. That picture is more than all theologies.

Our excellent timid friends, who want the schools secularized for fear there is no other solid ground on which we can plant our feet, although the ground which I am now defending has upheld the feet of America for more than two hundred years, say that this Wisconsin decision after all may be changed in certain States, that there is a rising tide of secularism, and that by and by we shall be obliged to exclude the Bible from the schools.

Stand up, then, for Senator Edmunds's proposed constitutional amendment, while yet you can pass it. [Applause.] Let your common schools drop to the secularistic level, or let them become not merely sectarian in certain cases, when they are under predominant Romish control, but partisan also in a political sense, and your common school system in many a great misgoverned municipality, will breed corruption until it rots; it will be inhabited by political vermin until it will crawl. Scores of teachers within recent years have been dropped from their positions by political school boards because their opinions on temperance were a little too strong to suit the school committees. Not a few who have studied the worst cases of this kind have fallen

into a sort of moral nausea over the management of schools in certain cities by corrupt committees, mere ward politicians, many of them monstrosly vile men, patrons of the saloons and of the gambling dens and of the brothels. There are cities in this country where little local committees, not fit to manage the investment of \$10, have the choice of school-teachers and the power to dismiss teachers almost without giving reasons, and who do all these things from purely political motives; and appoint their own relatives, very often, practicing nepotism in its most glaring aspect. The political abuses of the common school system are becoming a great public peril in mismanaged cities. What is the remedy for all these mischiefs? We must lift the boards of education in the various States up to one level; we must have a national ideal in this matter; and, so help me Heaven, I see no way out of the alarming evils arising from the partisan management of the common schools, except by the success of the Edmunds Amendment. [Applause.] Provide that no State shall establish a state church, that no State shall make a sectarian use of public funds, but that the Bible shall nowhere be excluded from schools maintained at the public expense. [Applause.] Remember that this amendment was once within two votes of passing in the Senate. Mr. Blaine's proposed amendment on the same topic had the overwhelming support of the House. And now Senator Blair is advocating substantially the same proposition. The Edmunds Amendment is practicable; it is a vital public necessity; but it must be passed soon or never. Therefore let us make Senator Edmunds's programme our own concerning the school question. Let us join ranks. Let Protestants stand up, and all stand up, and stand together, and we shall maintain with incalculably beneficial results in the crowded and hazardous future of the Republic, our historic American common school system. [Loud applause.]

SATAN'S MORNING GREETING.

TO ONE OF HIS CIRCUIT-RIDERS.

GUID mornin' till ye, my ain Robbie,
I saw ye last night on you hobbie,
Ye rode him weel, ye rode him nobbie,
 Sae brisk an' bold ;
And put some greenbacks in your fobbie ;
 Your trick of old.

I min' hoo weel ye love your brithers ; —
For faithers carena, nor for mithers ;
Tane's naught to ye, the same are tithers : —
 A' are Egyptians : —
Ye ha'e nae doot at a' or swithers
 'Nent your prescriptions.

Ye ha'e an artfu' gift o' talkin',
As back an' forth like mad ye're stalkin',
Wi' coat-tails flying to your walkin',
 An' mony a gesture ; —
As though mosquitoes ye were baulkin'
 Whilk did molest ye.

I min' your speech is very pleasin',
Your tongue sae glib an' sharp and seizin' ; —
To mak' the waur the better reason,
 This is your glory :
I'd scarcely set, though 't were nae treason,
 Mysel' afore ye.

'Tis true I ha'e been langer whiddin' : —
Ye may recall the yird of Eden,

Where temptin' apples hung forbidden
 To Eve and Adam :
 Weel, in a serpent's costume hidden,
 I leed to Madam.

I wudna onything sud daunt ye,
 I wudna hinder nor affront ye,
 Thus wull I say : Let naething brunt ye,
 Rantin' an' screamin' ;
 Ye may win yet, an' get beyont me
 In bauld blaspheming !

I'm proud o' ye, sae ta' and strappin',
 Your wit frae ilka pore doon-drappin' ;
 Ye are nae barrel, that needs tappin',
 Wi' staves white oaken ;
 Amang your hearers there's nae nappin' ;—
 Qui vive's the token !

Your poll, I ken, is poorly theekit,
 You mop it aft, it is sae reekit ;
 Your cheeks a' shaven clean an' sleekit,
 Sae jolly leukin' ;
 An' then your piece, ye up an' speak it,
 Sae fu' o' jokin'.

A' livin' fowk ye gi'e sic scaithin',
 An' strip the dead anes o' their claithin',
 An' toss God's truth aroun' like playthin',
 As puss a mousie ;—
 The saunts, they can na keep their wrath in',
 Or e'en get drowsie.

But this of art's your straik maist crownin' :
 The devil's self that ye're disownin' :—
 Ye say man needs nae bluid atonin' ;
 That sin's nae sinnin' ;
 That man's nae mair than stick that's thrown in
 Some water rinnin'.

Ye ha'e sae mony takin' phrases,
An' lead men dancin' through sic mazes,
An' mak' sic sport o' hell's het blazes,
 And a' for money!
The de'il care ye whose lad it crazes :—
 Gin ye are funny.

Ye need na think I sal forget ye,
Gae unrewarded, Robbie, let ye ;
I wull upon my right han' set ye,
 All by yoursel' ;
Nae auld time saunt sal vex or fret ye,
 Here doon in hell.

J. E. RANKIN.

OUR RELATIONS WITH TURKEY.

THE difficulty of dealing with Turkey lies chiefly in her peculiar laws and very unique administration of law. There are three kinds or codes of law, and I shall mention what is occasionally a fourth kind but limited in extent.

1. First there is the sacred law which is contained in the Koran and the "Six Revered Books." These latter are the traditions which have come down of the Prophet's sayings and are accepted by all Mussulmans as genuine. The skilful and learned judge will often decide a case arbitrarily and affirm "Our book says so." If you demand the sura where it may be found he will say, "It is in the Six Revered Books."

In a case concerning a church lot in Brousa the distinguished chief justice made a decision in that way. I denounced it in open court as illegal and unjust, and threatened to have it examined and reversed at the capital. In the evening he sent an agent to propose a compromise. That is Turkey as she was in 1855. She is worse now.

2. But this sacred law is too narrow for the wants of an expanding empire. Traditions of the Prophet and the first caliphs were called in to supply the want, and the traditions grew rapidly. The "fetvas," or the decisions, of the Sheikh ul Islam were also called in and "iradeh" of deceased sultans having force as decisions of a supreme court.

In the course of centuries the accumulations became vast, confused, and often contradictory.

Solyman the Magnificent (1622) gave to his most learned legists the task of reducing this mass to some order by eliminating the repetitions, the useless, the contradictory, and making a more lucid arrangement. The result was the Multeka ul Ubhurr (the Confluence of the Seas) in fifty-five books. The design of the sovereign was to have one code of law for all Moslems and all Moslem states. But in fact your case will be

judged by the multeka, or by the sacred law, or by some other law, or by no law. The laws are hidden in the Arabic language and the Ulema hold the key. It is generally difficult to know by what law you have been judged.

But that which vitiates all the Moslem courts of justice is the contempt and the discredit of all Christian testimony as compared with Moslem. You can hire Turkish witnesses in any case for a dollar a day, and one of them will counterbalance half a dozen Christians. The foreigner, knowing neither the language nor the law, and not accustomed to consider bribery and perjury as essential to a court of justice, is sure to be victimized. The native Christian subject, the "rayah," is in no better case.

3. Since 1843 the Ottoman Porte has tried at various times to introduce extensive reforms in the principles of government.

The "Hatti Sheriff of Gulhané" was the first great state paper equalizing the laws to Christian and Moslems, and establishing excellent principles of administration. Under the bold and powerful diplomacy of Sir Stratford Canning, it was a temporary source of great good, but failed of regenerating the empire. From 1843 to the Crimean War of 1853 there was a great and constant struggle between the progressive party under Sir Stratford Canning and the old Turkish party led by Russian influences. The establishment of Protestantism in 1846-50, was a great and marvelous event, affecting indirectly all the religions and the religious thought of the empire.

At the close of the Crimean War the Peace of Paris, May 1856, brought forth another remarkable document, the "Hatti Humayun." It pledged the Turkish government to most extensive and admirable reforms. And on the ground of these reforms the allies agreed to absolute non-interference with the Turkish government.

There was then a third code of laws attempted on the model of the Napoleon Code. Courts of justice like those of France, public trials with advocates permitted to both parties, with cross-examination of witnesses and no race or religious prejudices allowed, all this was on paper. It is an absolute failure;

and the governments of Europe consider themselves absolved from the article of non-interference in Turkish administration.

4. A fourth and excellent source of many legal decisions is "adet" or custom, prescriptive right. What has been openly permitted for a length of time as legal cannot be pronounced illegal. It is a common saying, "Adet is stronger than the Sultan's firman." In some parts of the empire it is held to with the greatest pertinacity. It is a defense against caprice.

Now it is evident that in a land like this, with systems of law diverse and often contradictory, with courts and judges as various as the laws, and the laws locked up in an unknown language, with Christian evidence always at a discount, and Moslem evidence on hand for sale at a reasonable rate against Christians, and all efforts at reform signal failures, foreigners and native Christians cannot live safely except under protection.

The so-called "capitulations" are the *privileges* under which foreigners have enjoyed great advantages in Turkey and have been freed from the maladministration of justice that has desolated the empire. The word is derived from the mediæval use of "capitularia," chapters of laws and regulations. It is in no sense a military term. They are privileges that have been granted originally by absolute and victorious monarchs in times of peace. They were designed to encourage commerce and intercourse with foreigners, and are contrary to the exclusive and insolent spirit of Islam.

Every nation having friendly relations with the Porte has been anxious to extend and multiply these "capitulations" in order that its citizens in prosecuting their enterprises of industry and commerce might not be subject to the complications, delays, contradictions, and uncertainties, not to say gross denials of justice, inseparable from Turkish administration. What has been granted to one nation has been claimed by and granted to the other nations. They are very numerous, many of them obsolete, some of them unwise it may be, or even unjust, but they are absolutely necessary to a foreigner's safe residence in Turkey.

The following are the more important of the privileges conceded.

1. The foreigner's domicile is inviolable. The Turkish police must not enter the house, store, or establishment of the foreigner without an agent from the foreigner's embassy to accompany him.

2. The foreigner has the right to be judged by his own consul or ambassador, or such court as his government may appoint.

3. In those cases that may be judged in the local courts, the foreigner is to be defended by his consul or ambassador.

4. He is freed from the imposition of all irregular taxes. He pays taxes on property regularly assessed.

5. He is free in the enjoyment of his religion with its rites and ceremonies. There are large concessions obtained by the French for convents, nunneries, religious houses, bishops, and importation of all their paraphernalia free of duty.

6. The foreigner is free to dispose of his property by will.

It is admitted also, by *adet* rather than capitulation, that if he marry a native woman her nationality becomes merged in his.

The above statement gives the reason why the nations of Europe stand firmly upon the capitulations. There has been no reform of Turkish law and administration to make it safe to yield a single point. The attempted reforms have all failed and must fail without some powerful outside support. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, at the close of the Crimean War, wished to have a camp, or camps, of French and English forces remain, in order to secure the fulfillment of the reforms so admirably sketched in the "*Hatti Humayun*." It was the advice of experience and wisdom, and its rejection made the war little better than a farce.

Turkey is incapable of reform without such measures as the "*Great Elchi*" proposed. Her government is theocratic. Her Sultan is caliph, successor, that is, of the Prophet. He is infallible, irresponsible, inviolable, except by assassination. The law is a holy law. The Ulema are its only expositors. The *fetva* of the Sheikh ul Islam is the decision of the supreme court. You will as easily reform popery out of all claim to the temporal power as to reform Islam in the above named elements.

The evident duty and interest of the United States is to stand with the European powers upon the rights hitherto accorded.

The only embarrassing subject is the rights of "protected citizens." All the European powers have more or less citizens, subjects in Turkey, who were emigrants from Turkey and have returned with foreign citizenship. Russia, France, Italy, Austria have many such. Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, Armeno-Catholics, Græco-Catholics, and Jews have emigrated, obtained citizenship and have returned to Turkey and are protected in their rights. Russia has many tens of thousands of such protected subjects. France has a very large number. The United States have very few, a number wholly insignificant compared with any of the European powers.

Some special reason, then, must be sought for the recently proposed treaty with the Porte. Its evident aim is to place our government in a position entirely different from and inferior to the position of other governments. If a Greek or an Armenian has obtained American citizenship it shall be no shield to him in Turkey; if French or Russian citizenship, he is not molested.

What is the genesis of this proposed treaty? It is evidently of Russian birth. It would have the effect of making the United States hated, as having no such sympathy with the Christians of Turkey as the states of Europe have. Those who have American citizenship would have to flee from the country, provided their escape should be possible, although some of them served in our armies or are graduates of our colleges, and are in useful and honorable employments as merchants, mechanics, physicians, professors in colleges, and teachers. It would strike a blow at all our educational, literary, commercial, and missionary interests. This is what Russia has aimed at in her Eastern diplomacy for many years. A few facts will show this conclusively. In 1839 the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople declared to Dr. Schauffler that "the Tsar would never allow Protestantism to set its foot in Turkey." He exiled to Siberia a Russian Armenian for the crime of being a teacher to a missionary.

The prosecution of the Armenian Evangelicals from 1844 to

1846, and the "Great Anathema" hurled by the Armenian patriarch, were all inspired from St. Petersburg.

Says Rosen in his history of Turkey, vol. ii. pp. 90, 91, "Through promptings from St. Petersburg instructions were sent in the same year, 1845, from Etchmiadzin, the capital seat of the Gregorian confession situated upon Russian territory, to the patriarch of Constantinople, to suppress by all means at his command the Protestantism that had crept into the nation. Thereupon there began, first in the capital and then in the more prominent and provincial places where Protestant communities had been formed, against the members thereof, persecutions, by the Gregorian clergy, that recalled vividly the darkest times of the Middle Ages," etc., etc.

This persecution, however, was a tremendous boomerang to the Russian plot, as it resulted in the firm planting of Protestantism as a legalized religion in Turkey.

Sir A. H. Layard in his place in Parliament declared that the Emperor Nicholas hastened the Crimean War in order to extinguish the spreading of Protestantism. The Hon. George P. Marsh, our minister resident, in a letter to the American Board fully indorsed Mr. Layard's view. No two men were better situated or better adapted to pass a safe judgment.

Not long before the Crimean War a Russian officer under the guise of a German savant had visited every missionary station in Turkey. He was among the prisoners of war taken by the English and brought to Constantinople. He seemed to have a more intimate knowledge of our missionary stations than any other man, excepting perhaps Dr. Anderson. He was a Russian spy.

The Turkish resistance to the building of Robert College, which tried the patience of its founders for seven years, was inspired by the French Jesuits and the Russians. This was well understood and confessed by those who had an inside view of the affairs of the Porte.

Now the object of the proposed treaty is to make the United States do what no other power does or can be made to do. And that, too, in a matter in which she is implicated less than any other power.

If the question be made one of justice, we affirm that this emigration and return, instead of being an injury, is a great benefit to Turkey.

Those so-called "protected citizens" are more intelligent, more enterprising, more industrious, than those who are ground down to the most deplorable poverty and ignorance under the present régime of irregular and destructive taxation. They, the protected, pay all their regular taxes upon property, and they are the best tax-payers the Porte has.

This change of citizenship does not diminish in the least the military power of the Turkish empire. She does not allow her Christian subjects to bear arms. The faithful alone must fight for the faith. If ten thousand instead of ten should become American citizens every year, the military power of the Porte would be the same. Germany had a very different case with us. Every Americanized German was a subtraction from German military power, involving the serious loss, not of the individual only, but of a family and of its posterity. There is no such loss to Turkey.

But it may be said the exemption tax called the "haradj," paid in lieu of military service, is lost to the imperial treasury. This is true only in form. The regular taxes more than counter-balance the seeming loss. But with regard to Americanized citizens, the exemption tax is still demanded and paid. There are intelligent and enterprising Armenian merchants and mechanics who have been resident American citizens for many years, but who still pay this exemption tax, because otherwise their relatives are thrown into prison and very cruelly treated to compel them to pay for them. She never treats the French and Russian "protégés" in this way. Upon poor powerless submissive United States she tramples with proud defiant immunity. But still in reality, if we go behind the scenes, it is Russia and not Turkey. Turkey is now Russia's cat's-paw.

In pursuing the same course that all European nations pursue, there is the element of mercy and sympathy toward the Christian subjects of the Porte, there is the maintenance of our national dignity, and there is a real advantage to the empire itself — but there will be a disappointment to Russian plots.

Connected with this subject of protected citizenship, American consuls or consuls-general have sold bogus American passports at various prices from fifty dollars to one hundred and fifty dollars each.

There have been two such officials, perhaps more, during the last forty years. It is needless to say that the purchasers were as vile as the vendors. When all such cases have been sought out and suitably punished and the holders deprived of their forged papers, we as a nation shall have discharged our duties faithfully to the Turkish government. But above all things let us make no treaties with such an unfriendly power in advance of other nations. We shall have no powerful navy in the Mediterranean that will command respect from Turkey and Russia, and without it any treaty will be perverted to the very opposite of its plain significance and intention.

We close with an English diplomat's view of our influence in the East.

"Powerful as England is in Turkey from the strength of her navy and from the successful diplomacy of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe; powerful as France is from the ingenuity of her diplomacy and the traditional respect which the Sultan's government has for the French; powerful as Austria is from her contiguity, and her rights on the Danube; powerful as Russia is, because she has a policy which she will hold to from generation to generation — yet the United States of America has more power in Turkey to-day than any one of these great nations. And the United States owes that power almost wholly to the work of the young men who are up and down through the East, who have been under the influence of Robert College," — and the other American colleges and institutions. We have perfect confidence that our present government will safeguard these institutions against the plans of a misled diplomacy.

CYRUS HAMLIN.

Lexington, Mass.

ROBERT ELSMERE'S SUCCESSOR.

CURFEW JESSELL: THE HISTORY OF A SOUL.

BY DR. JOSEPH PARKER, CITY TEMPLE, LONDON.

CHAPTER XI.

"NEXT week" did not seem to be a remote date, yet to Curfew it was like an eternity, for he had found the heart he wanted and therefore he was full of joy. Our best ministers talk to us through our love rather than through our criticism, and talk to us all the more directly when availing themselves of calculated and delicate evasiveness. Mr. Bell knew that most complicated of all instruments, the human heart, and could play upon it what music he preferred. Especially did Mr. Bell love to watch the unfolding of a young heart and to answer the frank inquiries of a fearless mind. On the other hand, Curfew delighted to hear the eloquence of a man whose faith was so powerfully sustained by reason of integrity, and on whose mental horizon new lights were constantly dawning. But to all speculation some counter-weight must be found if the mind is to be saved from degenerating into the most pitiable kind of selfishness, the selfishness of intellectual vanity and monastic superiority. Little did Curfew know how soon he was to be called upon to say how far he could go in the way of helping and cheering minds that never knew either the delight or the fatigue of mere controversy. In the course of his way home Curfew was startled on receiving an invitation from a woman to look in and say something to her dying little boy.

"He will not be long with us, sir," said the poor mother, as they entered the sick-room, "so I want you to speak to the child."

"I am very sorry," said Curfew, "but" —

"Thank you, sir," said the mother incoherently, "I want you to tell the child what to do, and how to do it."

"I will send the vicar, if you will allow me," Curfew quickly replied.

"No, sir, my child cannot understand the vicar; can you, Robert?"

"No, mother. I am only seven. I do not know long words. I am tired."

"Yes," said Curfew, grateful for the suggestion, "he is too tired to talk now."

"I don't mean to say," continued the mother, "that Robert has done anything much amiss, you know: I am his mother and I do say that God ought not to be hard upon him: I will say that: I mean to say that if his

mother can do with him, God might : I do not know why my child should be taken."

"But would you not like him to go to heaven?"

"No, sir, I should not; I have a mother's feelings. If we could both go I would not mind."

"But you will follow after," said Curfew.

"Follow after, sir? How long after? He will be a grown man, perhaps, and I will never know him, and I want to see him grow up under my own eyes and to do things for him with my own hands, and what will the house be without him? Surely a mother's feelings might stand for something."

After a few moments' silence the little sufferer said, —

"Please, sir, pray with me."

"No doubt you have a mother yourself, sir," interrupted the poor woman, little knowing how she was thrusting the cold iron into Curfew's soul.

"No," said Curfew.

"No? Is she dead and gone? Is it not lonely for you?"

Curfew trembled, then the great tears came into his eyes, then he sank on his knees beside the child, and said, "Our Father," and stopped.

"Our father, indeed," said the mother, "but what kind of a father is He to take my innocent little Robert away and him a Sunday child? Am I to have no comfort? His little sister was taken away Christmas twelve month, and now he's going, and then I shall be left, and I shall be expected to say 'Our Father.' No, no: my heart is too full for that. He might let us live together until Robert is a man."

Curfew still knelt, and the child laid a thin white hand on his bent head.

"Your mother loved you, no doubt, as I love Robert."

"She did, she did," sobbed Curfew.

"Then why do you call Him Our Father? What sort of a father can He be? What had your poor mother ever done that?" —

"Oh don't," said Curfew, "I cannot bear it; I made too much of her."

"No," said the poor woman, "you did nothing of the kind. She was your mother, and you could not make too much of her, and she ought not to have been taken away."

"I was a naughty boy once," said Robert.

"Nothing of the kind," the mother warmly insisted; "he once pulled a turnip out of Squire Weston's field, and the squire would have the child whipped at the parish school for it, but I hope he will suffer for that when he gets into another world, the old cruel tyrant, — that's what I call him, and I wish he knew it. What harm was the child doing? Good God, are the children of the poor always to be snubbed?"

"I like Miss Butler the best of all," said the child.

"Do you know Miss Butler?" Curfew eagerly inquired, glad to have one point in common with his poor friends.

"She's rather a poor hand at praying," said the mother, "but just as sweet as new milk and as kind as many a mother."

"She kisses me," said the child, "and whispers to me, and Mr. Pantus can pray, and pray, and pray, and he likes to."

"Yes, my dear. He is talking of a poor old methody tailor that lives up Baty's yard, and goes out preaching every Sunday whenever people have time to listen to him, and a very decent old body he is, and wants to make out that everything is right, and shouts glory, glory, glory, and I don't hold with too much of that; a little of it I can do with, but I know that everything is not right, or Bobby would n't be lying there, and him, I tell you, a Sunday child, not born on a Friday like Dolly Stukkins's baby that squinted with both eyes, as well she might."

"Very strange," said Curfew.

"And very cruel I call it," added the mother, "and even Miss Butler says she cannot make it out, or reckon it up into anything like sense and fair-play. Will you tell me, sir, what the child has done to deserve it?"

"Perhaps he may be suffering for what others have done," said Curfew, as he now stood beside the child and held the little hand.

"Then why did n't they take their own punishment and let innocent children alone?" the mother added as she put back the hair from the child's forehead and then moistened his lips with water.

"Very strange," Curfew mechanically repeated.

Curfew, where is your old roistering jibing manner? Why do you not rally the wounded mother and laugh her into jollity? Are you beginning to see the tragedy which underlies all life and to realize the sore travail which makes creation groan? A plaster of philosophy will do for the head, but who is cruel enough to lay it on the bleeding heart? Curfew left the cottage as a man overloaded, and staggering because of weakness. Well for us that there are life questions which cannot be settled by intellectual retort and that make us think and almost pray, great questions which draw us upward and startle us into a consciousness so vivid as in reality to increase the volume and sensitiveness of manhood, questions that begin in amazement, pass into sorrow, and emerge in hope; for such questions make life worth living. Curfew was at once softened and hardened by what he had seen, softened because of the human trouble and hardened because of the Divine indifference to it. So it seemed to him at that moment. It would have been so easy for God to cure the child and fill the cottage home with sunshine, yet apparently He did nothing. Was nothing all He could do? As he revolved the question in his mind he met Mary Butler.

"I have just been talking to a little sick friend of yours," said he.

"And I am just on the way to see him," she replied.

Curfew turned to go with her, and as they walked they talked frankly of serious things.

"The mother is a very interesting woman to me," said Miss Butler, "abrupt and stern in her manner, but she conceals very deep and intense feeling. There is a kind of unintentional affectation in her severity."

"She is very severe on the Almighty," said Curfew.

"Because she is very loving to her little boy."

"Is not that a good reason, Mary?"

"Yes and no. Both answers are partly true. She cannot see that God must of necessity love the child better than she can ever love it. He was God's before he was hers. She has only a second lien upon the child. God is the one owner."

"Ah, Mary," said Curfew, "I should once have argued with you and taken pleasure in trying to bewilder you, but I am quite changed, and you know well enough what brought the change about."

"Yes, I know it all."

"What nonsense and vanity and even profanity we used to talk" —

"You did."

"Yes, that's right, I did. I did not mean it all. It was mostly mischief. Do you think mother quite understood that? Did she think I was an infidel? Had she any fear about me?"

"Not one whit, Curfew. I can assure you of that as a fact."

"Was there not the faintest shadow on her mind?"

"No."

"Is it your heart, Mary, that is talking now, or your head?"

"Both."

"Some people think they shall know one another in heaven. I should like to know my mother if ever I get there."

"I have no doubt about your getting there, Curfew."

"Oh Mary!"

"Nor had your mother. She told me so. She said, Curfew's mind is very willful, but his heart is right."

"Just like her. I don't admit that she was right in her judgment, but I know she would be very likely to say that."

"And as to all these mysteries," Mary continued, "I must take a woman's view of them, and rest content with the belief that all will be right in the end. We simply want more patience. We must feel things at the time. I dread all hard-heartedness, and I believe in crying because of pain and loss and death; but we must wait. When the sun rises we shall see many things as God meant them to be seen."

This kind of talk suited Curfew's then mood and did him good like a medicine. There is something in a woman's voice there can never be in a man's, even when the words are the very same. In Mary Butler's voice there was always a gospel for Curfew. He more and more expected that gospel; he hungered and thirsted for it; — partly because Mary had known and revered and loved his mother. Mary had not gone many yards from Curfew when she turned and said, —

"I wonder if you can bear what I want to tell you, Curfew?"

"I know I can," he replied impetuously.

"I would not tell you if I thought the effect would be unhappy."

"It cannot be," yet as Curfew said this he felt uneasy and straightened himself as if to bear a shock.

"Well, then, I give you my word of honor that two nights ago I saw your mother in my bedroom" —

Curfew started.

"I am not dreaming or romancing" —

"But you were dreaming then."

"No. That is what I mean. I saw her when I was as much awake as I am at this moment. She came" —

"Do tell me, Mary."

"She came quietly along the side of the room and stood at the foot of the bed. I can never forget the sweetness of her look. I was not in the slightest degree afraid" —

"You stupefy me."

"I said, 'My dear Mrs. Jessell, what is the meaning of your being here?' and she moved away as quietly as she came, without uttering a single word" —

"It must have been a dream, Mary."

"So one would think, but I assure you that I was quite conscious. I was not even in a half-sleepy condition. I tested myself, I even got up and looked out of the door, to make absolutely sure that I was awake."

"Would God she would come to me like that."

"She may do so, Curfew."

"But even your getting up and looking of the door may have been part of the dream. It could all be done quite vividly, and could be done in a moment. I am sure you mean to relate an actual fact, but you must have been in a dream."

Miss Butler said no more, but hastened to see the little sufferer, and tell him what she could of the better land.

CHAPTER XII.

THE Rev. Boston Bell was deeply interested in Curfew, and therefore gave him cordial welcome at the appointed time.

"I have not forgotten our subject, Curfew; come away and let us see, what we can make of the wonderful old book, — ah," continued Mr. Bell, rather to himself than to Curfew, "it is a wonderful old book; there it is, after centuries of controversy, just about as good as ever; hardly a sword-wound on it."

"Do you think it is inspired, Mr. Bell?"

"No, I don't. I have done with merely thinking. I now know it, my boy."

"I wish I did," said Curfew.

"You may if you like. Everybody may. Where people who don't know get wrong is in not understanding the meaning of inspiration. They think of it as something mechanical, something measurable, something final like a finished portrait. We must get rid of that kind of thought if we would get rid of doubt."

"How is it, then, Mr. Bell? Will you undertake to make a believer of me?"

"Yes, if you want to be a believer. All depends on that."

"Oh, I am certain I do."

"Very good. We have nothing on earth to do with what people have said about inspiration. If you ask me if I accept other people's conception of inspiration, I say I do not. If you ask me if I believe the Bible is inspired, I tell you I do. I do not want to know what other people think, I want to see the book itself and to read it and to form my own opinion about it. Does the Bible ever assert its own inspiration?"

"I don't know."

"Does the sun ever say, 'I am the sun, and I am very bright'? The sun does nothing of the kind; the sun simply shines. So with the Bible. It simply says, 'read me straight through; interpret my by experience, by nature, by consciousness, by life altogether.' A book that is inspired need not be anxious to assert its inspiration."

"That I admit," said Curfew, "but if I may tell you everything" —

"Certainly, my boy."

"I would say that my thought is that inspiration means authority. One may say that 'Paradise Lost' is inspired in the sense of being most sublime, but 'Paradise Lost' is not an authoritative book. Nobody quotes book iv., line fifty, and says that is the truth, and you disbelieve it at your peril."

"Exactly so," said Mr. Bell, "now we are coming to solid ground."

"So you see, Mr. Bell, it is a peculiar kind of inspiration that is claimed for the Bible; it carries the idea of authority. It strikes at private judgment" —

"How?"

"In this way: if I say I will not read 'Paradise Lost' I can do so with impunity, but if I say that I won't read the Bible you will say that I imperil my soul. I have no innocent option in the matter. Then again if I do read the Bible and differ from it in opinion I am assured that I am an infidel and that I am going straight down to ruin. In that way the Bible strikes at private judgment."

"So it appears to do, my young one."

"But does it not do so in reality?"

"Perhaps yes, perhaps no."

"Oh, do tell me, Mr. Bell. I am in dead earnest. I want peace and trust."

"Do you think then, Curfew, that you will go straight down to ruin if you do not believe that some of the children of Judah dwelt at Moladah and Bethphelet and Ziklag and Mekonah?"

"I hope not, Mr. Bell."

"But that is in the Bible. Do you think you will go straight down to ruin if you cannot tell whether Bigthan and Teresh really wanted to kill Absuerus or only to frighten him?"

"I hope not."

"But that is in the Bible. Do you think that you will go straight down to ruin because you cannot quite understand how the breath of Leviathan kindles coals, and how burning lamps come out of his mouth?"

"Certainly not."

"But that is in the Bible, Curfew. Do you think you will go straight down to ruin because you cannot believe that the nose of the Prince's daughter was like the tower of Lebanon which looked towards Damascus?"

"Oh, no, no."

"That also is in the Bible. I quote these instances to show that we have not yet got at the Bible which is authoritative: we are only as far as geography and metaphor. We must go deeper. Do you think you will be lost because you cannot fix the date of creation?"

"No."

"Very good. Then that is not the kind of Bible that is inspired and authoritative. We must go farther. Let us take the matter from another point of view. I suppose you admit that there are laws of health, health of body, I mean?"

"Of course."

"And that those laws must be authoritative?"

"Yes."

"One might even say inspired?"

"Possibly."

"Very good. Now do you suppose that every man can be a scientific physiologist? Is it in the power of every man to be a physician?"

"Certainly not."

"Take care how much you admit, for we are in argument."

"I stand by what I have said."

"Then as every man cannot be a physiologist yet may attend in a general and substantial way to the care of his health, so though every man cannot be a critic or a theologian each man may find enough in the Bible to help him in the conduct of life and the building up of fine character. You see that?"

"Certainly."

"Then what more do you want in the mean time?"

"I want to know if the Bible is inspired."

"Just so. There is a scientific physiology and there is a practical physiology: so there is a theological Bible and there is a people's Bible. We must begin where we can. May I put a few questions to you, and show you their application to an argument?"

"Most certainly."

"What do you scientifically know of the pancreatic juice?"

"Nothing."

"And yet you eat and drink, day by day?"

"I do."

"How would you describe the epithelium?"

"I never heard of it."

"Never heard of it, Curfew? And yet you regularly sit down to dinner?"

"Yes."

"And your dinner does you good?"

"Yes."

"How does the chyle travel towards the thoracic duct?"

"There you puzzle me."

"And yet you go on eating and drinking? Why not suspend those expensive processes until you can show how the nutritive particles of food pass through the cell walls of the epithelium and how they get into the lacteals?"

"Then I should never resume them."

"I believe you. Yet you see experience is a teacher as certainly as science is. There is an experimental reading of the Bible as well as a scientific reading. There are Christians as well as critics. You want to begin at the wrong end. I want you to begin where you can."

"You think I may do something without understanding everything?"

"Precisely. Call the human body the physiological Bible, and you will see my meaning. What is the anconeus?"

"I don't know."

"If I said you had not one could you intelligently contradict me?"

"No."

"If I said you had one could you prove it?"

"No."

"Yet it is simply one of the muscles of the arm! How dare you exercise the muscles of your arm until you can distinguish between the *supinator longus* and the *ulnaris internus*? Are you not a rational and responsible creature?"

"Go on, sir, I begin to see your meaning."

"At this moment I want you to feel that you often take things on credit, that you do much without knowing much, that you cannot always be scientific, and that experience has a place in education."

"That is clear enough."

"So far good. Divide the constituent parts of grain into 100, what is the proportion of oxygen?"

"I don't know."

"Yet you eat bread and ask for more. How extremely irrational. How is azotized matter formed? Can it be formed with nitrogen only? What proportion of sulphur and phosphates is needed?"

"I give it up."

"Then you see that there is a chemist's world as well as a layman's world. So there is a theologian's Bible as well as a people's Bible, and you have nothing to do at this stage of your education with the former. Keep to your own line. That is your business, Curfew, and you must attend to it."

"Still there is a great difficulty which I cannot get over."

"Name it."

"A man need not know anything about epithelium or nitrogen or phosphates, yet he will not be damned for his ignorance. But it is generally understood that if a man does not believe the Bible he will be lost for ever and ever. That is my difficulty. How am I to meet it?"

"Which Bible do you mean?"

"I mean the Bible."

"No, no. We must be definite. We have just seen that there are several Bibles, — the theologian's Bible, the grammarian's Bible, the historian's Bible, and so on; now you must say precisely which Bible you mean. It is quite true that a man may not have heard of the epithelium and yet may live and prosper, yet I want you to see that no man could live and prosper without eating and drinking."

"Of course not."

"He would, in short, be physically damned, — physiologically lost for ever and ever. Damnation is not an exclusively theological term. A man might not be able to point out the anconeus muscle, but if he did not use the muscles of his arm, his arm would lose power and shrink and perish, — that is the law everywhere, and the Bible is no exception to it. Now the only Bible you are called upon in the first instance to believe is the part which you can understand and which you know to be true. From that point you grow. No man is damned because he cannot read Sanscrit, but every man is damned who does not do justly, love mercy, and walk humbly with God. You must first be faithful to moral inspiration."

"Can a man understand the Bible until he can understand the language in which it was written?"

"Certainly."

"How can that be? The Bible was not written in English."

"Men are not saved by grammar. When this is understood the whole question will be much simplified. Here I ought to read an essay or make a long speech, but I will talk as suggestively as I can. From my point of view, it is impossible that God can save the world by grammar. It is not too much to say that grammar is the creator of heresy. If salvation is a question of grammar, then there should have been a universal language and a universal equality in the power of understanding that language. Otherwise see what an instrument is put into the hands of a professional class, say priests. They tell the common people that learned books can only be interpreted by learned men, and therefore common people must go to the priests to know what is right and what is wrong. Even those who translate the Bible and scatter it broadcast over the face of the whole world need to guard themselves here lest they become a priestly class without knowing it or intending it. For myself I feel that language is only the point to begin at, and that God comes through conscience rather than through grammar."

"But," said Curfew, "suppose a man's conscience is dead, how then?"

"Be it so. Indeed we need not deny it. What has that to do with the

case? Take it in social life. Is a man acquitted in a court of law because he pleads no conscience? When he says he has no moral sensibility is he pitied and sent home? Were he to say that his conscience urged him to do wrong, would he be hailed as the founder of a new morality? The right of private conscience can only be permitted in moral varieties, not in moral essences, — in metaphysics, not in conduct; or if in conduct it must be in a very guarded way. What I mean is that no man must be allowed to say that his conscience bids him steal and murder and lie and destroy, for there is a universal conscience which the particular conscience must not contravene, otherwise society would be overthrown."

"Cannot that be made clear by grammar?"

"Not until it is felt. The revelation does not begin in the grammar, it begins in the moral nature. Letters mean nothing to the man who cannot read, and maxims mean nothing to the man who cannot understand. Man must awaken man. Life must tackle death. Let life be once awakened, then letters become a medium of revelation, a very treasure-house of wisdom, an inspired and authoritative volume."

"But," said Curfew, "the Bible is a written book?"

"Certainly. But first written in the heart. God witnesses to himself in every man's conscience. You must never forget that the beginning is within the man himself: it is not external: so far as it is external it is strong only in proportion as it appeals to something that is within the man. Put it in this way: an alphabet is nothing to a bird but it is everything to a child. How is that? Because there is nothing in the bird which answers to it, but in the child there is something that recognizes the appeal. In a sheet of music there is nothing for a dog, but how much there may be for a child!"

"Remember, however," said Curfew, "the alphabet and the music are both written."

"Of course they are. But that remark applies both to the dog and the child, and therefore it proves too much and proves nothing. Let us say that the sign A, B, C has a great meaning, and that I have to explain it to a dog and to a child who cannot read. Could I ever succeed with the dog?"

"Never."

"True. But I might succeed with the child. Long time might be required but I could certainly succeed. There is something *within* the child that can be made to understand all the meaning."

"But if the child did not understand it, the child would not be damned."

"Yes it would."

"I never heard that doctrine laid down before."

"I have just laid it down myself, and I thought you had accepted it. So far as reading is concerned, or music or the meaning of the sign A, B, C, the child will suffer himself in proportion to the importance of the thing or issue that is involved. A child cannot first refuse to read and then enjoy the pleasures of literature. He dooms himself to ignorance, and must take

the consequences. He is not at liberty to reproach Providence. There is a law, and he must obey it, or go into the perdition of ignorance."

"But if he never heard of the alphabet?"

"Then he must be judged accordingly."

"That is fair."

"Yes. I never heard of anything unfair in the ministry of Providence. Its sternness is balanced by its graciousness" — Mr. Bell was about to proceed when Curfew broke in: —

"Here, then, is a book called the Bible. I must accept it or be lost. I must believe it or be an infidel. I may deny its authority and be an out-cast. I may admit its authority and be a most orthodox and respectable man."

"Or," said Mr. Bell, "take it in this way: Here is an alphabet; I must learn it or be a fool; I must believe it or be doomed to ignorance; I may admit it and frame it and admire it and praise it and be a learned man" —

"Not exactly," said Curfew.

"Not unless I learn it and apply it, you mean."

"Yes."

"Precisely so with the Bible. I don't care what you admit unless you put it into practice, and when you put the Bible into practice it becomes its own interpreter and its own apologist. He who does the will soon knows the doctrine. When the heart and the Bible come into confidential relation the rest is a matter of time. Think of all this, my boy, and see me again as soon as you like."

[*To be continued.*]

BOOK NOTICES.

LETTERS OF THOMAS CARLYLE, 1826-1836. Edited by CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1889. 8vo, pp. 598.

These letters represent the period in which Thomas Carlyle produced "Sartor Resartus" and the "French Revolution." Most critics pronounce these two the most powerful and characteristic of his works. They are certainly those which first gave him an assured place among the kings of modern literature. This collection of the unstudied correspondence of one who was struggling with much adversity and not yet crowned has an interest unsurpassed by any letters of the later and more famous author. It takes the reader behind the scenes and shows the process of formation, not only of two great literary works, but of a great literary character also. In these letters Carlyle is yet growing. His formative period has reached an advanced stage, but is not yet ended.

The very nearly full text which Mr. Norton's careful editing gives us of Carlyle's private correspondence refutes many of the misconceptions for which Mr. Froude's fragmentary and often careless presentation of Carlyle's letters is responsible. It refutes, indeed, most of Carlyle's own self-accusations in his *Reminiscences* of this early period. Nothing can be more fully established by documentary evidence than that Carlyle's regard for his wife was of the unspeakably high, religious, and sacred kind, such as is possible only to the loftiest characters. The revelation of it in the publication of these letters seems almost a profanation of the holy of holies of life.

Carlyle everywhere unconsciously exhibits himself here as a most tender and conscientious and high-minded son and brother and husband. He is, indeed, tormented by seasons of depression arising largely from physical causes, such as sleeplessness and dyspepsia, both of which were in a considerable degree due to overwork; but his general mood is one of elasticity, cheerfulness, courage, and hope.

The writer of this notice has visited the lonely Craigenputtock dwelling, an excellent picture of which forms the frontispiece to this volume. He has driven thoughtfully along the descending road leading down from the bleak, heathery, whinstone pastures around that moorland Patmos to Ecclefechan and Dumfries. In the solitude of Craigenputtock Carlyle's chief spiritual armor was forged and girded on. London was, doubtless, the better home for him in his middle period; but surely Craigenputtock was the best place for him in his earlier literary life. In this quiet stone house, with outlook over bare Scotch hills, "Sartor Resartus" was born; that is to say, here Thomas Carlyle attained his majority as a man of letters and as perhaps the chief ethical teacher of his age.

It is noteworthy to find Carlyle, who admired Goethe so much, saying in these letters that Goethe, although "the greatest of contemporary men, . . . is not to have any follower and should not have any" (p. 378). Soon after Goethe's death Carlyle wrote to Eckermann at Weimar: "Your Goethe appears to me now to be a great and serene promontory stretching far out into chaos, but not through it."

Leigh Hunt complained much of Carlyle's "Presbyterian upbringing," "which I tell him always," writes Carlyle, "that I am everlastingly grateful for" (p. 435). "I believe the poor man is very miserable and feels shocked at my rigorous Presbyterian principles" (p. 484). *Carlyle's religion in these letters lacks little of being that of a Presbyterian mystic.* He has no patience with the London Socinians (p. 464). He commends his brother in Scotland for keeping up family worship, after his father's death. A passage on religious trust as the supreme duty of man is given in *fac-simile* at the opening of this volume and is one of the sublimest declarations of Carlyle's personal faith.

Carlyle's literary habits are described in detail in several very suggestive passages of these Letters (pp. 485, 490). He wrote usually from nine o'clock until two; then took a long walk; and devoted the evening to reading or company. "The *outside* measure of my hat," he says (p. 321), "is just two feet and one half inch, no more and no less."

On the whole, this volume presents a far more attractive, and, as we believe, a much more accurate picture of Carlyle than does the biography of him by Froude.

THE ECLECTIC SERIES OF TEMPERANCE PHYSIOLOGIES. I. *The House I Live in*, for Primary Schools. II. *The Youth's Temperance Manual*, for Intermediate Schools. III. *The Eclectic Physiology, a Guide to Health*, for High Schools and advanced classes in Common Schools. By ELI F. BROWN, M. D., Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co., Cincinnati and New York. 1889.

It is a most important event in the history of American elementary education that the common schools of twenty-five States and Territories have been brought under laws requiring instruction in the latest results of science concerning alcoholics and other narcotics. This is also an advance of high significance in the temperance reform. A majority of the future voters of the republic are now under training in schools which inculcate thoroughly sound temperance principles. This remarkable result has been effected by the unwearied efforts of Mrs. Mary H. Hunt and her assistants in the department of Scientific Instruction of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. We congratulate the public on the appearance of a set of temperance text-books having the full indorsement of Mrs. Hunt and her advisory board. The series of temperance physiologies named above has been subjected to the most careful revision by specialists and accurately represents the best scientific opinions. It is unnecessary to say that it describes alcohol as a cerebral poison, and teaches

unqualifiedly the duty of total abstinence from alcoholics and all narcotics.

Besides this series of graded text-books issued by Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co., there will be soon, as is confidently expected, other sets of similar import issued by great publishing houses in New York, and bearing the indorsement of the department represented by Mrs. Hunt in the national work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Mrs. Hunt, although the contrary has been often asserted by misinformed or prejudiced agents of rival books, has not and never has had the slightest financial interest in any set of books issued for temperance instruction. She and her advisory board give their approval impartially to all temperance text-books submitted to them, provided the volumes meet the requirements of the laws now in force as to scientific temperance instruction.

We very gladly make a part of our record of reform a number of specimen pages from these temperance school-books. The volumes deserve, as a series, high commendation for their style of typography and illustration, and for their close adaptation to the wants of different grades of pupils.

Alcohol, passing from the stomach into the blood, is quickly swept through the system and brought into contact with the nerves, which it paralyses in proportion to the amount taken.

Alcohol has a greater attraction for brain and nerve matter than for any other part of the body. In cases of death from alcohol, more of the poison is often found in the brain and nerves than in any other organs. Enough has been found in the brain to burn and to dissolve camphor. Small blood-vessels are very numerous in the brain, and they are soon distended and gorged with blood after alcohol is drunk. This excites the mind to work, but the quality of the work is unusually poor, for the mind cannot exercise close attention or good judgment. Reason and conscience usually fail first in the drinker. The will is then affected. A single drink of alcohol may weaken not only the judgment, but the will which controls the actions and emotions. A person who is only slightly under the effect of any liquor is often noisy, and may do things he would condemn when perfectly sober. If more alcohol is taken, the voice of conscience and reason is silenced. The words of such a drinker are then apt to be still more offensive; his conduct is often dangerous until his brain and nerves become so deadened that he has no control over his muscles, and complete insensibility follows. He is then said to be dead drunk. The continued use of alcohol permanently injures the power to will, and to carry out the purposes of the will. But the enfeebled will yields to the temptation to drink as appetite increases, until all sense of right and wrong is gone. The kind and noble may thus become brutal and selfish, and ready to commit any crime. The brain and whole nervous system are poisoned. A fearful disease called delirium tremens, or trembling madness, often ends with death the story of the effects of alcohol upon the human system. Most of the criminals in our jails and penitentiaries have been brought there by alcohol.

As alcohol is a brain poison, it frequently causes insanity. The drinking habits of parents often cause idiocy in their descendants, involving not only their children, but grandchildren. When these results fall short of insanity or idiocy,

children frequently inherit diseases of the brain and nerves as well as badly balanced mental and moral natures. An appetite for alcoholic liquors, and a naturally weak will with which to control it, are other legacies from this cause, often descending from one generation to another. Dr. B. W. Richardson says: "The drink craver is almost always a falsehood teller, and this tendency to untruthfulness descends to his children." Thus, a person who begins to take alcoholic drinks runs the risk not only of blighting his own life, but that of his children and his grandchildren. ("Youth's Temperance Manual," pp. 124-126.)

The slight increase of temperature is the "surface-glow" from which arises the common fallacy that liquors are "good to keep out the cold." The action of the heart and blood-vessels, as of other organs, is regulated by a set of nerves called the inhibitory nerves. In their normal condition they prevent the heart from beating too rapidly, and keep the blood-vessels from undue expansion. The paralysis of these nerves is among the first effects of the drinking of alcoholic liquors. Their restraining power being thus suspended, the rapidity of the heart-beat is increased, the blood-vessels are relaxed, and too much blood is sent through them; these, in turn, because their inhibitory nerves are paralyzed, offer little or no resistance to the incoming current of warm blood, and too much blood is received in a given time, especially at the surface of the body. The temporary sensation of warmth produced in this manner is rapidly followed by a decrease of temperature, because this large amount of blood at the surface is quickly cooled. The thermometer is a much safer test in this matter than one's personal feelings. ("Eclectic Physiology," p. 86.)

Tobacco, like alcohol, is a poison. When chewed or smoked, its poisonous portion is absorbed by the blood and circulated through the system. Its effects are most fully shown in injury to the blood itself, and in paralysis of nervous force. Its influence on the nervous and muscular systems is so powerful that its use in medicine is regarded as too dangerous for general practice. Its use causes diseased conditions of the vital organs. The stomach, the liver, the heart, and the nervous centres suffer most from its use.

The effects of tobacco blunt and degrade the mind. By its narcotic effects, its use fixes upon the system the most slavish conditions of the will. The person who permits himself to become addicted to its habitual use loses his power to stop the evil habit. No intelligent person who uses it will advise another to begin the use of it.

Opium is a gum made from the juice of the poppy. It may be smoked and chewed like tobacco. It is much used as a medicine, in the form of morphine. It allays pain, and produces deep sleep. If a sufficient quantity of the drug is taken, the sleep which it produces ends in death. These effects are caused by its powerful narcotic properties. Like alcohol and tobacco, it is a narcotic poison. Its use tends to produce an uncontrollable appetite. Persons who once form the habit of using it rarely escape from the craving that binds them to continue its use. Its habitual use causes the organs of the body to become diseased, and weakens and degrades the mind in an alarming manner.

Chloral hydrate and chloroform are drugs that are much used to relieve pain and to produce sleep. They should be employed only under the advice of a physician. Their use is attended with the dangers that apply to other narcotics.

The sleep produced by narcotics is not natural. While such sleep gives rest, it does not restore the body and mind as natural sleep does. Sleep caused by drugs is frequently followed by sick-headache and lassitude. The habitual use

of sleep-producing drugs is a practice that tends to the most fatal results. ("Eclectic Physiology," pp. 125, 126.)

TOBACCO AND THE LUNGS. — Nicotine, the poisonous matter from tobacco, tends to deaden the nerves and weaken the muscles. By weakening the muscles that perform the act of breathing, the tobacco lessens the power of the lungs, and tends to destroy the health.

Tobacco adds a poisonous impurity to the blood, and gives the lungs extra work to do. We can smell the tobacco on the breath of one who uses it, because the tobacco has made its way into the blood, and the lungs are throwing it off as an impurity.

When persons smoke tobacco, its peculiar poison is taken into the blood through the mouth, the same as in chewing tobacco. The smoke of tobacco has a quieting effect, because it dulls the nerves when they ought to be both strong and active.

Cigarettes are more injurious than cigars, and there is a suspicion that they sometimes contain opium, in addition to the poison of the tobacco.

The burning tobacco, thus near the smoker's nose, makes the air impure with smoke; this he breathes directly into his lungs. These fumes irritate the delicate membrane that lines the lungs.

Young children, and non-smokers in delicate health have been known to suffer from breathing air loaded with fumes of tobacco smoked by others.

Smokers often befoul the air which others must breathe, with the fumes of their pipes and cigars. This indifference to other people's comfort is partly due to the effect of the tobacco itself, which, being a narcotic, tends to blunt the finer sensibilities. The same indifference is often shown by tobacco chewers in their disgusting habit of spitting in cars, on floors, stoves, sidewalks, steps, and other places where people must pass.

Smoking injures the blood and the mucous membrane of the mouth, causing the throat to become sore; it irritates the bronchial surfaces of the lungs, and makes a cough worse.

Cancers, causing untold agony and finally death, are sometimes caused by smoking. ("Youth's Temperance Manual," pp. 104, 105.)

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLIES BY MISS M. F. CUSACK (THE NUN OF KENMARE).

60. *In what respects are average Americans most misled or misinformed as to the true purposes and prospects of Romanism in the United States?*

The true purposes and prospects of Romanists are the same in all ages of the church, but it is necessary for the success of these prospects that they should be concealed as far as possible. If the Roman Catholic Church came out openly with its true teaching, it would at once be denounced and reprobated by all honest men. For example, it is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, taught in all her creeds, and in all her catechisms, that no one can be saved unless he belongs to that church. "Out of Rome no salvation." I might give a hundred examples of this, but one must suffice. And as the Roman Church is bound by her own claims of infallibility, let it be noted that she cannot recede from, or explain away, her authoritative announcements. In the Rev. M. Müller's "Familiar Explanation of Catholic Doctrine; Improved Edition with a Popular Refutation of the Principal Modern Errors," a book approved by Cardinal Gibbons in the warmest terms as well as by many Roman bishops and theologians, there is a chapter headed (page 161): "Reasons why no Salvation is possible outside of the Roman Catholic Church."

"Who, then, will be saved?"

"Christ has solemnly declared that only those will be saved who have done God's will on earth as explained, not by private interpretation, but by the infallible teaching of the Roman Catholic Church."

"Must, then, all who wish to be saved, die united to the Catholic Church?"

"All those who wish to be saved must die united to the Catholic Church; for out of her there is no salvation."

It would occupy many pages to point out the illogical absurdity, and I might almost say blasphemy, of this book, approved by Cardinal Gibbons, and expressly prepared for the education of the children taught in the parochial schools. The writer starts with the syllogism, that there is no salvation outside of the Roman Catholic Church. He then proceeds to prove his major by his middle term, which runs thus:—

"Now Jesus Christ said to his Apostles, and to all their lawful successors: 'He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me, and he that despiseth me despiseth Him, the heavenly Father, that sent me.' Hence all those who do not listen to Jesus Christ speaking to them through St. Peter and the Apostles in their lawful successors, despise God the Father; they do not do his will, and therefore heaven will never be theirs."

"Why have several popes solemnly excommunicated all Freemasonry ?

"All Freemasons have been solemnly excommunicated by several popes on account of the main object and spirit of Freemasonry to establish heathenism or the Church of Satan all over the world.

"Is this main object and spirit known to all Freemasons ?

"This satanic object and spirit is known only to the members of the highest grades of Freemasonry ; but it is sufficiently known to all from the works and speeches of Freemasons, and therefore every member, even of the lowest grade, is guilty of the foul deeds of this satanic society."

Now in the text quoted there is not one word about the "lawful successors of the Apostles," but Roman Catholic writers are not particular about their quotations or their inferences. The remark about Freemasons is amusing. This reverend father says, and let it be well noted that Cardinal Gibbons approves, that : "The satanic object of Freemasonry is known only to the highest grades of Freemasonry." The inference is plain, either he and Cardinal Gibbons belong to the highest grades of Freemasonry, and so know its "satanic" secrets, or they are responsible for making a charge which they cannot verify.

At page 167 of this book there is a remarkable statement to which we would call attention, as well as to the fact of Cardinal Gibbons' *special* approval, as late as January, 1888, of this catechism, which he "strongly commends" for "soundness of doctrine." The reverend author gives as one of several reasons why Freemasons are excommunicated by the Roman Church that "they establish public schools for the infidel education of youth." Now it is to be supposed that all who help to establish public schools are equally under the ban of excommunication *de facto*, if not *de jure*.

61. *What are the perils against which Americans most need to be warned in their conflict with Romanism ?*

The two great dangers to the American people at the present day are their own honesty, which is no match for Roman Catholic duplicity, and their indifference to a danger which is a most serious menace to the state. Americans think that they can at any time put down the pretensions of the Roman Church to rule the state religiously and politically ; they are like children playing with fire, who want just to see how big the blaze will be before they find it necessary to extinguish it. It is just as well not to have the necessity even of extinguishing small conflagrations.

Rome has not revoked her boast that she does not change, and yet Americans persuade themselves that she has changed, because she does not persecute where she cannot do so. The plain distinct teaching of the Church of Rome that you, and I, and every Protestant will most certainly be damned, and damned forever, is the teaching of that church and of the head of that church, Cardinal Gibbons. But the church throws dust in the eyes of the people of this great country, and accuses them of illiberality if they hesitate even for a moment to allow the Roman Church the power to consign them to destruction in this world, as she has consigned them to eter-

nal fire in the next. In Ireland, for example, the priests encourage, even if they do not tell, the people to throw scalding water over the police who in the execution of their duty carry out the orders of their superiors. If the church had the power she would do as she has done and burn alive those who oppose her will. If the American people will not learn on these points from the authoritative teaching of the Roman Church, and her past history, they must pardon me for saying that they deserve the future which is in store for their children.

The temporal power of the pope and his (divine) right to depose princes, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance, is very plainly stated in this same book. At page 195 you will find a section headed: "Popes deposing Sovereigns and interfering with Civil Governments."

"St. Thomas Aquinas asks the question: 'Can the pope deprive a sovereign of his temporal power if he becomes an apostate from the faith?' and he replies to this question as follows: When a sentence of excommunication is juridically pronounced against a sovereign for apostasy, his subjects are by the very fact free from all allegiance."

"We must never confound right with fact. For certain reasons it may not be advisable for you to use your rights; but for that your right is not less certain. In the time of that apostate it was not advisable nor possible for the church to use all her rights. She therefore allowed her children to obey that apostate emperor in all that was not contrary to faith, in order to avoid a greater evil, but her moderation and prudence did not destroy or lessen in the least any of her imprescriptible (*sic*) rights."

Nothing could well be plainer than these statements made with the authority of so high a dignitary as Cardinal Gibbons. The church does not use her temporal power to depose the rulers of the earth, simply because she cannot do so, but she does and she will use every effort to obtain this power, and first by securing temporal power for her pope. If the people of America like to provide the pope with the fagots to burn their children, and the power to depose their presidents, it is surely their own affair. When Agag could no longer destroy the Israelites by fire or sword, he came "delicately" to Samuel, and said, "Surely the bitterness of death is past." He would not destroy the Lord's people then because he had not the power to do so. But Samuel knew that he wanted the power only; that his will was unchanged. The American people have before them the will of the Church of Rome very plainly expressed; they know that it has said, it may not be "advisable" to use its rights, but the rights are none the less certain.

62. *What is the present actual state of education, morals, and personal religion in the average priesthood of the Roman Catholic Church, both in the United States and abroad?*

To give a brief reply to this question would be to do an injustice to the reader and to myself. I therefore simply pass it by with one remark. Archbishop Keane has not been able to find men in this country to take the professors' chairs in his new university, and he has, according to the statements of the public press, gone to Europe for them. The Roman

Catholic Church has had the utmost liberty of education here for many years. Why then this necessity for imported labor? Are not American priests sufficiently educated to teach the rising generation of American Roman Catholics? Or are they tintured with the spirit of American independence, and is the rector afraid to trust them? Or is it that Rome is to wholly control the education of American citizens?

63. *What are likely to be the educational and political results of the attack of the clerical party on the American common school system?*

This subject is far too wide to allow a statement of opinion which would be satisfactory to the reader, or creditable to myself in a page or two. We all have our own views of the future; I confess mine are pessimistic. I see the American people are so easily deceived by those whose life purpose is deceit, often perhaps unconsciously to themselves. I believe the great majority of Roman Catholics are quite ignorant of their own religion, and as they would shrink with horror from the very idea of persecuting their Protestant fellow-citizens, they console themselves with the idea that though the church may have persecuted in past ages, she will not do so now. They do not see that she persecutes as far as she dares now, and that her doctrine on the subject is, that persecution is a religious duty; but it is a duty which must be passed over when it is impossible to enforce its observance. The results of Roman rule are before the world in Italy, where the people were allowed to remain in ignorance so long as public opinion was silent on the subject. The Roman Church has had the absolute control of the education of the people of New York for many years, and the latest crime there has been the attempt to burn down their own Protector by one of their own faith. No doubt the Protestants of New York will be called on to sympathize and pay for the damage. Nor would I cite this example if it was a solitary one. Look at the police reports and see which religion furnishes the most criminals? Even the power which the Roman Church wields over the press, boundless as it is, has not yet reached so far as to silence the reporting of police cases, though we may expect this to be done as soon as public attention is called to the religion of the majority of criminals. And let it be well noted it is not the poor who are the only criminals. The religion of the men who have fled to Canada is well known. The religion of the men who have escaped trial, or whose trials have been quietly dropped, is well known. Up into the highest ranks of society crime has eaten. Not long since the public press announced that an alderman had given \$20,000 to a parochial school in New York, and that the sisters and children were praying for his acquittal most fervently. They did not pray that he might have a fair trial, or be acquitted if he was not guilty, but simply that he might be acquitted. Their prayers were heard. No verdict was found in his case. Such are some of the results of parochial schools — but this is a free country, only it might be well for Protestants who support these schools to ask what are the invariable results of their teaching.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE organized and alert greed of the liquor traffic has defeated constitutional prohibition in Massachusetts by some 45,000 majority. Class legislation was allowed to triumph by a mass of absentee voters, rarely excelled in numbers or torpor in any American contest of similar importance. More than 123,000 citizens of Massachusetts, who came to the polls in the last presidential election, did not express themselves at all in the contest at the ballot-boxes on April 22, on the proposed constitutional prohibitory amendment.

It must be confessed that the saloon has asserted its sovereignty for the present in Massachusetts practical politics. But our conviction is that a law for compulsory voting, such as several cantons of Switzerland enforce, might have greatly increased the vote for the amendment. If female suffrage on temperance issues had been permitted and compulsory voting made the rule, we believe that the amendment might have had a majority. It is not safe for rumsellers to assume that the intelligence and conscience of the State are on their side. It is premature irony for Western newspapers to change the name of Massachusetts, as some of them do, from the Bay State to the Bay Rum State.

To some voters the issue in the constitutional amendment campaign in Massachusetts was a question of greed ; to others, a question of method ; to others, a question of principle ; and to yet others, as we have shown, it was no question at all.

Many temperance men, with views which no thorough student of recent American politics and no specialist in the temperance reform will indorse, thought honestly that high license is a better method of regulating the liquor traffic than constitutional prohibition. With presumably good intentions, not a few prominent advocates of high license gave much aid and comfort to the common enemy. But Massachusetts has in it, as the vote of

April 22 shows, at least 88,000 stanch friends of constitutional prohibition. The vast majority of the preachers were on the right side.

The brave city of Somerville, out of which local option has driven the last rumseller, was the only city in the State which gave a majority for constitutional prohibition. This wise municipality, as we believe, will yet be imitated by the commonwealth at large. The fierceness of the grip of the unscrupulous classes on the throats of large cities is abundantly illustrated by the political success of the liquor traffic in Massachusetts. This grip will tighten until the people awaken.

Of this defeat not much need be said. It was overwhelming, more so than either the friends or foes of the measure had looked for. The reasons are now quite apparent. We call attention to two of the chief ones. First, there were in the liquor interest unnatural and unexpected alliances. There were alliances such as, on reflection, increasingly excite one's surprise. Harvard College, Trinity Church, and the death-dealing rum saloon, for instance, formed a triple alliance which, we feel compelled to say, will cause the cheek of the friends of Phillips Brooks and President Eliot to blush more and more as the years roll on. It reminds one of that alliance between the Pharisees and the Herodians in their assault against Christ on the last Tuesday of his life. The college and the church united with Pat Murphy and the rest of them in the overthrow of a righteous measure, and in placing the crown of respectability upon the brow of the man behind the bar, who is cursing the homes of the land, rendering our properties and persons insecure, and sending the souls of numberless men to perdition. This giant evil, with such gilt-edged certificate, can now hold up its head in any company.

The daily press of Boston was another of the chief agencies in the defeat of the amendment. The daily press of Boston, since its origin, has moulded more or less the public opinion of New England. The right to do this has not been questioned. During the late campaign only one of the dailies, the "Evening Traveller," advocated constitutional prohibition. Its circulation, however, was too limited to reach the masses, being con-

fined to a radius of twenty miles about Boston. The saloon power (we know of what we speak) threatened the press, and in cowardice the press, with the exception of the paper above mentioned, yielded to the threat. During the entire campaign, the bar-tender had his hand upon the throat of the press; not an editorial appeared in support of the amendment, and no temperance communication sent by the friends of prohibition was admitted into the columns of those cowardly and mercenary papers, except on payment of a high rate for its insertion.

Misstatements and misrepresentations crowded the papers. The people could not easily be made to believe that the press was as false to the truth as many of us now know it to have been. Thousands of our people were influenced by the press to vote against the amendment because they did not know that blood-money had been used to secure a betrayal of righteousness. It was Judas Iscariot over again.

Nor is it a matter of surprise that the mass of our people were bewildered by the din heard constantly and on every hand. The names of the few clergymen who opposed the amendment, principally Unitarian and Episcopalian, it should be noted, were given again and again to the public. But the names of the thousands of ministers who supported the amendment were never mentioned. The making of such discriminations is not the business of *news-papers*.

The editorial in the "Congregationalist" opposing the amendment, which was the occasion of inordinate glee in every rum-hole, being quoted by every paper and tract published in the rum interest, was lauded by the Boston daily press, but that same rum-enslaved press did not inform the public that the Congregational sentiment of New England was so thoroughly incensed by that editorial, that the tone of the "Congregationalist," through the communications subsequently inserted, became strongly prohibitory. The daily press published the names of three hundred and twenty lawyers of Boston who were opposed to the amendment, but those papers did not publish the names of the remaining eleven hundred and eighty lawyers who refused to allow their names to be used as opposed to the amendment, many of whom gave time and money in support of

the measure. The daily press published the names of seventeen lawyers of Worcester who were opposed to the amendment, but those same papers did not publish the names of the remaining sixty-three lawyers who stood with the prohibitory people, some of whom stumped the State in support of the amendment. We could say much more showing how utterly derelict the press has been in fulfilling the mission for which a newspaper is supposed to exist. Is it not high time for a daily morning paper in Boston that will voice the Christian and moral sentiment of New England?

Massachusetts is to continue to license one of the greatest evils of the age. God's frown will shortly be seen. Moses may break the marble slabs because he thinks the laws against idolatry and iniquity among the Israelites cannot be enforced. But God has only one method as to iniquity, that is to prohibit it. He does this though every one of his laws is daily broken. To license vice for a revenue is a crime. To license vice through fear is contemptible. To license vice because of a persuasion that prohibition will not prevent the evil, is to give strength to the foes of good government.

Other slabs of marble like the first ones must, therefore, be provided by Moses, and the laws must be re-written word for word as they were before. God's thunders can never be silenced while any form of vice or crime is licensed on the statute-books of the State, or nation. The friends of constitutional prohibition may not enter the better land; their children will.

L. T. TOWNSEND.

WE confess to a profound and most painful disappointment in the results of the voting in Massachusetts on constitutional prohibition.

The saloon has won a great victory in Massachusetts — a majority of 44,697 for keeping open all the avenues to the corruption, drunkenness, and countless woes inseparable from the saloon. Who are now hilarious over the vote? Who are reveling and dancing and making merry? The rumsellers and their friends are the only ones who rejoice that 133,000 men in Massachusetts have gone with the saloon. There are some

exceptions to be made of those who prefer local prohibition, but when the crisis came they went over to the saloon, and whether they like their company or not they are there. Their influence is there, and they are the joy and glory of the saloon.

The old Commonwealth is arrested in her high career, and her glorious past will be covered with ignominy and shame unless this filthy and corrupting enemy can be expelled.

If our minority of 88,597 could be *weighed* instead of counted against the 133,294 for the saloon, the result might be far different. It is a minority still full of courage and determination because God is on its side. Science is with it. It is composed of men of intelligence, patriotism, and earnest convictions. Their position is demonstrated to be the only true one by numerous facts ever increasing in significance and power. The grand demonstrations of Kansas and Iowa will speak with clear accents every year to Massachusetts. The 123,000 who stayed at home are to be won over. We lament their position. There are good men among them who will be gained by the force of truth and facts, just as we were. The contest has awakened an attention that must not be allowed to slumber. In our bitter disappointment there is no ground for discouragement. There is a call for wise, firm, and combined action.

At the meeting of the leaders of the prohibition campaign, it was agreed that "all should unite in the enforcement of the present law according to the letter of the statutes. All law-abiding citizens should join in securing any needful enforcing clauses to the law, and to give that local and general moral support, without which no law can be enforced, and thus seek to make permanent the moral power and quickened conscience of the campaign now closed."

CYRUS HAMLIN.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND mentioned four recent and successful cases of international arbitration in his last message. President Harrison said in his inaugural address:—

Calmness, justice, and consideration should characterize our diplomacy. The offices of an intelligent diplomacy or of friendly arbitration in proper cases should be adequate to the peaceful adjustment of all international

difficulties. By such methods we will make our contribution to the world's peace, which no nation values more highly, and avoid the opprobrium which must fall upon the nation that ruthlessly breaks it.

Three able and experienced commissioners, representing both great political parties, have been sent to Berlin to complete the settlement of the Samoan difficulty.

The Congress of American States has been called to meet in Washington, D. C., in September next. The President appointed as the ten American commissioners, John B. Henderson, of Missouri; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York; William Pinkney Whyte, of Maryland; Clement Studebaker, of Indiana; T. Jefferson Coolidge, of Massachusetts; William Henry Trescott, of South Carolina; Andrew Carnegie, of Pennsylvania; John R. G. Pitkin, of Louisiana; Morris M. Estes, of California; J. H. Hanson, of Georgia.

The fortieth anniversary of the remarkable Peace Congress of 1849, presided over by Victor Hugo, and at which he made the speech of his life, will be observed by a similar Universal Peace Congress at Paris, June 1-5, in connection with the Exposition. To this the Peace Societies of America have elected delegates, not exclusively from among their own members. The American Peace Society has chosen Hon. E. S. Tobey of Boston, Rev. George W. Cutter, M. D., Buffalo, N. Y., Hon. Frederick Douglass, Washington, D. C., Philip C. Garrett, Philadelphia, Francis B. Gilman, Cambridge, Mass., Hon. John B. Foster, Bangor, Me., and its secretary, Rowland B. Howard, delegates.

A Parliamentary Conference on International Arbitration called by committees of the French and English Parliaments, to which members of national legislative bodies throughout the world have been invited, is to be held in Paris, June 29 and 30. The call is signed by Jules Simon and others for France, and Sir George Campbell, M. P., and others for England. Special invitations have been addressed to United States Senators Hoar and Sherman and to leading members of the House of Representatives. The object of this free and friendly conference is a more complete and mutual understanding of the legislation necessary in the several countries to secure successful Arbitral Courts.

The friends of arbitration are actively engaged to make this conference of legislators a success in numbers and character.

Great Britain has, after some delay, consented to a maritime conference, consisting of official delegates from all maritime nations, called to adjust international differences as to the law of the sea. It will meet at Washington this summer.

Hon. S. I. Kimball, Superintendent of the United States Life Saving Service, is a leading spirit in this conference. Canada has decided to license American fishing vessels under the *modus vivendi* agreed upon when the rejected treaty was pending. This removes one exciting cause of irritation and paves the way for an amicable adjustment of existing differences.

Professor Goldwin Smith declared in a recent address before the New York Congregational Club, that "whatever might be said by newspapers on either side, there does not exist among any class of Englishmen so far as he knows one particle of ill feeling towards America." May not the same be said of the attitude of the public mind of America towards England. Our tears flow for John Bright as theirs did for Abraham Lincoln.

ROWLAND B. HOWARD.

THE greed of Sunday Journalism has invaded England from America. The attempt of the "New York Herald" to force its Sunday edition upon London awakens indignant remonstrance from British journalists of the first rank. Our conviction has often been expressed that the law of periodic rest, one day in seven, is imbedded in nature as deeply as in Revelation. The Christian Sunday has behind it both natural and apostolic sanction. Without indorsing all that is said in the following article as to the theological authority for the Christian observance of Sunday, we gladly place on record this vigorous protest and appeal, from the "Pall Mall Gazette," of Saturday, February 2.

There was issued in London to-day the first copy of the new morning newspaper — the English edition of the "New York Herald." The day has gone by when the "Herald" was the first of American newspapers in enterprise and in circulation, but that is no reason why we should not wel-

come the little stranger, and extend to the new-comer all the good wishes and hospitable consideration that is due to those who boldly essay to achieve so difficult a success. Unfortunately, there is one feature about the new venture which renders this impossible.

The distinctive feature of the new morning journal is that, as its promoters proudly boast, it is the only journal in Great Britain that is published seven days a week. To-morrow, Sunday, the rest day of our profession, will be no rest day for the unfortunate toilers who are harnessed to the chariot of Mr. Gordon Bennett in the Strand. Journalists in these islands are not Sabbatarians by any means. There are many Sunday journals with enormous circulations printed, published, and sold every Sunday in London. But never, until the advent of this foreign sheet, has any newspaper in the three kingdoms been published on conditions which render it impossible for its staff, from the editor to the printer's devil, to enjoy one day off every week. We are, therefore, face to face with an attempt made by a capitalist to add still more to his gains by the plunder of the English rest day. Against that we raise a protest which we hope will be taken up by every journalist in Great Britain.

We base our protest upon the broadest ground of humanity. It is not a question of religion, but one of health, and the opportunities for leisure which make life worth living. We are not protesting now against the Sunday newspaper. No one needs to tell us or any journalist that there is much more Sunday work done on a Monday morning paper than there will be upon the American news-sheet which will be sold in the streets to-morrow. It is not on the Sabbatarian ground that we take our stand. In proof of this, we will say at once that if Mr. Gordon Bennett will drop his issue on any other day of the week, we shall abandon our protest at once. What we protest against is the cruel and most mischievous innovation of compelling the staff of any daily newspaper to produce that newspaper seven days a week. It is a social crime of the first magnitude, which must be prevented at the very outset, otherwise we shall find to our cost that "the Sunday newspaper has come to stay," in England as in America and on the Continent. It would be a grave mistake to say that the more or less ephemeral appearance of this little American paper seven days a week does not matter. It is never safe to allow the introduction of the thin end of the wedge. If once the precedent is established, the example of the "New York Herald" will be invoked on the first great public excitement to justify the appearance of some of our great morning dailies seven days a week, and when that happens, the weekly rest of the journalist and the compositor will vanish all along the line. American journalists struggled against it for a time, but one after another they all succumbed. With the example of their fate before us, it would be madness to ignore the fatal consequences of acquiescence in the first breach in the hitherto unbroken rampart which has preserved to one of the hardest worked professions in Britain the six-day working week.

What is the use of agitating for a limitation of the hours of labor per day

when in the great industry which supplies the material for thought, and paves the pathway of progress the hours of labor per week are lengthened arbitrarily by one sixth? It is here where the combined forces of labor reformers, trade unionists, Socialists, and philanthropists must take their stand. For the sake of a profession of which we are justly proud, and for the sake of our fellow-workers, who already feel the nervous and physical strain of the work as much as they can bear, we are bound to take prompt and effective action against the attempt permanently to impair the conditions of our daily life. The inheritance which we received from our fathers it is our duty and privilege to transmit intact to our sons. First of all there ought to be a courteous but firm representation to the promoters of the innovation that English journalists, regardless of party, resent the infringement of the immunity which has hitherto been enjoyed in this nation. We are loath to believe that Mr. Gordon Bennett will persist in an enterprise in face of a unanimous protest from the English press. But in defending our most dearly prized liberties it does not do to depend upon the forbearance of any individual. The Society which exists in order to defend the interest of compositors should at once prepare for action. No Society men should work on a seven-day ship. The trade unions should support the Society in imposing an interdict essential to the interests of labor. But the working classes should not be left alone to wage the battle of the six-day week. They should be supported by all those who sympathize with the great movement of our time for the amelioration of the condition of labor. To our religious teachers we need make no appeal. They would be false to their principles if they spared any and every effort in their power to defeat an attempt to filch from the people their right to cease from labor one day in seven. But we do especially appeal to those leaders of thought and of action to whom Sabbatarianism is mere superstition to take the lead in this matter. The Sabbatarian has hitherto boasted that only the theological sanction was strong enough to preserve intact a day of rest. Now is the golden opportunity for the others to prove that this is not the case. It is upon their acquiescence that the promoters of this new venture calculate. We trust and believe that the result will prove that they have reckoned without their host. A prompt, vigorous, and emphatic expression of public opinion would probably crush a project which, if persisted in, would compel all right-thinking men to regard the newly-born newspaper as a public enemy of the whole community. That, however, we hope will not be necessary. But it depends upon each and all of us who are determined to maintain our right to one day's rest to protest, and to protest at once. Afterwards it may be too late.

THE Worcester Congregational Club, which seldom votes, made an exception on the Sabbath question at its April meeting, and adopted the following resolutions, which in substance had just previously been adopted by the New England Con-

ference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the same city — resolutions written by the speaker of the evening, the editor of our Department of Church Work and Sabbath Reform, and suitable for adoption, with slight changes, by all religious bodies: —

Resolved, That we approve the proposal to organize a Massachusetts Sabbath association auxiliary to the American Sabbath Union.

Resolved, That we also approve the suggestion that a Massachusetts convention be held for this purpose in this city next October, immediately preceding or following the Congregational council.

Resolved, That a committee of two be appointed by this club to co-operate with committees appointed by other religious bodies in arranging for such a convention.

Resolved, That we petition Congress to make the day of inauguration the first Wednesday of March or the last Wednesday of April, to avoid the serious occasion for Sabbath-breaking and law-breaking that arises from having inauguration occur at or near the beginning of the week.

Resolved, That we indorse the petition to Congress for a law against Sunday work, except works of necessity and mercy, so far as the jurisdiction of the general government extends.

The work of organizing state and county and city Sabbath associations is going on rapidly. Two years ago, only New Jersey and Maryland had state associations. Illinois, Dakota, Iowa, Kentucky, Ohio, and Virginia have since fallen into line, and it is hoped that nearly, if not quite, all the States and Territories will be organized before the next Congress.

Current discussions on Sabbath Reform make the nomenclature of the subject a topic of practical interest. What is in a name? Often very much. The term "Sabbatarians" is sometimes applied to the small sects that keep Saturday; oftener and more correctly to those who believe in the universal and perpetual obligation of the Fourth Commandment and its present application to the first day of the week, the Christian Sabbath. For those who make a fetish of Saturday we suggest the name "Saturdarians." In Great Britain the terms "Sunday," "Lord's Day," and "Christian Sabbath" are not used as indiscriminately as in the United States. Those who seek to transform the British Sabbath into a Continental Sunday, a holiday, or half-holiday, call themselves "The Sunday League,"

"The Sunday Society." Those who believe the day has no authority back of the New Testament, call it "The Lord's Day," a term which is also used as a compromise in some cases by those who prefer the name "Christian Sabbath," because they believe its foundation is the Fourth Commandment. A Senate petition for the passage of "The Blair Sunday Rest Bill" recently came to the American Sabbath Union, with the word Sunday in the quoted title covered by the word "Sabbath," and the expression "Sunday work" changed to "Sabbath work." These are just the cases where the word "Sunday" is strictly accurate, namely, in quotations, which no one but the author has a right to amend, and in references to such transactions upon the Sabbath as are unsabbathlike. Needless work on that day is "*Sunday* work," that is, it belongs to the Continental Sunday, not to the true Sabbath. Strictly we should say, also, "Sunday amusements," but "Sabbath rest," "Sunday newspapers," but "Sabbath-school." There are some who would use Sunday in a good sense in speaking to legislative and labor organizations, distinguishing between "the civil Sunday" and "the Christian Sabbath." We have often used "Sunday" in such cases, but incline more and more to use the word "Sabbath," meaning "rest," in all references to true Sabbath laws and customs that protect the rest and worship of the day, and the word "Sunday," which historically means dissipation and work, in connection with whatever is inconsistent with the true uses of the day.

In this connection it is appropriate to refer to the name of the "American Sabbath Union," a happy amendment, suggested by Bishop Newman, of the original name, "National Sabbath Union." The champion of the "Seventh-day-Baptists," in an "Extra" which has been circulated very widely, misquotes the article of the Constitution which declares that the "object" of the Union is "to preserve the Christian Sabbath as a day of rest and worship" — he substitutes for "Christian" the word "American," and then launches into a long but not strong satire on the term "American Sabbath" as that which it is the "object" of the Union to "preserve." Even if the term "American Sabbath" had been used to the exclusion of the term

"Christian Sabbath," the criticism would not be well taken. All who are familiar with either American history or American life know that the term "American Sabbath" signifies the *interpretation* of the Sabbath that prevailed in the America after the errors of the Puritans as to enforcing its religious features had been removed, and which still prevails in those communities where native Americanism has not been overwhelmed with Continentalism. The "American Sabbath" stands for the golden mean between the "Puritan Sabbath" on the one extreme and the "Continental Sunday" on the other. The Continent is struggling to be rid of its demoralizing, toil-some "Sunday." Let us not receive any such outcast to be the substitute for our restful, wholesome "Sabbath."

ANTHONY COMSTOCK writes as follows to the "Independent" in reply to the question: Is New York growing better?

For years the crime-breeders, intemperance, gambling in its various forms, criminal illustrated papers, blood and thunder story papers, and dime and half-dime novels, infidel publications, licentious books and pictures, loose French art and publications, and the traffickers in articles for indecent and immoral use, have been sowing the seeds of corruption, dishonesty, criminal living, irreverence, irreligion, licentiousness, and impurity broadcast.

And, now, as the fruitage of this Devil seed-sowing of the past is being realized and the harvest gathered in, the question is asked of me: "Is New York growing better?"

A categorical answer cannot be given. "Yes" and "No" might be the reply according as the particular phase of reform is considered. The preponderance of the response, in my judgment, must be in the negative.

"Be not deceived. God is not mocked; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." After seed sowing cometh the harvest. So speaks the Word of God, and the laws of Nature.

Never, in my experience, in New York city, have laws to protect property interests been more efficiently or rigidly enforced. Daring crimes of burglary, robbery, and the like have very perceptibly diminished since the present superintendent of police and his corps of able inspectors have been in office.

There is less probability of escape from detection for a professional criminal who has committed a crime of much magnitude than ever before. Mob violence is more effectually checked, and life and property more secure from their assaults, as the recent strikes on the surface street car lines amply illustrate.

Again, public health is also zealously guarded, and a strict watch and

effective quarantine prevails against the approach of infectious diseases. In these respects improvements are noted.

The various reformatories, societies, and institutions of this city are, each in their way, doing a grand work.

These grand results, however, throw a light upon a very dark background, to wit: the necessity for such efforts.

It is not, however, reasonable to suppose, after all the years of freedom to, and toleration if not absolute license of the evils mentioned, that any marked improvements should be noted in public morals; especially in the absence of any pronounced religious efforts. The seeds sown in the past must of necessity produce a harvest, or else God's Word and Nature's laws are untrue. For more than half a century youthful minds have been debauched, cursed, and corrupted by obscene publications and pictures. For about thirty years this one evil prevailed without let or hindrance, until the number of different obscene and licentious books, published in this country, reached nearly two hundred varieties; to say nothing of the thousands of volumes imported. During the past ten years elements of sensationalism, exaggeration of facts, sickening details of loathsome crimes, ridiculing of sacred things, scoffing at religion, blaspheming the name of God, and ignoring the claims of God's Word, have prevailed and increased in the public press. Again, efforts to break down the Christian Sabbath, remove Bible restraints which are designed to protect and further the interests of man's eternal welfare; to secure greater license for the rum traffic; the legalizing of public gambling in defiance of common law principles that "it is a nuisance and against public morals;" the lax administration of those laws which conserve public morality, and the cowardly indifference of Christian men to these encroachments of evil — all have been on the increase, and the tendency of all is, and has been, to sap the stability of society, church, and state.

Other finger-boards point in the same direction. The toleration of low play-houses, where half-clad bawds are the chief attraction; the system of advertising that appeals to the animal passions; the ranting blasphemies of the so-called liberal press; the noisome scandals in divorce, abandonment, breach of promise, and contested will cases, all attended with the disgusting revelations of marital infelicity; the shocking indecencies in high life constantly cropping out, and by newspapers spread before the public eye; the easy divorce, the constant serving up, by the daily press, of the details of horrible atrocities, and catering to the lowest tastes by constant reference to the secret doings of libertines and unclean persons; all these evils and many more of kindred character constantly demanding public attention are allowed to exist almost without a protest. All these indicate a low taste, a feeble conscience, and a weak state of public morality. Corrupted minds are precursors of corrupt lives. Parents transmit their sins and weaknesses to their offspring, and children are born into the world with inherited tendencies to wrong-doing. Some natures heredity curses with appetites for strong drink or tendencies to passion; these enter the world easy victims to

the tempter. In other lives impurity has been sown in early youth by the prevailing evils of the day. Parents are indifferent or ignorant of these blasting influences, and so each generation, born into the world under such circumstances, becomes weaker and weaker in all moral and religious appointment. Greater license to gratify self is demanded. Personal aggrandizement, pride of position, freedom from all restraints of law, morals, and religion are becoming fashionable. There is too little true manhood; too little heart earnestness for the right; too much rottenness at the core; too much love of self and too little fear of God. We are in the midst of a harvest of irreligion, skepticism, and immorality, resulting from the seed-sowing of the past. Our hope for future prosperity is bound up in the preservation of the youth of to-day. An imperative necessity exists for guarding the children of this generation from the microbes of moral leprosy. We need to bring our young men up to the standard of manhood in Christ Jesus our Lord. While influences prevail which secure any other results, no man can truthfully say we are growing better. This may seem a dark picture, but it is true. License to wrong-doing, freedom to crime-breeders, or yielding to an erroneous public sentiment, will not restore the lost manhood of to-day.

The Word of God must be exalted, and his fear felt in the hearts of our youth. Then, and not till then, may we hope for any permanent reform.

To the same *Symposium* the following contribution is made by the highly efficient General Secretary of the New York Young Men's Christian Association.

New York is far from being as moral and law-abiding a community as it should be, yet there is a marked advance in these respects within the last thirty-five years.

Religious and moral teaching has transformed many of the worst localities. The low dance-houses have been practically abolished, and the "pretty waiter-girl drinking saloons" are a thing of the past. Three pest centres — The Five Points, Water Street, and Mackerelville — have been transformed, chiefly through the agency of the Five Points Mission, the House of Industry, and the Wilson Mission. In these the children, especially of what have been styled the vicious classes, have been rescued from vice and crime and brought into contact with Christian women of education and refinement who have taught them the simple gospel of Jesus Christ, and through this teaching have led the vicious into the path and practice of virtue. Those who stole were taught to steal no more. Habits of cleanliness were acquired, and hope and joy were brought into young lives.

Thirty years ago it was not safe for one to visit these localities after twilight.

Possibly no work among the poor boys and girls has been as largely fruitful and ministered so much to the prevention of crime as that of the Children's Aid Society, the Juvenile Asylum and the Female Guardian Society.

The New York City Mission and the various denominational city missions have also accomplished much in the work of prevention and rescue. The McAuley Missions in Water Street and in West Thirty-second Street, and the Florence Mission in Bleecker Street have carried on a work of rescue among the abandoned of both sexes which is little appreciated by the public.

The sphere for the employment of women has been greatly widened. The Girls' Friendly Societies, instituted by Miss Grace H. Dodge, are doing a work for girls employed in factories, in teaching them self-help in habits of living, including economy, housekeeping, cooking, dress-making, and the care of their own bodies.

The Young Women's Christian Association is teaching shop-girls and others dependent on their own efforts for support, useful lessons in different departments of industry which fit them for promotion in their various lines of employment.

The Young Men's Christian Association in its eleven branches, the free libraries, the Cooper Union, the Boys' Clubs and reading and social rooms in connection with many of the churches, provide opportunities for instruction and recreation within the reach of, and are largely used by, classes which were deprived of such advantages in the past.

In the Young Men's Christian Association there are seven hundred young men, engaged in business and professional life who give from one to two evenings of each week to work among young men.

The Charity Organization Society is doing much to diminish indiscriminate almsgiving, and through its agency intelligent friendly visitors are wisely leading the dependent to self-help.

In all the directions above referred to the well-to-do are brought into contact with those less favored. All classes are benefited, and many so-called society men and women are enlisted in direct practical work for uplifting and benefiting others.

Less than thirty years ago pernicious literature of the very worst class could be purchased at almost every news-stand. Now it is very perilous, if not absolutely impracticable to carry on such traffic, thanks to the work initiated by the Young Men's Christian Association, which secured the passage of laws suppressing its publication and sale, first employed Mr. Anthony Comstock, and subsequently obtained the incorporation of the present admirable and efficient Society for the Prevention of Vice since presided over so effectively by Mr. Samuel Colgate and served with such Christian courage and fidelity by Mr. Comstock.

The work of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals under the lead of the late Henry Bergh, has exerted an incalculable moral influence upon the rising generation.

The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, whose work is pushed with so much intelligence and vigor by Mr. Elbridge T. Gerry, has had a humanizing influence on cruel parents.

A superior class of men are appointed as police justices, and laws are more strictly enforced and obeyed.

The police force is vastly improved. Thirty years ago peaceful citizens were almost as much afraid of many of the men who were employed on the police force as of the highwaymen.

A better class of men also serve on juries.

Tenement houses are of a better class, and sanitary regulations are more strict and more strictly enforced.

The sick in the hospitals are better cared for, and intelligent nurses are employed.

The theatre is improved, and the plays have a more moral tone.

The church is more practical in the agencies she employs, and the preaching of the gospel is more direct and practical.

While the day of rest is being invaded and church attendance is not as large in proportion to the population as in the past, and while the part of the city below Fourteenth Street is largely deserted by churches, and the population on the flanks of the city are too much neglected and a great mass of people of foreign tongues are unreached by the gospel, and while there is much unrest among the so-called working classes, there has never been a period when Christian people were more intelligently awake to their responsibility and opportunity, and as ready to apply practical measures for the solution of the problem which confronts them. This is in no small measure due to the recent efforts of the Evangelical Alliance, inspired by its President, Mr. William E. Dodge.

If the workers in all lines of religion and philanthropy in this city could be induced to walk down any of our broad avenues some day, all would be astonished at the size of the army of those who, in this busy life of ours, give time to Christly ministry among us.

In view of all this, the outlook for the future, in all that constitutes the welfare of the city we love, was never so hopeful as now.

SENATOR BLAIR of New Hampshire, in a letter to Judge James K. Hook, Superintendent of Education for Georgia, writes as follows concerning President Harrison's attitude toward the Blair Educational Bill : —

The statement in the slip inclosed by you to me that General Harrison, when in the Senate, opposed the Blair bill to distribute an educational fund among the States is wholly erroneous. On the contrary, he spoke in favor of the bill, and voted for it both times when it passed the Senate. General Harrison was not a member of the last Congress, but he has always been and now is a supporter of the measure. The Republican National Platforms of 1884 and 1888 both declare in favor of temporary federal aid to education, and General Harrison's letter of acceptance of the presidential nomination is a direct indorsement of the platform and of such aid to education in the South. His inaugural address is full of the subject, without discussing specific measures, and the common understanding now is that the Edu-

cation Bill will be passed by the next Congress. Nothing can prevent it, if the people who desire it make their wishes known through the press by memorials to Congress and by the action of their representatives. It will be the fault of the people and not of the President if the bill does not become a law during the next Congress. But the friends of the measure should remember that they must perform their duty by demanding its passage in such a way that the Congress shall understand their will. The necessity of temporary national aid to common schools is not decreasing, and the friends of education should everywhere arouse themselves for a mighty and universal effort to secure the immediate passage of this most important of all public measures now before the country.

THE nebulous demand for a daily paper in line with the foremost Christian sentiment has at last begun to solidify into action. The New England Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, on April 15, at Worcester, adopted resolutions lamenting that the daily press is so generally against the great reforms, and appointing a commission, with Dr. Dorchester as chairman, to solicit the coöperation of other religious bodies in establishing a paper that can be brought into a Christian home without antagonizing its teachings. Even the best dailies today bring every reader invitations to the wine-cup, the theatre, the horse-race, and the Sunday train. The paper that has been praised more than any other morning issue puts its record of Sunday ball-games and prize-fights into the sporting column, instead of the criminal column. It is clear that no daily paper of the same sentiments as the best homes can be expected from private publishers, all of whom yield, some more, some less, to the plea of money against morals. Such a paper as thousands are waiting for can be secured permanently only by its ample endowment, as the people's college, by those who have eyes to see that no other institution is more in need of the restraints of high-minded trustees and conditioned endowments.

A convention of religious editors to consider the relation of the religious press to moral reforms has been suggested. The need of such a convention is very evident. Both in the temperance reform and in Sabbath reform, a majority of the religious papers are not in step with the majority of the ministers, nor even with the declarations of the highest ecclesiastical bodies.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. III. — JUNE, 1889. — No. 18.

BROKEN CADENCES.

AN ODE IN THREE PARTS.

PART FIRST: THE CADENCES OF NATURE.

I.

My childhood sense and vision
Of things elysian,
 How can I ever lose?
For all things that I see
Are more to me,
 If wet with life's fresh morning dews:
The light they keep, in which at first
They on my being burst.
 For, not a paltry thing of years,
 Whose sense grows dim and vision blears,
Can childhood be,
A transient ecstasy;
 It is God's kingdom, where
 He keeps all things unfolding fair;
Where every sight
Perennial yields a fresh delight;
 The colors cannot fade
 His hand upon them laid,

Have we the sense divine,
To know his touch and sign.

II.

The childhood spirit still shall find
The childhood mind.
If but life's burdens we unbind,
 Ourselves escape from brooding cares,
 If we but offer childhood's prayers,
The old time sights and sounds
Will burst their upland bounds,
 And flood our being unawares:
The stars eternal and the fragile flowers,
Regain their pristine powers;
 The sun will kindle hill and plain,
 And God in Nature smile again.
For, One once walked the paths of Palestine,
To whom the earth was all divine:
 The lily's white,
The sparrow's fall,
 The eagle's flight,
 The common day, and the transfigured night,
God was in all;
 No flower could bloom or leaf could stir,
But He could tell
Its meaning well;
 He was its best interpreter.
The film of sin is Nature's blight,
 Which shrouds her like a pall;
His touch that gave the blind their sight,
Can give us back lost childhood's light.

III.

That patriarch brow with crown of snow,
 Blanched white for Heaven,
 As though it caught the light
 From some celestial height;
As though celestial bloom

Irradiate from Heav'n's open room ; —
 A child of seven,
A holier thing than it how can I ever know?
 And there it stands,
Eternal yet,
In those far morning-lands ; —
My childhood faith can I forget?
That palsied pressure on my head
From wrinkled palm God's hand had led,
 Life's pilgrimage
 From youth to age,
It made my being consecrate,
It made my heart spring up elate.
 And still
 Go where I will,
I feel it there,
In blessing or in prayer ;
 It thrills me through and through,
 And gives my life celestial impulse new.

IV.

The child that folds his dimpled palms,
 His mother's lap his altar, where
 He offers up his twilight prayer ;
Still prattling, too, uninterrupted plays,
And mixing them with praise ;
 Singing his vesper psalms,
 Till sleep his bark becalms,
And he is anchored fast
Within its placid bay at last ;
 We dare not chide his lawless ways,
 Meanderings, and quaint delays ;
And when he lies bedight,
In robes immaculately white,
We inward sigh, and wish that we
Could pattern take of his simplicity ;
Could tread God's courts as he :
 We wish that we like him could sleep,

In a forgetfulness as deep.
When art would steal Heav'n's highest grace,
She paints a winged cherub's face;
And God's own temple holiest,
Is still the childhood breast;
And childhood's sleeping place
The spot the angels love to grace;
While white before His burning throne,
They never sleep,
But their unbroken vigils keep,
Lest little feet should trip against a stone.

v.

We all have inward yearning,
A race heart-aching
Never us forsaking;
Unconscious sighing after God;
An instinct when repress
That brings us still the old unrest;
A birthright through past lineage lost
To be regained at any cost:
As when a pansy earthward trod,
Its wounded stalk is turning
Up from the sod;
As though some organ grand should still retain
The echo of the strain
Upon it played;
Should breathe it o'er again,
As first essayed;
The disembodied spirit of melodious thought,
By some great master's hand into its being wrought;
As though one in a foreign land,
Should stoop with eager hand
To pluck a simple flower
That minded him of some long vanished hour;
Vanished and fled,
With mem'ry of his dead,
An instant back on its rare fragrance borne,

Then leaving him forlorn ;
As though one far from God and peace away,
Should turn himself in sleep and pray ;
The inward man awaking in distress,
And mutt'ring his half consciousness.

VI.

All Nature has her litany.
One vast cathedral structure she,
Built without flaw or a defect
By the one great Architect.
Her mountains, columns of the blue, starred dome,
Her caves peculiar shrines ;
Her pinnacles the murm'ring pines ;
Her spire the cliff, the eagle's home.
The sons of God who kept the night, from their high
beat retire ;
Quenching in day, each torch reversed of fire.
The morning breaks ;
Earth sends up incense from her hills and lakes.
From peak to peak all round the world,
As it from west to east is whirled,
The high-priest sun goes lighting up her kindling
pyres ;
Darting his leveled rays,
Till all things are ablaze,
And every latitude aspires ;
And the round earth her homage pays
To Him the Ancient One of Days.

VII.

I love to leave the world's rude throng,
To which I least belong,
And hear the thrush's song ;
I love the water's liquid flow,
Which laughs and tumbles down below ;
As though its art
Were frolicsome to part,

To keep us from a broken heart.
 Like flocks of fresh-washed sheep,
 The mountain torrents headlong leap;
 In vent'rous play,
 Shedding their tattered wool along the craggy
 way.

And, on old ocean's wrinkled shore,
 The hooded monks prostrate implore;
 Repeat their orisons forevermore.
 There is no voice which Nature uses,
 My listening soul refuses;
 In tune I am with her,
 A kindred and consenting worshiper;
 Her creed is mine,
 Her ritual and her every shrine;
 For, He who made her, God, is everywhere
 To hear the creature prayer,
 Which upward goes on incense-wings,
 From all insensate things;
 And man can find Him there,
 And with Him walk, as Adam walked before,
 Through every consecrated corridor.

VIII.

To earth's kind countenance,
 As to a mother's tender glance,
 I turn me when my heart is sad;
 One glimpse of her when I have had,
 Again my soul is glad;
 Me back has won,
 When lustreless the sun,
 And I had seemed heart-broken and undone.
 The trees still clap their hands,
 The brooks are laughing loud,
 And speeding through the meadow-lands,
 Their daisied banks they crowd:
 While on their brink,
 The giddy bobolink,

That has no time to stop and think,
Stoops down to drink, —
Nor tarries long ;
Away he flies,
To greet the skies ;
From water-beaded beak pours out his song :
Thus easing he his troubled breast,
In flight and song twice-blest ;
Then, as if shot, drops to his nest ;
Where his brown mate,
Mute with admiring love
For him above,
Presides in mother state.

IX.

Absence from God I cannot know,
Nor out of God can go ;
The heart of Nature He,
To whom I orphaned flee,
And where He waits to bless
Me comfortless ;
Her inmost shrine,
Where she finds out she is divine ;
Reveals herself, as best she can
Unto God's alien creature man ;
His temple, too, am I,
Swept and garnished from the sky.
I need no brooding sound,
Hov'ring a winged presence round,
To calm my spirit down,
To crown me with song's seraph-crown.
I climb earth's every altar-stair,
And find the God I seek, is there ;
The rustling of his garments hear,
And kneel a worshiper ;
See Nature's sights, breathe Nature's breath,
And through her learn what the Creator saith.
What mortal man has felt,

That still I feel ;
Where mortal man has knelt,
There still I kneel ;
Earth has no fane, or shrine,
But has for me symbolic sign,
The cipher of the hand divine :
Some outline caught
From his eternal thought,
Some fair device in leaf or flower inwrought ;
The broken cadence dim,
The echo of that primal hymn,
Sung by the sons of God,
When first He arched the skies abroad ;
When first in that august processional,
They answered his creative call ;—
Creation's steps when first He lonely trod.

X.

Ye clouds that float in air,
Above the farmer's labors,
Dappling the meadows soft and fair,
Ye are my neighbors,
And ye bear
The semblance of my being there.
For I, like you,
Am but God's breath,
Floating across the blue,
From birth to death.
I've seen you white as Alpine snows ;
To his repose,
As by the angels in a long relay,
I've seen the sun, by you like Nebo's prophet
borne away,
And then have turned aside to pray.
Again, ye were to Heaven a Bethel way ;
Some angel-trodden stair
Let down mid-way in air,
Along the golden aisles of the departing day :

A dream surpassing sweet,
A wearied human soul to greet;
Alone,
Head pillowed on a stone.

XI.

Since dust I am and ashes,
Through which God's spark electric flashes,
In all things made, I find,
Myself am kindred to my kind.
I've seen the autumn mountains clad in mist:
I've seen the sun arise,
And mantle them with amethyst,
And give the woods ten thousand dyes.
As though they marched in festal line,
To some far shrine,
To pay creation's sacrifice;
Sealed with devotion's seal, signed with her sign.
The image they on Nature's page,
Whatever transient thing he seize,
His finite grasp to hold and please,
Of man's short pilgrimage,
Between the two Eternities.
A pageant just begun,
When it is done.

XII.

I love to see each morn the sun,
As though God said out of old night,
Let there be light!
And it was done:
Creation's work renewed,
To waken daily gratitude;
God's daily manual-sign,
To show the work divine.
I love to drink
Fresh draughts of morning air;
To stand upon the brink

Of some bold precipice, and never shrink.
 To see the new-born day come up
 Glad from the seas,
 Creep up the hills, and touch with skirts of light
 the dark fir-trees,
 And, conq'ring, every stronghold seize ;
 Then heights of blue, meridian dare ;
 To take each morn, as from an overflowing cup,
 In which God puts ingredients,
 To nourish new my every sense ;
 My very threefold being
 Transported with the seeing
 Of things I cannot speak, my joy is so intense.
 The moon I love to see,
 In robes of whiteness girt,
 Peer through the woods which the horizon skirt,
 Walking alone in virgin purity.
 The skies, — time's tent 'neath which the nations
 dwell ;
 The canopy, the Creator spreads
 Above man's clay-built sheds,
 On which in rhythmic syllable,
 He does his Godhead tell,
 In phrase so simple that the child may spell ;
 In utt'rance so profound,
 That all Creation knows the sound, —
 The skies are nearer earth
 By day ; —
 The sun retires, the sentry stars come out,
 And answer to the roll-call of their names,
 Crested with glory-flames ;
 From the celestial host,
 Along night's threatened front, each takes his post ; —
 Concave they lift themselves away ;
 The cords are straightened, and they rise ;
 And holier thoughts in us have birth,
 Aerial presences about.
 The casement up, we look abroad,

And all things then are full of God.
The moon that climbs yon high ascent,
Now wimpled with a fleecy cloud,
 And then as though
 With her own toil aglow,
Her hood flung off, to tatters rent;
Is like some fair recluse,
From convent walls let loose,
 On greater solitude intent,
And heights serene allowed;
The scattered stars, devotion's sparks, that mark
Her pathway up the half-translucent dark;
 From unseen censer swung,
 The moving worlds among,
And left behind her on her sapphire way,
As nearer God she struggles up to pray.

XIII.

I love the country with its wholesome verities
 Of night and day;
 Its rising and its setting sun,
 Seen by God's creatures every one;
Its rude sincerities
 Of deed and tongue,
 God's unsophisticated folk among;
 Its kind asperities,
 Its soft austerities,
 Monitions true, moralities;
 And stern equalities;
Its work that's never done;
Its little time for play,
With scarce a respite or a holiday.
 I love the solitudes
 Of thick untrodden woods;
The sober stillness of stern winter's time,
Bearded, august, and reverend with his hoary rime,
 A patriarch creeping, doubled half,
 Upon his silver-headed staff;

Where'er I glance,
The trees snow-coated, as in moonlike trance.
I love the patient burdened brute;
All tiny creatures mute;
The rabbit with his lifted paw,
Halting before he scampers off in awe,
I love the trackless snow,
 As though the God of Heaven
 The sinful earth had shriven;
Clothed her in his own spotless grace
To give her still a place,
 To walk again in white,
 Among the steadfast stars of night.
I love the winter's apotheosis when every twig is ice-
 encased,
And every bole with silver graced.
 And when the icicles
 Ring like ten thousand silver bells,
As though to some crusade;
To right the wrong of child or maid.
 I love the slow-returning spring,
 When budding life comes back to everything;
 To earth, and sea, and air,
 To Nature everywhere;
As though God took her by the hand,
 And whispered in her ear, Arise!
While miracles teem through the land,
 And bring us every day surprise.
In many a quiet vale,
The fettered brooks set free, resume their babbling
 tale;
 As though along their walk,
 Fresh learning how to talk;
Stern winter having made the elves
Soliloquize in undertone, or keep it to themselves.
 The birds
 Flock by in herds,
 Too full for sober words,

And pouring forth their notes
In liquid sparkles from full throats.
I love the summer, like a matron fair,
Binding fresh poppies in her golden hair;
The autumn dim, with its regrets
For every sun that earlier sets;
Its hazy atmosphere,
Its harvests undulating yellow,
Its fruits so luscious, pendent, trembling, mellow;
Its sibyl-leaves torn out, wind-wafted, sad and
sere.
Whatever Nature's costume or attire,
She still is my desire,
Of her I never tire;
She is my mother still,
Appareled how she will:
Fresh-cheeked or with her silver hair,
I have no thought or care;
I filial love her everywhere.

XIV.

There is a man of all the human race
Of whom, though loved the most, I cannot find a
trace;
With him I've stood beneath the throne immaculate
On which Mont Blanc holds his eternal state;
Gazed on his peerless altitude,
Till hushed was every purpose rude;
As ushered there before
The great Creator's temple door; —
With him, from childhood days my mate,
Have traversed rounded seas; —
But now he has outstripped my walk,
By such degrees,
I cannot with him as of old time talk;
His voice I cannot hear,
So full of manly and fraternal cheer;
And if I upward call, no answer back

Comes down from yon transcendent track ;
What peaks he climbs I cannot know ;
With verdure crowned or with eternal snow,
Or where to find him cannot go.
And yet the sun
Another annual journey has begun,
As though his manly form
Above the sod erect and warm
Had still the old-time place :
And from the skies
Look down night's starry eyes,
As though his absence wrought them no surprise.
The year completes its round again,
As though it felt no pain ;
While all that I look on,
To me speaks only of the one that 's gone ;
And earth at times seems but a room
Contiguous to some lately open tomb.

XV.

With steadfast look beyond,
To continents unknown,
Whither we are drifting
'Neath winds that know no shifting,
On tides that know
No ebbing, as they mighty go ;
To continents which there await
Our advent early or our advent late ;
What are earth's dreamings fond,
So quickly winged and flown ?
Each bark we've launched has faded out of sight,
Like thread-rigged toys
Put forth by little boys,
In their ephemeral delight ;
The product of the noise
Which some half-holiday employs ;
Mimic frigates whittled out
With many a loud, exultant shout ;

No venture e'er returning,
With that consignment rich
Of silks and ores
In dreamed-of stores,
For which
Our poor fond souls were yearning.
Wrecked they at sea, or on some distant shore,
They come again no more ;
So strong is our environment,
Our years so idly spent,
Our souls are so intent
On other things than what the Creator meant ;
So weak are we,
And live we so uncertainly ;
We 're like some struggler lost at sea,
Who dissipates his energy
With crying out for help, instead
Of buffeting the waves, and bravely forging on
ahead :
We so forget our heavenly birth,
And what to us God meant the earth.
While daily at her eastern gates,
The whole creation waits
For that new man
Who knows the Maker's plan,
Who in the creature the Creator knows ;
Who finds Him in the rose,
That from his tropic culture queenly blows ;
Who finds Him in the Alpine bloom,
That reddens full-veined next to Nature's tomb ;
Its every vital breath
Defying the cold realms of death ;
Who finds Him in the peak enthroned, twice-silvered
by the moon
At night's high noon ;
And in the plebeian weed,
Whirling triumphant on the chariot of its noxious
seed ;

And in the wayside violet,
Its lifted eye of trust with dew-drop wet
Who finds Him in the falling tear;
A rounded world of woe,
Which pearls all eyelids here blow;
Who finds Him in the circuit of the changeful year:
Four gospels manifold,
Bound with love's clasp of gold;—
To whom Creation is but Heaven's vestibule,
Where man himself may school
The living God to know,
As up to meet Him he shall daily go:
The God who once in Eden walked,
With dust and ashes talked;
The rustling of whose garments' fold
Was heard of old,
When murmured to the prophet's ear the mulberries;
In Shiloh's morning reveries,
When the prophetic vision lost through ways defiled,
God waked a little child;
Through him again began
To speak to man;
Was heard, when moaned the distant seas;
Deep calling out to brother deep
In that grand monotone,
Which every human heart has known
To be from God alone.
The distant seas which know no rest, and know no
sleep,
Time's pulses as for mortal tribes they keep;
The living God, who still supreme, alone,
Love's rainbow weaves around his throne;
But who has shown divinest grace
In One Man's death-transfigured face.

J. E. RANKIN.

THE PRESENT PURPOSES OF PAPAL QUEBEC.

THE present Province of Quebec is inhabited chiefly by the descendants of those Frenchmen to whom belongs the honor of discovery and of pioneer colonization in Canada. The language, habits, and Roman Catholicism of the seventeenth century linger here as they certainly do not in Europe. A walk through Quebec city and some parts of Montreal will lead you into the mediæval age. The census of 1881, out of a population in the province of 1,359,027, gives 1,073,820 of purely French descent. These may be virtually reckoned as Roman Catholic, to which 97,000 of the same faith must be added from other nationalities. Essentially Quebec is papal and French Canadian.

The following figures will show that whilst the English-speaking people remain stationary, in numbers the French Canadians are decidedly on the increase.

| CENSUS RETURNS. | 1851. | 1861. | 1871. | 1881. |
|------------------------|---------|---------|---------|-----------|
| French Canadian . . . | 669,528 | 847,615 | 929,187 | 1,073,820 |
| English speaking . . . | 220,733 | 263,951 | 262,329 | 285,207 |

To this add that in the neighboring Province of Ontario there were in 1881, 102,743 French Canadians as against 26,417 in 1851.

Massachusetts is receiving of this fertile race. Of its 1,942,000 inhabitants, 64,500 are reported as French Canadian by birth; those born on Massachusetts soil being reckoned among the natives of the State. Middlesex has 10,000 French Canadian settlers out of a population of 64,500. The spread of this people has more than a Canadian interest. America is concerned therein.

Within the past ten years a national movement has been more than begun. The present premier of the Province of Quebec, who was once a rouge or liberal, has established himself and party in power indefinitely by asserting French Canadian nationality. The rouge party is now no more, and the conservative party must also be national or be annihilated. There are also biennial conventions of French Canadians established on United States soil.

This nationality carries with it the church. In no country has the Roman Catholic hierarchy such privileges and legal power as in the Quebec province. Its wealth, moreover, is enormous. From 200,000 families it collects annually in the form of tithes, taxes, pew rents, masses, etc., at least \$8,000,000. Then its ecclesiastical rulers are immensely rich. The St. Sulpician Seminary of Montreal alone is said to be possessed of wealth equal to that of the Bank of Montreal, the strongest monetary institution on the continent. In church buildings and their adjuncts the hierarchy possess property valued at \$60,000,000.

On inquiry it will be found that many of the missions of Romanism in the United States have their headquarters in the city of Montreal or in Quebec.

The last advance the clerical party has made has been in connection with the Jesuit estates. The property consisted of over half a million of acres in different parts of the province, and in the cities of Montreal and Quebec, officially valued at about \$1,250,000.

The Jesuit's Estate Bill which has become law in Quebec much to the consternation of the general Protestant community, and to the confirmation of their fears, may be briefly explained. Under the old French *régime*, the Society of Jesus in Canada became an incorporation; certain lands were granted them by the French king, others bequeathed, still others purchased, for the general purposes of the society. At the conquest, capitulative terms and treaty secured to "all the communities (religious), and to all the priests, their movables, the property and revenues of the Signiores and other estates which they possess in the colony of what nature soever they be, — so far as the

laws of Great Britain permit." These orders, however, were not to recruit without special permission, which permission the Jesuits do not seem to have received. French rule in Canada ceased 1763. In 1773 the bull *Dominus ac Redemptor* appeared suppressing the society. In 1791 a royal edict suppressed and dissolved the corporation in Canada, preserving to the individual members "sufficient stipends and provisions during their natural lives." The estates then escheated to the crown. The Roman Catholic Church, however, through their bishops claimed that the property of the suppressed order reverted to it, and since the death in 1800 of Père Casot, the last of the old Canadian Jesuits, has never ceased to contend for a restoration to itself of these estates. The Confederation Act, by which the Dominion of Canada is formed, places the lands of each province under control of the local legislature. Thus the Province of Quebec owns these lands. The Jesuits have again established themselves in Canada. They have recently been incorporated by act of the Quebec parliament. An agreement has been made not with the Jesuits but with the pope; a value of \$460,000 has been agreed upon between the provincial parliament and the Italian priest as the settlement price, this to be set apart for "educational purposes" in the Province of Quebec. As Protestant dissentient schools are recognized by law, \$60,000 of this amount is to be handed over to the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction. His Holiness apportions the remainder. His will has just been declared. One fourth goes to the bishops for educational purposes, \$160,000 to the Jesuits, recently incorporated, the remainder to the Laval Universities of Montreal and Quebec. Thus, with some hush money to the Protestant minority, a nice little sum has been added to the already enormous capital at the disposal of the Quebec hierarchy. There is intense feeling in Ontario over this measure, which with the reincorporation of the Society of Jesus is viewed as still further indicating the determined aggression of the papacy upon our civil rights. This is resented all the more when the Jesuits lead.

It is but just to say that the French Canadian is in general a contented, kind, inoffensive citizen; sober and virtuous, and

not naturally a bigot. But Jesuitism and Ultramontaniam are in the ascendant, and the Protestant minority is — to use the expressive simile of a representative doctor of divinity — being squeezed out as an orange in a closing fist. The Medical and Legal Councils are empowered to enact by-laws regarding the curriculum to be followed in their respective faculties. Hitherto a degree of B. A. from a provincial university, such as McGill, was recognized in itself as giving a certain standing; now an entrance examination to the particular faculty has to be passed, in which subjects specially pertaining to the purely papal colleges are made imperative. The parish boundaries which the bishop sees fit to make must be recognized, if so required, by the lieutenant-governor in council as municipal boundaries. By thus changing the boundary, a settlement of Protestants may have — have had — their school section destroyed, and their voice in municipal government silenced. No law is violated, all is constitutionally done, but the steady aggression is continued notwithstanding. *Sic semper et in æternum.*

Roman Catholicism, we repeat, has greater privileges in, and a stronger political hold on, the Province of Quebec than in any other spot of earth. That church therein is possessed of immense wealth. She has an increasingly active Jesuit propaganda. Boston is not far removed from this source of power. Underground railroads are stretching throughout the continent. Washington and Ottawa are not yet captured; *we* may go on our way in peace, but our children may awaken A. D. 2000, to find things changing if not changed.

Since the above lines were in type, a determined movement has arisen, and is now going on, in Ontario, to demand from the Dominion government a disallowance of the bill. By the Imperial Federation Act, the central government at Ottawa has power to veto any provincial act which may do injustice to a minority or injuriously affect the general interests. The civil ground on which disallowance is being demanded is that the jurisdiction of the pope in national concerns is acknowledged, contrary to the express declaration of the British constitution in the act of supremacy which forbids the recognition of the jurisdiction on British ground of any foreign prince, person, pre-

late, state, or potentate. As Premier Mercier treated with the pope, many hold him subject to the pains of *præmunire*, and the act which recognizes this agreement as invalid. On the other hand, it is contended that the pope was treated with only as having a monetary claim in connection with some property that the church morally held. The act, however, of a year past, by which the Society of Jesus, holding a foreign allegiance received a legal status by incorporation, is felt now to have been the greater wrong, and may yet be tested in the courts. The real gravamen is, that Roman Catholicism under Jesuit influence is Ultramontane, and Ultramontane only. Since Leo XIII. in his encyclical of June last on human liberty has spoken *ex cathedra*, the assertion of absolute supremacy on the part of the church over the state is no longer the claim of a party, but the authoritative utterance of the entire papacy. The Gallican liberties are buried without even an epitaph by that encyclical. And this fact is ominous not only for Canada, but for all America. Rome expressly says that in "the extraordinary condition of these times the church usually acquiesces in certain modern liberties," but she as expressly avows her rights; that the avowment is earnest and sincere is shown by such aggressive movements as those just mentioned, against which we must stand firm as Fitz James against the Highland rock, or the Papal dream may come true and the Vatican flourish in the Central Park of New York.

JOHN BURTON.

Toronto, March 13, 1889.

A CENTURY OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

ORATION BY THE HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEFEW, AT NEW YORK, APRIL 30, 1889, ON THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE INAUGURATION OF GEORGE WASHINGTON AS PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE celebrate to-day the centenary of our nationality. One hundred years ago the United States began their existence. The powers of government were assumed by the people of the republic, and they became the sole source of authority. The solemn ceremonial of the first inauguration, the reverent oath of Washington, the acclaim of the multitude greeting their President, marked the most unique event of modern times in the development of free institutions. The occasion was not an accident, but a result. It was the culmination of the working out by mighty forces through many centuries of the problem of self-government. It was not the triumph of a system, the application of a theory, or the reduction to practice of the abstractions of philosophy. The time, the country, the heredity and environment of the people, the folly of its enemies, and the noble courage of its friends, gave to liberty after ages of defeat, of trial, of experiment, of partial success and substantial gains, this immortal victory. Henceforth it had a refuge and recruiting station. The oppressed found free homes in this favored land, and invisible armies marched from it by mail and telegraph, by speech and song, by precept and example, to regenerate the world.

Puritans in New England, Dutchmen in New York, Catholics in Maryland, Huguenots in South Carolina had felt the fires of persecution, and were wedded to religious liberty. They had been purified in the furnace, and in high debate and on bloody battlefields had learned to sacrifice all material interests, and to peril their lives for human rights. The principles of constitutional government had been impressed upon them by hundreds of years of struggle, and for each principle they could point to the grave of an ancestor whose death attested the ferocity of the fight and the value of the concession wrung from arbitrary power. They knew the limitations of authority, they could pledge their lives and fortunes to resist encroachments upon their rights, but it required the lesson of Indian massacres, the invasion of the armies of France from Canada, the tyranny of the British Crown, the seven years' war of Revolution, and the five years of chaos of the Confederation to evolve the idea, upon which rest the power and permanency of the republic, that liberty and union are one and inseparable.

The traditions and experience of the colonists had made them alert to discover and quick to resist any peril to their liberties. Above all things

they feared and distrusted power. The town meeting and the colonial legislature gave them confidence in themselves, and courage to check the royal governors. Their interests, hopes, and affections were in their several commonwealths, and each blow by the British ministry at their freedom, each attack upon their rights as Englishmen, weakened their love for the mother-land, and intensified their hostility to the Crown. But the same causes which broke down their allegiance to the central government increased their confidence in their respective colonies, and their faith in liberty was largely dependent upon the maintenance of the sovereignty of their several States. The farmers' shot at Lexington echoed round the world, the spirit which it awakened from its slumbers could do and dare and die, but it had not yet discovered the secret of the permanence and progress of free institutions. Patrick Henry thundered in the Virginia Convention, James Otis spoke with trumpet tongue and fervid eloquence for united action in Massachusetts, Hamilton, Jay, and Clinton pledged New York to respond with men and money for the common cause, but their vision only saw a league of independent colonies. The veil was not yet drawn from before the vista of population and power, of empire and liberty, which would open with national union.

VICTORIES FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

The Continental Congress partially grasped, but completely expressed, the central idea of the American republic. More fully than any other body which ever assembled did it represent the victories won from arbitrary power for human rights. In the new world, it was the conservator of liberties secured through centuries of struggle in the old. Among the delegates were the descendants of the man who had stood in that brilliant array upon the field of Runnymede, which wrested from King John Magna Charta, that great charter of liberty, to which Hallam in the nineteenth century bears witness "that all which had been since obtained is little more than as confirmation or commentary." There were the grandchildren of the statesmen who had summoned Charles before Parliament, and compelled his assent to the Petition of Rights, which transferred power from the Crown to the Commons, and gave representative government to the English-speaking race. And there were those who had sprung from the iron soldiers who had fought and charged with Cromwell at Naseby and Dunbar and Marston Moor. Among its members were Huguenots, whose fathers had followed the white plume of Henry of Navarre, and in an age of bigotry, intolerance, and the deification of absolutism had secured the great edict of religious liberty from French despotism; and who had become a people without a country, rather than surrender their convictions and forswear their consciences. In this Congress were those whose ancestors were the countrymen of William of Orange, the Beggars of the Sea, who had survived the cruelties of Alva, and broken the proud yoke of Philip of Spain, and who had two centuries before made a Declaration of Independence, and formed a federal union which were models of freedom and strength.

These men were not revolutionists, they were the heirs and the guardians of the priceless treasures of mankind. The British King and his ministers were the revolutionists. They were reactionaries, seeking arbitrarily to turn back the hands upon the dial of time. A year of doubt and debate, the baptism of blood upon battlefields, where soldiers from every colony fought, under a common standard, and consolidated the Continental army, gradually lifted the soul and understanding of this immortal Congress to the sublime declaration: "We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States."

To this declaration John Hancock, proscribed and threatened with death, affixed a signature which stood for a century like the pointers to the North Star in the firmament of freedom, and Charles Carroll, taunted that among many Carrolls, he, the richest man in America, might escape, added description and identification with "of Carrollton." Benjamin Harrison, a delegate from Virginia, the ancestor of the distinguished statesman and soldier who to-day so worthily fills the chair of Washington, voiced the unalterable determination and defiance of the Congress. He seized John Hancock, upon whose head a price was set, in his arms, and placing him in the Presidential chair, said, "We will show Mother Britain how little we care for her by making our President a Massachusetts man, whom she has excluded from pardon by public proclamation;" and when they were signing the declaration, and the slender Elbridge Gerry uttered the grim pleasantry, "We must hang together, or surely we will hang separately," the portly Harrison responded with a more daring humor, "It will be all over with me in a moment, but you will be kicking in the air half an hour after I am gone." Thus flashed athwart the great charter, which was to be for its signers a death-warrant or a diploma of immortality, as with firm hand, high purpose, and undaunted resolution they subscribed their names, this mockery of fear and the penalties of treason.

THE CENTRAL IDEA OF THE DECLARATION.

The grand central idea of the Declaration of Independence was the sovereignty of the people. It relied for original power, not upon states or colonies, or their citizens as such, but recognized as the authority for nationality the revolutionary rights of the people of the United States. It stated with marvelous clearness the encroachments upon liberties which threatened their suppression and justified revolt, but it was inspired by the very genius of freedom, and the prophetic possibilities of united commonwealths covering the continent in one harmonious republic, when it made the people of the thirteen colonies all Americans, and devolved upon them to administer by themselves, and for themselves, the prerogatives and powers wrested from Crown and Parliament. It condensed *Magna Charta*,

the Petition of Rights, the great body of English liberties embodied in the common law, and accumulated in the decisions of the courts, the statutes of the realm, and an undisputed though unwritten constitution; but this original principle and dynamic force of the people's power sprang from these old seeds planted in the virgin soil of the New World.

More clearly than any statesman of the period did Thomas Jefferson grasp and divine the possibilities of popular government. He caught and crystallized the spirit of free institutions. His philosophical mind was singularly free from the power of precedents or the chains of prejudice. He had an unquestioning and abiding faith in the people, which was accepted by but few of his compatriots. Upon his famous axiom, of the equality of all men before the law, he constructed his system. It was the trip-hammer essential for the emergency to break the links binding the colonies to Imperial authority, and to pulverize the privileges of caste. It inspired him to write the Declaration of Independence, and persuaded him to doubt the wisdom of the powers concentrated in the Constitution. In his passionate love of liberty he became intensely jealous of authority. He destroyed the substance of royal prerogative, but never emerged from its shadow. He would have the States as the guardians of popular rights, and the barriers against centralization, and he saw in the growing power of the nation ever-increasing encroachments upon the rights of the people. For the success of the pure democracy which must precede Presidents and Cabinets and Congresses, it was, perhaps, providential that its apostle never believed a great people could grant and still retain, could give and at will reclaim, could delegate and yet firmly hold the authority which ultimately created the power of their republic, and enlarged the scope of their own liberty.

Where this master-mind halted, all stood still. The necessity for a permanent union was apparent, but each State must have hold upon the bow-string which encircled its throat. It was admitted that union gave the machinery required to successfully fight the common enemy, but yet there was fear that it might become a Frankenstein, and destroy its creators. Thus patriotism and fear, difficulties of communication between distant communities, and the intense growth of provincial pride and interests, led this Congress to frame the Articles of Confederation, happily termed the League of Friendship. The result was not a government, but a ghost. By this scheme the American people were ignored, and the Declaration of Independence reversed. The States, by their legislatures, elected delegates to Congress, and the delegate represented the sovereignty of his commonwealth. All the States had an equal voice without regard to their size or population. It required the vote of nine States to pass any bill, and five could block the wheels of government. Congress had none of the powers essential to sovereignty. It could neither levy taxes nor impose duties nor collect excise. For the support of the army and navy, for the purposes of war, for the preservation of its own functions, it could only call upon the States, but it possessed no power to enforce its demands. It had no President or executive authority, no Supreme Court with general jurisdiction, and no

national power. Each of the thirteen States had seaports, and levied discriminating duties against the others, and could also tax and thus prohibit interstate commerce across its territory. Had the Confederation been a Union instead of a League, it could have raised and equipped three times the number of men contributed by reluctant States, and conquered independence without foreign assistance. This paralyzed government, without strength, because it could not enforce its decrees; without credit, because it could pledge nothing for the payment of its debts; without respect, because without inherent authority; would, by its feeble life and early death, have added another to the historic tragedies which have in many lands marked the suppression of freedom, had it not been saved by the intelligent, inherited, and invincible understanding of liberty by the people, and the genius and patriotism of their leaders.

WEAKNESS DEVELOPED BY PEACE.

But, while the perils of war had given temporary strength to the Confederation, peace developed its fatal weakness. It derived no authority from the people, and could not appeal to them. Anarchy threatened its existence at home, and contempt met its representatives abroad. "Can you fulfill or enforce the obligations of the treaty on your part if we sign one with you?" was the sneer of the courts of the Old World to our ambassadors. Some States gave a half-hearted support to its demands; others defied them. The loss of public credit was speedily followed by universal bankruptcy. The wildest fantasies assumed the force of serious measures for the relief of the general distress. States passed exclusive and hostile laws against each other, and riot and disorder threatened the disintegration of society. "Our stock is stolen, our houses are plundered, our farms are raided," cried a delegate in the Massachusetts convention; "despotism is better than anarchy!" To raise four millions of dollars a year was beyond the resources of the government, and \$300,000 was the limit of the loan it could secure from the money-lenders of Europe. Even Washington exclaimed in despair: "I see one head gradually changing into thirteen: I see one army gradually branching into thirteen; which, instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controlling power, are considering themselves as depending on their respective States." And later, when independence had been won, the impotency of the government wrung from him the exclamation: "After gloriously and successfully contending against the usurpation of Great Britain, we may fall a prey to our own folly and disputes."

But even through this Cimmerian darkness shot a flame which illuminated the coming century and kept bright the beacon fires of liberty. The architects of constitutional freedom formed their institutions with wisdom which forecasted the future. They may not have understood at first the whole truth, but, for that which they knew, they had the martyrs' spirit and the crusaders' enthusiasm. Though the Confederation was a government of checks without balances, and of purpose without power, the statesmen who

guided it demonstrated often the resistless force of great souls animated by the purest patriotism, and united in judgment and effort to promote the common good, by lofty appeals and high reasoning, to elevate the masses above local greed and apparent self-interest to their own broad plane.

The most significant triumph of these moral and intellectual forces was that which secured the assent of the States to the limitation of their boundaries, to the grant of the wilderness beyond them to the general government, and to the insertion in the ordinance erecting the Northwest Territories of the immortal proviso prohibiting "slavery or involuntary servitude" within all that broad domain. The States carved out of this splendid concession were not sovereignties which had successfully rebelled, but they were the children of the Union, born of the covenant and thrilled with its life and liberty. They became the bulwarks of nationality and the buttresses of freedom. Their preponderating strength first checked and then broke the slave-power, their fervid loyalty halted and held at bay the spirit of state rights and secession for generations; and when the crisis came, it was with their overwhelming assistance that the nation killed and buried its enemy. The corner-stone of the edifice whose centenary we are celebrating was the ordinance of 1787. It was constructed by the feeblest of Congresses, but few enactments of ancient or modern times have had more far-reaching or beneficent influence. It is one of the sublimest paradoxes of history, that this weak Confederation of States should have welded the chain, against which, after seventy-four years of fretful efforts for release, its own spirit frantically dashed and died.

A WARNING FROM WASHINGTON.

The government of the republic by a Congress of States, a diplomatic convention of the ambassadors of petty commonwealths, after seven years' trial, was falling asunder. Threatened with civil war among its members, insurrection and lawlessness rife within the States, foreign commerce ruined and internal trade paralyzed, its currency worthless, its merchants bankrupt, its farms mortgaged, its markets closed, its labor unemployed, it was like a helpless wreck upon the ocean, tossed about by the tides and ready to be engulfed in the storm. Washington gave the warning and called for action. It was a voice accustomed to command, but now entreating. The veterans of the war and the statesmen of the Revolution stepped to the front. The patriotism which had been misled, but had never faltered, rose above the interests of States and the jealousies of jarring confederates to find the basis for union. "It is clear to me as A, B, C," said Washington, "that an extension of federal powers would make us one of the most happy, wealthy, respectable, and powerful nations that ever inhabited the terrestrial globe. Without them we shall soon be everything which is the direct reverse. I predict the worst consequences from a half-starved, limping government, always moving upon crutches, and tottering at every step." The response of the country was the Convention of 1787, at Philadelphia. The Declaration of Independence was but the vestibule of the temple which

this illustrious assembly erected. With no successful precedents to guide, it auspiciously worked out the problem of constitutional government, and of imperial power and home rule, supplementing each other in promoting the grandeur of the nation and preserving the liberty of the individual.

The deliberations of great councils have vitally affected, at different periods, the history of the world and the fate of empires ; but this congress builded, upon popular sovereignty, institutions broad enough to embrace the continent, and elastic enough to fit all conditions of race and traditions. The experience of a hundred years has demonstrated for us the perfection of the work, for defense against foreign foes and for self-preservation against domestic insurrection, for limitless expansion in population and material development, and for steady growth in intellectual freedom and force. Its continuing influence upon the welfare and destiny of the human race can only be measured by the capacity of man to cultivate and enjoy the boundless opportunities of liberty and law. That eloquent characterization of Mr. Gladstone condenses its merits : "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The statesmen who composed this great senate were equal to their trust. Their conclusions were the result of calm debate and wise concession. Their character and abilities were so pure and great as to command the confidence of the country for the reversal of the policy of the independence of the state of the power of the general government, which had hitherto been the invariable practice and almost universal opinion, and for the adoption of the idea of the nation and its supremacy.

PROMINENT FIGURES IN THE CONVENTION.

Towering in majesty and influence above them all stood Washington, their president. Beside him was the venerable Franklin, who, though eighty-one years of age, brought to the deliberations of the Convention the unimpaired vigor and resources of the wisest brain, the most hopeful philosophy, and the largest experience of the times. Oliver Ellsworth, afterward chief justice of the United States, and the profoundest juror in the country ; Robert Morris, the wonderful financier of the Revolution, and Gouverneur Morris, the most versatile genius of his period ; Roger Sherman, one of the most eminent of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and John Rutledge, Rufus King, Elbridge Gerry, Edmund Randolph and the Pinckneys, were leaders of unequalled patriotism, courage, ability, and learning ; while Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, as original thinkers and constructive statesmen, rank among the immortal few whose opinions have for ages guided ministers of state and determined the destinies of nations.

This great convention keenly felt, and with devout and serene intelligence met, its tremendous responsibilities. It had the moral support of the few whose aspirations for liberty had been inspired or renewed by the triumph of the American Revolution, and the active hostility of every government in the world.

There were no examples to follow, and the experience of its members led part of them to lean toward absolute centralization as the only refuge from the anarchy of the Confederation, while the rest clung to the sovereignty of the States, for fear that the concentration of power would end in the absorption of liberty. The large States did not want to surrender the advantage of their position, and the smaller States saw the danger to their existence. Roman conquest and assimilation had strewn the shores of time with the wrecks of empires, and plunged civilization into the perils and horrors of the dark ages. The government of Cromwell was the isolated power of the mightiest man of his age, without popular authority to fill his place or the hereditary principle to protect his successor. The past furnished no light for our state builders, the present was full of doubt and despair. The future, the experiment of self-government, the perpetuity and development of freedom, almost the destiny of mankind, was in their hands.

At this crisis the courage and confidence needed to originate a system weakened. The temporizing spirit of compromise seized the convention with the alluring proposition of not proceeding faster than the people could be educated to follow. The cry : "Let us not waste our labor upon conclusions which will not be adopted, but amend and adjourn," was assuming startling unanimity. But the supreme force and majestic sense of Washington brought the assemblage to the lofty plane of its duty and opportunity. He said : "It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If to please the people we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work ? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair ; the event is in the hands of God." "I am the state," said Louis the Fourteenth, but his line ended in the grave of absolutism. "Forty centuries look down upon you," was Napoleon's address to his army in the shadow of the Pyramids, but his soldiers saw only the dream of Eastern Empire vanish in blood. Statesmen and parliamentary leaders have sunk into oblivion or led their party to defeat, by surrendering their convictions to the passing passions of the hour, but Washington in this immortal speech struck the keynote of representative obligation, and propounded the fundamental principle of the purity and perpetuity of constitutional government.

THE POWER OF THE PEOPLE RECOGNIZED.

Freed from the limitations of its environment, and the question of the adoption of its work, the convention erected its government upon the eternal foundations of the power of the people. It dismissed the delusive theory of a compact between Independent States, and derived national power from the people of the United States. It broke up the machinery of the Confederation, and put in practical operation the glittering generalities of the Declaration of Independence. From chaos came order, from insecurity came safety, from disintegration and civil war came law and liberty, with the principle proclaimed in the preamble of the great charter, "We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect

Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States." With a wisdom inspired of God, to work out upon this continent the liberty of man, they solved the problem of the ages by blending and yet preserving local self-government with national authority, and the rights of the States with the majesty and power of the republic. The government of the States, under the Articles of Confederation, became bankrupt because it could not raise four millions of dollars; the government of the Union, under the Constitution of the United States, raised six thousand millions of dollars, its credit growing firmer as its power and resources were demonstrated. The Congress of the Confederation fled from a regiment which it could not pay, the Congress of the Union reviewed the comrades of a million of its victorious soldiers, saluting, as they marched, the flag of the nation, whose supremacy they had sustained. The promises of the Confederacy were the scoff of its States; the pledge of the Republic was the honor of its people.

The Constitution, which was to be strengthened by the strain of a century, to be a mighty conqueror without a subject province, to triumphantly survive the greatest of civil wars without the confiscation of an estate or the execution of a political offender, to create and grant home rule and state sovereignty to twenty-nine additional commonwealths, and yet enlarge its scope and broaden its power, and to make the name of an American citizen a title of honor throughout the world, came complete from this great convention to the people for adoption. As Hancock rose from his seat in the old Congress, eleven years before, to sign the Declaration of Independence, Franklin saw emblazoned on the back of the president's chair the sun partly above the horizon, but it seemed setting in a blood-red sky. During the seven years of the Confederation he had gathered no hope from the glittering emblem, but now as with clear vision he beheld fixed upon eternal foundations the enduring structure of constitutional liberty, pointing to the sign, he forgot his eighty-two years, and with the enthusiasm of youth electrified the convention with the declaration: "Now I know that it is the rising sun."

The pride of the States and the ambition of their leaders, sectional jealousies and the overwhelming distrust of centralized power, were all arrayed against the adoption of the Constitution. North Carolina and Rhode Island refused to join the Union until long after Washington's inauguration. For months New York was debatable ground. Her territory extending from the sea to the lakes made her the keystone of the arch. Had Arnold's treason in the Revolution not been foiled by the capture of André, England would have held New York and subjugated the colonies, and in this crisis, unless New York assented, a hostile and powerful commonwealth dividing the States made the Union impossible.

A TRIBUTE TO THE GENIUS OF HAMILTON.

Success was due to confidence in Washington and the genius of Alexander Hamilton. Jefferson was the inspiration of independence, but Hamilton was the incarnation of the Constitution. In no age or country has there appeared a more precocious or amazing intelligence than Hamilton. At seventeen he annihilated the president of his college upon the question of the rights of the colonies, in a series of anonymous articles which were credited to the ablest men in the country ; at forty-seven, when he died, his briefs had become the law of the land, and his fiscal system was, and after a hundred years remains, the rule and policy of our government. He gave life to the corpse of national credit, and the strength for self-possession and aggressive power to the Federal Union. Both as an expounder of the principles and an administrator of the affairs of government he stands supreme and unrivaled in American history. His eloquence was so magnetic, his language so clear, and his reasoning so irresistible, that he swayed with equal ease popular assemblies, grave senates, and learned judges. He captured the people of the whole country for the Constitution by his papers in "*The Federalist*," and conquered the hostile majority in the New York convention by the splendor of his oratory.

But the multitudes whom no argument could convince, who saw in the executive power and centralized force of the Constitution, under another name, the dreaded usurpation of king and ministry, were satisfied only with the assurance, "Washington will be President." "Good," cried John Lamb, the able leader of the Sons of Liberty, as he dropped his opposition ; "for to no other mortal would I trust authority so enormous." "Washington will be President," was the battle-cry of the Constitution. It quieted alarm and gave confidence to the timid and courage to the weak. The country responded with enthusiastic unanimity, but the chief with the greatest reluctance. In the supreme moment of victory, when the world expected him to follow the precedents of the past, and perpetuate the power a grateful country would willingly have left in his hands, he had resigned and retired to Mount Vernon to enjoy in private station his well-earned rest. The convention created by his exertions to prevent, as he said, "the decline of our federal dignity into insignificant and wretched fragments of empire," had called him to preside over its deliberations. Its work made possible the realization of his hope that "we might survive as an independent republic," and again he sought the seclusion of his home. But after the triumph of the war and the formation of the Constitution, came the third and final crisis : the initial movements of government which were to teach the infant state the steadier steps of empire.

He alone could stay assault and inspire confidence while the great and complicated machinery of organized government was put in order and set in motion. Doubt existed nowhere except in his modest and unambitious heart. "My movements to the chair of government," he said, "will be accompanied by feelings not unlike those of a culprit who is going to the

place of his execution. So unwilling am I, in the evening of life, nearly consumed in public cares, to quit a peaceful abode for an ocean of difficulties, without that competency of political skill, abilities, and inclination which are necessary to manage the helm." His whole life had been spent in repeated sacrifices for his country's welfare, and he did not hesitate now, though there is an undertone of inexpressible sadness in this entry in his diary on the night of his departure: "About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and to domestic felicity, and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York with the best disposition to render service to my country in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."

WASHINGTON'S TRIUMPHAL JOURNEY.

No conqueror was ever accorded such a triumph, no ruler ever accorded such a welcome. In this memorable march of six days to the capital it was the pride of States to accompany him with the masses of their people to their borders, that the citizens of the next commonwealth might escort him through its territory. It was the glory of cities to receive him with every civic honor at their gates, and entertain him as the savior of their liberties. He rode under triumphal arches from which children lowered laurel wreaths upon his brow. The roadways were strewn with flowers, and as they were crushed beneath his horse's hoofs, their sweet incense wafted to heaven the ever-ascending prayers of his loving countrymen for his life and safety. The swelling anthem of gratitude and reverence greeted and followed him along the country-side and through the crowded streets: "Long live George Washington! Long live the Father of his people!"

His entry into New York was worthy the city and State. He was met by the chief officers of the retiring government of the country, by the governor of the commonwealth, and the whole population. This superb harbor was alive with fleets and flags, and the ships of other nations, with salutes from their guns and the cheers of their crews, added to the joyous acclaim. But as the captains who had asked the privilege, bending proudly to their oars, rowed the President's barge swiftly through these inspiring scenes, Washington's mind and heart were full of reminiscence and foreboding.

He had visited New York thirty-three years before, also in the month of April, in the full perfection of his early manhood, fresh from Braddock's bloody field, and wearing the only laurels of the battle, bearing the prophetic blessing of the venerable President Davies of Princeton College, as "That heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to the country." It was a fair daughter of our State whose smiles allured him here, and whose coy confession that her heart was another's recorded his only failure and saddened his departure. Twenty years passed, and he stood before the New York Congress on this very spot, the unanimously chosen commander-in-chief of the Continental army, urging

the people to more vigorous measures, and made painfully aware of the increased desperation of the struggle from the aid to be given to the enemy by domestic sympathizers, when he knew that the same local military company which escorted him was to perform the like service for the British Governor Tryon on his landing on the morrow. Returning for the defense of the city the next summer, he executed the retreat from Long Island, which secured from Frederick the Great the opinion that a great commander had appeared, and at Harlem Heights he won the first American victory of the Revolution, which gave that confidence to our raw recruits against the famous veterans of Europe which carried our army triumphantly through the war. Six years more of untold sufferings, of freezing and starving camps, of marches over the snow by barefooted soldiers to heroic attack and splendid victory; of despair with an unpaid army; and of hope from the generous assistance of France; and peace had come and independence triumphed. As the last soldier of the invading enemy embarks, Washington, at the head of the patriot host, enters the city, receives the welcome and gratitude of its people, and in the tavern which faces us across the way, in silence more eloquent than speech, and with tears which choke the words, he bids farewell forever to his companions in arms. Such were the crowding memories of the past suggested to Washington in 1789 by his approach to New York. But the future had none of the splendor of precedent and brilliance of promise which have since attended the inauguration of our Presidents. An untried scheme, adopted mainly because its administration was to be confided to him, was to be put in practice. He knew that he was to be met at every step of constitutional progress by factions temporarily hushed into unanimity by the terrific force of the tidal wave which was bearing him to the President's seat, but fiercely hostile upon questions affecting every power of nationality and the existence of the federal government.

EYES ONLY FOR THE GREAT COMMANDER.

Washington was never dramatic, but on great occasions he not only rose to the full ideal of the event, he became himself the event. One hundred years ago to-day the procession of foreign ambassadors, of statesmen and generals, of civic societies and military companies, which escorted him, marched from Franklin Square to Pearl Street, through Pearl to Broad, and up Broad to this spot, but the people saw only Washington. As he stood upon the steps of the old Government Building here, the thought must have occurred to him that it was a cradle of liberty, and, as such, giving a bright omen for the future. In these halls, in 1735, in the trial of John Zenger, had been established, for the first time in its history, the liberty of the press. Here the New York Assembly, in 1764, made the protest against the Stamp Act, and proposed the General Conference, which was the beginning of united colonial action. In this old State House, in 1765, the Stamp Act Congress, the first and the father of American Congresses, assembled and presented to the English government that vigorous protest which caused the repeal of the act, and checked the first step toward the usurpa-

tion which lost the American Colonies to the British Empire. Within these walls the Congress of the Confederation had commissioned its ambassadors abroad, and in ineffectual efforts at government had created the necessity for the concentration of federal authority now to be consummated.

The first Congress of the United States gathered in this ancient temple of liberty greeted Washington, and accompanied him to the balcony. The famous men visible about him were Chancellor Livingston, Vice-President John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Governor Clinton, Roger Sherman, Richard Henry Lee, General Knox, and Baron Steuben. But we believe that among the invisible host above him at this supreme moment of the culmination in permanent triumph of the thousands of years of struggle for self-government, were the spirits of the soldiers of the Revolution who had died that their country might enjoy this blessed day, and with them were the Barons of Runnymede and William the Silent, and Sidney, and Russell, and Cromwell, and Hampden, and the heroes and martyrs of liberty of every race and age.

As he came forward, the multitude in the streets, in the windows, and on the roofs sent up such a rapturous shout that Washington sat down, overcome with emotion. As he slowly rose and his tall and majestic form again appeared, the people, deeply affected, in awed silence viewed the scene. The Chancellor solemnly read to him the oath of office, and Washington, repeating, said: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." Then he reverently bent low and kissed the Bible, uttering with profound emotion, "So help me, God." The Chancellor waved his robes, and shouted: "It is done. Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" "Long live George Washington, our first President!" was the answering cheer of the people, and from the belfries rang the bells, and from forts and ships thundered the cannon, echoing and repeating the cry with responding acclaim all over the land: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!"

THE ABSOLUTE TRIUMPH OF THE REPUBLIC.

The simple and imposing ceremony over, the inaugural read, the blessing of God prayerfully petitioned in old St. Paul's, the festivities passed, and Washington stood alone. No one else could take the helm of state, and enthusiast and doubter alone trusted only him. The teachings and habits of the past had educated the people to faith in the independence of their States, and for the supreme authority of the new government there stood against the precedent of a century and the passions of the hour little besides the arguments of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay in "The Federalist," and the judgment of Washington. With the first attempt to exercise national power began the duel to the death between state sovereignty, claiming the right to nullify federal laws or to secede from the Union and the power of the republic to command the resources of the country, to enforce its author-

ity and protect its life. It was the beginning of the sixty years' war for the Constitution and the nation. It seared consciences, degraded politics, destroyed parties, ruined statesmen, and retarded the advance and development of the country; it sacrificed thousands of precious lives and squandered thousands of millions of money; it desolated the fairest portion of the land and carried mourning into every home North and South; but it ended at Appomattox in the absolute triumph of the republic.

Posterity owes to Washington's administration the policy and measures, the force and direction, which made possible this glorious result. In giving the organization of the Department of State and foreign relations to Jefferson, the Treasury to Hamilton, and the Supreme Court to Jay, he selected for his cabinet and called to his assistance the ablest and most eminent men of his time. Hamilton's marvelous versatility and genius designed the armory and the weapons for the promotion of national power and greatness, but Washington's steady support carried them through. Parties crystallized, and party passions were intense, debates were intemperate, and the Union openly threatened and secretly plotted against, as the firm pressure of this mighty personality funded the debt and established credit, assumed the state debts incurred in the War of the Revolution and superseded the local by the national obligations, imposed duties upon imports and excise upon spirits, and created revenue and resources, organized a national banking system for public needs and private business, and called out an army to put down by force of arms resistance to the federal laws imposing unpopular taxes. Upon the plan marked out by the Constitution, this great architect, with unflinching faith and unflinching courage, builded the republic. He gave to the government the principles of action and sources of power which carried it successfully through the wars with Great Britain in 1812 and Mexico in 1848, which enabled Jackson to defeat nullification, and recruited and equipped millions of men for Lincoln and justified and sustained his Proclamation of Emancipation.

The French Revolution was the bloody reality of France and the nightmare of the civilized world. The tyranny of centuries culminated in frightful reprisals and reckless revenges. As parties rose to power and passed to the guillotine, the frenzy of the revolt against all authority reached every country and captured the imaginations and enthusiasm of millions in every land, who believed they saw that the madness of anarchy, the overturning of all institutions, the confiscation and distribution of property, would end in a millennium for the masses and the universal brotherhood of man. Enthusiasm for France, our late ally, and the terrible commercial and industrial distress occasioned by the failure of the government under the Articles of Confederation, aroused an almost unanimous cry for the young republic, not yet sure of its own existence, to plunge into the vortex. The ablest and purest statesmen of the time bent to the storm, but Washington was unmoved. He stood like the rock-ribbed coast of a continent between the surging billows of fanaticism and the child of his love. Order is heaven's first law, and the mind of Washington was order. The Revolu-

tion defied God and derided the law. Washington devoutly revered the Deity and believed liberty impossible without law. He spoke to the sober judgment of the nation and made clear the danger. He saved the infant government from ruin, and expelled the French minister who had appealed from him to the people. The whole land, seeing safety only in his continuance in office, joined Jefferson in urging him to accept a second term. "North and South," pleaded the secretary, "will hang together while they have you to hang to."

MANY ELEMENTS EMBODIED IN ONE MAN.

No man ever stood for so much to his country and to mankind as George Washington. Hamilton, Jefferson and Adams, Madison and Jay, each represented some of the elements which formed the Union. Washington embodied them all. They fell at times under popular disapproval, were burned in effigy, were stoned, but he, with unerring judgment, was always the leader of the people. Milton said of Cromwell, "that war made him great, peace greater." The superiority of Washington's character and genius were more conspicuous in the formation of our government and in putting it on indestructible foundations than in leading armies to victory and conquering the independence of his country. "The Union in any event," is the central thought of his farewell address, and all the years of his grand life were devoted to its formation and preservation. He fought as a youth with Braddock and in the capture of Fort Du Quesne for the protection of the whole country. As commander-in-chief of the Continental army, his commission was from the Congress of the United Colonies. He inspired the movement for the republic, was the president and dominant spirit of the convention which framed its Constitution, and its President for eight years, and guided its course until satisfied that moving safely along the broad highway of time, it would be surely ascending toward the first place among the nations of the world, the asylum of the oppressed, the home of the free.

Do his countrymen exaggerate his virtues? Listen to Guizot, the historian of civilization: "Washington did the two greatest things which in politics it is permitted to man to attempt. He maintained by peace the independence of his country which he conquered by war. He founded a free government in the name of the principles of order and by reëstablishing their sway." Hear Lord Erskine the most famous of English advocates: "You are the only being for whom I have an awful reverence." Remember the tribute of Charles James Fox, the greatest parliamentary orator who ever swayed the British House of Commons: "Illustrious man, before whom all borrowed greatness sinks into insignificance." Contemplate the character of Lord Brougham, preëminent for two generations in every department of human activity and thought, and then impress upon the memories of your children his deliberate judgment: "Until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington."

Chatham, who, with Clive, conquered an empire in the East, died broken-hearted at the loss of the empire in the West, by follies which even his power and eloquence could not prevent. Pitt saw the vast creations of his diplomacy shattered at Austerlitz, and fell murmuring: "My country! how I leave my country!" Napoleon caused a noble tribute to Washington to be read at the head of his armies, but unable to rise to Washington's greatness, witnessed the vast structure erected by conquest and cemented by blood, to minister to his own ambition and pride, crumble into fragments, and an exile and a prisoner he breathed his last babbling of battle-fields and carnage. Washington, with his finger upon his pulse, felt the presence of death, and calmly reviewing the past and forecasting the future, answered to the summons of the grim messenger, "It is well," and as his mighty soul ascended to God the land was deluged with tears and the world united in his eulogy. Blot out from the page of history the names of all the great actors of his time in the drama of nations, and preserve the name of Washington, and the century would be renowned.

NO CLOUDS ABOVE AND NO CONVULSIONS BENEATH.

We stand to-day upon the dividing line between the first and second century of constitutional government. There are no clouds overhead and no convulsions under our feet. We reverently return thanks to Almighty God for the past, and with confident and hopeful promise march upon sure ground toward the future. The simple facts of these hundred years paralyze the imagination, and we contemplate the vast accumulations of the century with awe and pride. Our population has grown from four to sixty-five millions, its centre moving westward five hundred miles since 1789, is eloquent with the founding of cities and the birth of States. New settlements, clearing the forests and subduing the prairies, and adding four millions to the few thousands of farms which were the support of Washington's republic, create one of the great granaries of the world, and open exhaustless reservoirs of national wealth.

The infant industries, which the first act of our first administration sought to encourage, now give remunerative employment to more people than inhabited the republic at the beginning of Washington's presidency. The grand total of their annual output of seven thousand millions of dollars in value places the United States first among the manufacturing countries of the earth. One half the total mileage of all the railroads, and one quarter of all the telegraph lines of the world within our borders, testify to the volume, variety, and value of an internal commerce which makes these States, if need be, independent and self-supporting. These hundred years of development under favoring political conditions have brought the sum of our national wealth to a figure which has passed the results of a thousand years for the mother-land herself, otherwise the richest of modern empires.

During this generation a civil war of unequaled magnitude caused the expenditure and loss of eight thousand millions of dollars, and killed six hundred thousand and permanently disabled over a million young men,

and yet the impetuous progress of the North and the marvelous industrial development of the new and free South have obliterated the evidences of destruction, and made the war a memory, and have stimulated production until our annual surplus nearly equals that of England, France, and Germany combined. The teeming millions of Asia till the patient soil and work the shuttle and loom as their fathers have done for ages; modern Europe has felt the influence and received the benefit of the incalculable multiplication of force by inventive genius since the Napoleonic wars; and yet, only 269 years after the little band of Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, our people, numbering less than one fifteenth of the inhabitants of the globe, do one third of its mining, one fourth of its manufacturing, one fifth of its agriculture, and own one sixth of its wealth.

This realism of material prosperity, surpassing the wildest creations of the romancers who have astonished and delighted mankind, would be full of danger for the present and menace for the future, if the virtue, intelligence, and independence of the people were not equal to the wise regulation of its uses and the stern prevention of its abuses. But following the growth and power of the great factors, whose aggregation of capital made possible the tremendous pace of the settlement of our national domain, the building of our great cities and the opening of the lines of communication which have united our country and created our resources, have come national and state legislation and supervision. Twenty millions, a vast majority of our people of intelligent age, acknowledging the authority of their several churches, 12,000,000 of children in the common schools, 345 universities and colleges for the higher education of men and 200 for women, 450 institutions of learning for science, law, medicine, and theology, are the despair of the scoffer and the demagogue, and the firm support of civilization and liberty.

GERMINATING INFLUENCES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

Steam and electricity have changed the commerce not only, they have revolutionized also the governments of the world. They have given to the press its power, and brought all races and nationalities into touch and sympathy. They have tested and are trying the strength of all systems to stand the strain and conform to the conditions which follow the germinating influences of American democracy. At the time of the inauguration of Washington, seven royal families ruled as many kingdoms in Italy, but six of them have seen their thrones overturned and their countries disappear from the map of Europe. Most of the kings, princes, dukes, and margraves of Germany, who reigned despotically, and sold their soldiers for foreign service, have passed into history and their heirs have neither prerogatives nor domain. Spain has gone through many violent changes and the permanency of her present government seems to depend upon the feeble life of an infant prince. France, our ancient friend, with repeated and bloody revolutions, has tried the government of Bourbon and convention, of directory and consulate, of empire and citizen king, of hereditary sovereign and

republic, of empire, and again republic. The Hapsburg and Hohenzollern, after convulsions which have rocked the foundations of their thrones, have been compelled to concede constitutions to their people and to divide with them the arbitrary power wielded so autocratically and brilliantly by Maria Theresa and Frederick the Great. The royal will of George the Third could crowd the American colonies into rebellion, and wage war upon them until they were lost to his kingdom, but the authority of the Crown has devolved upon ministers who hold office subject to the approval of the representatives of the people, and the equal powers of the House of Lords have been vested in the Commons, leaving to the peers only the shadow of their ancient privileges. But to-day the American people, after all the dazzling developments of the century, are still happily living under the government of Washington. The Constitution during all that period has been amended only upon the lines laid down in the original instrument, and in conformity with the recorded opinions of the Fathers. The first great addition was the incorporation of a Bill of Rights, and the last the embedding into the Constitution of the immortal principle of the Declaration of Independence — of the equality of all men before the law. No crisis has been too perilous for its powers, no evolution too rapid for its adaptation, and no expansion beyond its easy grasp and administration. It has assimilated diverse nationalities with warring traditions, customs, conditions, and languages, imbued them with its spirit, and won their passionate loyalty and love.

The flower of the youth of the nations of Continental Europe are conscripted from productive industries and drilling in camps. Vast armies stand in battle array along the frontiers, and a kaiser's whim or a minister's mistake may precipitate the most destructive war of modern times. Both monarchical and republican governments are seeking safety in the repression and suppression of opposition and criticism. The volcanic forces of democratic aspiration and socialistic revolt are rapidly increasing and threaten peace and security. We turn from these gathering storms to the British Isles and find their people in the throes of a political crisis involving the form and substance of their government, and their statesmen far from confident that the enfranchised and unprepared masses will wisely use their power.

THE SECOND CENTURY.

But for us no army exhausts our resources nor consumes our youth. Our navy must needs increase in order that the protecting flag may follow the expanding commerce which is to successfully compete in all the markets of the world. The sun of our destiny is still rising, and its rays illumine vast territories as yet unoccupied and undeveloped, and which are to be the happy homes of millions of people. The questions which affect the powers of government and the expansion or limitation of the authority of the federal Constitution are so completely settled, and so unanimously approved, that our political divisions produce only the healthy antagonism of parties, which is so necessary for the preservation of liberty. Our institutions furnish

the full equipment of shield and spear for the battles of freedom, and absolute protection against every danger which threatens the welfare of the people will always be found in the intelligence which appreciates their value, and the courage and morality with which their powers are exercised. The spirit of Washington fills the executive office. Presidents may not rise to the full measure of his greatness, but they must not fall below his standard of public duty and obligation. His life and character, conscientiously studied and thoroughly understood by coming generations, will be for them a liberal education for private life and public station, for citizenship and patriotism, for love and devotion to Union and Liberty. With their inspiring past and splendid present, the people of these United States, heirs of a hundred years marvelously rich in all which adds to the glory and greatness of a nation, with an abiding trust in the stability and elasticity of their Constitution, and an abounding faith in themselves, hail the coming century with hope and joy.

BOSTON HYMN.

THE REIGN OF PEACE.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,

AT THE 206TH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, FEBRUARY 25, 1889.

WE thank Thee, God, that now at last
The better days have come,
That bid discordant deeds be past,
And warring words be dumb.

With Faith's sure vision we descry
The universal reign
Of peace, that gladdens earth and sky,
Of peace that follows pain.

The hearts that once were hot with hate
Are warm with brotherhood,
And man through every realm and state
Moves upward toward the Good.

Behold, it comes! The morning-glow
That brightens to the day
When mists and doubts of Ages slow
Forever roll away;

When clashing creeds are merged in one,
As rivers in the sea,
Through love for Thy most stainless Son,
Through love, O God, for Thee!

RICHARD E. BURTON.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

FOURTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1889.

PRELUDE IV.

NEW DUTIES OF THE NEW NORTH.

THE usual great audience was present at Tremont Temple February 25, at Mr. Cook's 206th Boston Monday Lecture. The Rev. Dr. A. H. Plumb presided; the Rev. S. L. B. Spears of Brooklyn, N. Y., offered prayer. The hymn sung, entitled "The Reign of Peace," had been prepared especially for the occasion by Mr. Richard E. Burton, son of the late Rev. Dr. Nathaniel J. Burton of Hartford. Brief addresses were made by ex-President Cyrus Hamlin of Lexington, and by the Rev. Prof. Amaron, President of the French Protestant College of Springfield, Mass.

FORTY-TWO AMERICAN STATES.

Four new States have now so increased the weight of the North in the American republic that the nation is probably forever disenthralled from its Southern masters. [Applause.] With the quill of an eagle from the head waters of the Missouri, the President added his signature, February 22, to the bills admitting the two Dakotas, vast Montana, and Washington. Our Pacific seaboard is now wholly organized. Under the shadows of Mount Shasta, a railway now carries the throbbing life of the nation northward and southward between Puget Sound and the Golden Gate. The frontier is disappearing in the United States. Lawlessness ought to diminish immensely on this account. The enthusiasm of Webster was roused to a white heat by merely the fore-gleams of the day in which we live. You remember that he closed his 7th of March speech by predicting that ultimately States would be organized on the Pacific, although as late as 1824 he doubted whether States at that distance from the centre of the national government could be permanently retained as a portion of the Union.

His land was but a shelving strip,
Black with the strife that made it free ;
He lived to see its banners dip
Their fringes in the western sea.

O. W. Holmes.

Speaking of the vast extent of our republic, Webster quoted, and we may repeat to-day with new emphasis, the famous words concerning the shield of Achilles : —

Now, the vast shield complete, the artist crowned
With his last hand, and poured the ocean round ;
In living silver seemed the waves to roll
And beat the buckler's verge and bound the whole.

Pope's Homer's Iliad.

We now have forty-two States. Only seven Territories are left. The Mormon monster, with its two northern horns, Idaho and Wyoming, and its two southern horns, Arizona and New Mexico, yet assumes a defiant attitude beyond the Rocky Mountains. Undoubtedly it would be somewhat unsafe to admit Idaho and Wyoming just at present, so thoroughly are the politics of those Territories permeated by influences proceeding from the polygamous priesthood in Utah. It would be more or less unsafe to admit immediately either Arizona or New Mexico, partly for similar reasons, and partly because New Mexico is almost exclusively under Jesuitical control. The Indian Territory and Alaska are in a condition far more healthy than Utah, or any of its neighbors through which it has thrust the roots of the gigantic cancer of the Latter-Day swindle. [Laughter.] But it cannot be long before the basin region will ask to be organized into States ; it cannot be long before Texas, under the impulse of Northern immigration, may ask to be divided into three or four commonwealths. Nevertheless, in the time between the date of the admission of these four new States and the time when other States must come in to increase the Southern vote, the North will have grown. It is now expected that the eight new senators who will represent the four new States in Congress will, a majority of them, be Republicans. The Democratic party, undoubtedly, has a fighting chance in Montana, perhaps in Washington. I have traveled

through those great Territories, and am attached to their vast plains, to their mighty rivers, to their colossal mountain ranges, and to their young, aspiring towns. They have an important future before them. One of the first great results of their admission to the Union will be to confirm the present Republican predominancy in national politics. [Applause.]

RESPONSIBILITY FOR CURRENT LAWLESSNESS.

Professor Bryce, who occupies the chair of political economy and civil law in the University of Oxford, and is a prominent Liberal member of Parliament, and a supporter of Mr. Gladstone, is Alexis de Tocqueville's successor and peer. He has written a book entitled "The American Commonwealth," which is undoubtedly the most important criticism that our institutions have received since De Tocqueville's great work on "Democracy in America." Its tone is far more optimistic and genial than that which most foreigners have adopted concerning our land; but while its criticism is cautious, it is keen, while it is genial, it is searching. The severest criticisms of Professor Bryce on the American republic are summed up in his statements that it is hard to fix responsibility here, such is the subdivision of our power, such is the intricacy of our system of checks and balances; and that, as it is hard to fix responsibility, lawlessness goes unpunished in little things. We live under a government of public opinion, and there are two difficulties in such a government: first, to ascertain what public opinion is; and, next, to fix responsibility when things go wrong. Professor Bryce over and over in his book contrasts on these points European, and especially English institutions, with our own. He says that the best political institutions of the Old World are formed on the principle of concentrating power, in order that it may be easy to fix responsibility; but that we balance the Senate against the President, and the House against both, and the national against state government, and state against municipal. We divide and subdivide power so that tyranny cannot spring up anywhere. This great object of our fathers has been attained. Professor Bryce praises us for all this, but he regards it as the chief fault of American institutions that we, who can make laws

easily, administer them laxly ; that in little things we are too good-natured concerning infractions of the law ; and that we are likely to continue to be so until arrangements are made by which responsibility can be fixed for lawlessness in municipal, state, and national affairs.

From this time on for some years responsibility for lawlessness in national affairs, North and South, will be fixed on the Republican party. This situation results from the effect which the admission of four new Northern States has produced in the political balance of the Union.

For more than a third of a century it was the custom, as you remember, not to admit a new Northern State without at the same time admitting a new Southern State, or to admit such States in rotation, so as to keep up the balance of power. The South was checkmated indeed by the census of 1860. The civil war thoroughly repressed, but did not terminate its efforts to secure national domination. While secession has been put down, nullification has not been. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments are yet practically dead letters for seven millions of American citizens in the Southern States, whose only crime is that they are colored or Republicans. But now that the North has received an accession of four new States, now that eight new senators are to go into the upper House of Congress, with new congressmen in the lower House, now that the last presidential election has given to the Republican party both the presidency and the control of the two Houses of Congress, I hold that if seven millions of citizens continue to be politically disfranchised in the South ; if Mormonism continues to trample on national law and hold in terror of life a large loyal American population in the basin region of the West ; if in the interstate liquor traffic the whiskey syndicates of the land trample on righteous regulations ; if, in short, we are not able to execute the national enactments now on the statute books, the responsibility may be righteously fixed on the party that has the power, and ought to have the will, to execute the laws. [Loud applause.]

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SALOON IN POLITICS.

Our worst lawlessness, however, is not found on the frontier, nor in the Southern States, but in misgoverned great cities.

Four States are soon to vote on constitutional prohibition. Do you say that the sovereignty of the saloon in municipal politics cannot be overthrown? Do you fear that it is impossible to eradicate the chief industrial and political mischief of the land, because there is not virtue enough left in politicians to risk their chances of defeat with the whiskey rings against them? With the great accession of power which the Republican party has now received, it might venture a little more in some of its state organizations than it ever has ventured yet. Of course the chief object of life of any party in power is to remain in power; but, now that four new States have been admitted to the Union, it may be that the Republican party might retain its seat in the national saddle, even if it should lose the vote of New York state. You can call on the Republican party to venture a little more in the name of arithmetic now than you have ever called on it to do in times gone by, or at least in any time since the civil war. The margin between the two great national parties has been so close that whichever party could obtain the whiskey vote, and wheedle the temperance vote into a little submissiveness or, possibly, support, secured that margin, and so secured the election; and so arithmetical politicians have very closely calculated the cost of offending the whiskey syndicate. With its enlarged majority, however, it is time for the Republican party, which has been not absolutely prostrate like the serpent in Eden, but on its hands and knees before the whiskey rings, to rise at least from its hands, and, remaining on its knees, consider what God may send it of wisdom while in that attitude. [Loud laughter and applause.]

A little more erectness and the posture of prayer are not an improper attitude concerning our chief national peril, now doing more harm than slavery ever did before the war, and with more money behind it than slavery ever had, and as likely to bring corruption into politics as slavery ever was. When the whole North of 1860 was aroused, slavery disappeared. When it is

seen that the stars in their courses are fighting against the gigantic iniquity of the liquor traffic ; when it is known that God behind the stars is moving them in such a way that it may be said He has turned prohibitionist, as it was said in reverence that He had turned abolitionist, we shall lock hands with Him, and adopt Seneca's maxim, *Deum sequi*, Follow God, as the supreme guide in politics, and let Him take care of the consequences. [Applause.]

LAW AND ORDER LEAGUES.

In this city last week you had a national convention of the Law and Order Leagues. What is the object of these organizations ? To execute all the restrictive features of our present laws concerning the liquor traffic. Pass constitutional prohibition in this State, or in New Hampshire, or Pennsylvania, or Nebraska ; put your Law and Order Leagues, which are now organized in every State of the Union, into the field to support what will then be the restrictive features of the law, and why may you not, with this upper millstone of constitutional prohibition, and this nether millstone of the Law and Order Leagues, and of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, grind to powder between the two any party that will not execute the laws ? [Applause.]

After much travel in Kansas and Iowa, I am convinced that constitutional prohibition is a great success in those commonwealths. It is true liquor is sold in the large cities of Maine very freely, but there is no legalized dramshop in the whole State. That is an immense gain. The venerable Neal Dow says that only a slight technical change is needed in the law of Maine to enable the reigning political party there to bring to justice violators of the constitution. Time-serving politicians fight off the little change that he would introduce ; but he thinks it is the fault of the loop-hole in the enactment, rather than the fault of the heart of the people, that the law is not as well executed in Maine as it is in Kansas or Iowa. I am told over and over in Kansas and Iowa that prohibition there is as well executed as the law against theft. I see no evidence to support a contrary opinion. I talk with professors of the schools, with preachers,

with teachers, with merchants, with young men, and the middle-aged and the aged, with the leaders of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the testimony is universal that the liquor traffic has been driven out of Topeka, for instance, the capital of Kansas, the geographical centre of the American Union. This has been done by the activity of the Republican party very largely, without any special assistance from Law and Order Leagues.

It is a great glory to the Law and Order Leagues that they have done so much to execute law. It is a great shame to the reigning political parties that there is any need of Law and Order Leagues at all. [Applause.] That young hero, John B. Finch, used to say he would never give a penny to support a Law and Order League, for it was the business of the reigning political party to execute the law. Now, I will not go quite as far as that, for the reigning political party sometimes needs a good deal of encouragement. [Laughter.]

Canada has had Law and Order Leagues, but has now very largely outgrown the necessity for them. The Queen's counsel, Mr. MacLaren, on this platform, in my hearing, last week, told an audience that the amount of liquor consumed in the Dominion amounts to only two and three quarters gallons per head. It amounts to thirteen gallons per head in this republic, and thirty-one gallons per head in the British Isles. We have improved our condition as compared with that of the mother country; we have not improved it as compared with that of the Dominion north of us. There is almost nothing for the Law and Order Leagues in Toronto to do. They have broadened their sphere, and now help to execute the laws against the gambling dens and the brothels. And would God we could broaden our liberal leagues to that extent, for we shall never understand the infamy of the liquor traffic till we regard it as only one head of a monster, of which the other two heads are the gambling dens and the brothels! This is the roaring monster that goes about seeking whom he may devour, and whom you purpose to license, throwing away \$10 for every one you gain. [Loud applause.]

The American Law and Order Leagues are now like a

banyan tree, the mother trunk in Boston and the boughs thrown down into every State of the Union all the way to the Pacific.

Twenty-five States and Territories have passed laws requiring compulsory instruction in scientific temperance. This vast reform has been brought about chiefly by the activity of that noble lady who addressed you not long since from this platform, Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, whom may God bless. [Applause.] The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, whether favoring the third party or the Republican party, will work with its entire power for the passing of constitutional prohibition anywhere in its non-partisan shape. [Applause.]

If Heaven favors us, we, by and by, shall be united in the church at the level which the Methodists and the Presbyterians have already attained, and shall say, not only that the liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin, but that no rumseller shall be a member of the church. [Applause.] And when once we have lifted all the churches and all the religious journals to the level attained by two great religious denominations, it will not be long before secular journalism and average politics will assume a new tone. Under your Law and Order Leagues you have driven every rumseller out of Somerville yonder, a city of very respectable size. Under your Law and Order Leagues, and the combination of citizens of distinguished position, many of them great educators, not politicians at all, you have driven the very last legalized rumseller out of Cambridge, my university town yonder on the banks of the Charles. [Applause.] What has been done in these cities can be done ultimately in the State and nation. Constitutional prohibition has been submitted to the people by Republican votes; and if it is defeated it will be defeated by Republican votes, and in the present attitude of state and national politics, Republicans will be held responsible. [Applause.]

The new North can never perform its new duties unless it puts forth new efforts in its oldest centres. God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts! [Applause.]

LECTURE IV.

PAPAL AND AMERICAN PLANS IN CONFLICT.

THE POPE'S LETTER TO JEFFERSON DAVIS.

ONE week ago last Sunday, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, there was read in many of the foremost Catholic churches a letter from Pope Leo XIII., assailing the historic, tested, absolutely priceless American common school system. A letter from the Pope is not a light matter to Catholics. After the Emancipation Proclamation had been issued by President Lincoln, Pius IX. wrote a letter to Jefferson Davis, announcing that an embassy sent from the rebel States had been courteously received at Rome, and that it was the Pope's desire that friendly relations should be perfected between the papacy and the Southern Confederacy. "Since the publication of that letter," said Mr. Lincoln, "a great number of Catholics have deserted their banners and turned traitors; very few comparatively have remained true to their oath of fealty." In one of the last days of his life Abraham Lincoln wrote a letter containing these words: "The Jesuits are so expert in their deeds of blood that Henry IV. said it was impossible to escape them, and he became their victim, though he did all he could to protect himself. My escape from their hands is more than a miracle, since the letter of the Pope to Jefferson Davis has sharpened a million of daggers." It is the fashion in certain quarters to doubt whether Mr. Lincoln was made really uneasy by Jesuit plots, but it is the fashion in certain other quarters to assert that a Jesuit plot brought about his assassination. Without justifying either side in this contention, I have no doubt that the Pope's letter to Jefferson Davis actually did cause disloyalty on the part of many a Union soldier, who without that letter would have been loyal, and that the President was not extravagant when he said that this letter of the Pope had sharpened a million daggers.

If such was the effect of a letter of the Pope only indirectly touching our great national contest, what is to be the effect of instructions from the Pope intended to destroy the whole system of American public schools?

If Americans are loyal to their common school system, it is high time that they should understand that they are at war with the Papacy. [Applause.] We are, I hope, sure of coming out of this conflict successfully. But it is probably to be a severe conflict, and so I am determined for one to go into it cautiously, and on principles that need not be abandoned, no matter how thick fall the sword blades of discussion. I wish to take an historic position, a judicial position, one containing not the slightest trace of eccentricity; a position that will work well both ways, and will bear all the tests of experience.

Senator Edmunds asks you to carry through Congress a resolve sending down to the Commonwealths of this Union an amendment providing for three things:—

First, that there shall never be a sectarian division of public funds in favor of any denominational school by municipal, state, or national authority.

Second, that there shall be no state establishment of religion in any State.

Third, that nothing in these provisions shall be so construed as to forbid the use of the Bible in the common schools. [Applause.]

JUDGE BARRETT ON THE BIBLE IN SCHOOLS.

Judge Barrett in Wisconsin has formally decided that the use of the Bible in the public schools, under the constitution of Wisconsin, is not sectarian. That constitution forbids all sectarian instruction in public schools. It is as strong on that point as any constitution in the whole list of our state fundamental laws. It is, indeed, exceedingly explicit in ruling out sectarian instruction. The first time this question has been brought to a legal decision, the result has been to justify the Judiciary Committee of the Senate and the Judiciary Committee of the House, to justify Senator Edmunds, to justify the immense majority of the Senate, lacking only two votes of two

thirds, in the proposition that the use of the Bible in common schools cannot be construed to be a sectarian form of instruction.

No court has ever yet held, that I am aware of, that it is unconstitutional to read the Bible in the public schools. The Supreme Court of Ohio have held it may be excluded from the public schools by the trustees and boards of education, but not by the courts; while in Maine, Massachusetts, and Iowa, under constitutional provisions similar to, our own, the courts sustain the trustees and school committees in adopting it as a book in every way suitable and proper to be read on the opening of the schools of each day. (Decision of Judge John R. Bennett, in the case of *Weiss et al. vs. The School Board of Edgerton*, Wisconsin, November 19, 1888. See the valuable pamphlet entitled "The Bible in Schools," F. W. Coon, printer, Edgerton, Wis., 1889.)

Now, I stand on Judge Barrett's Wisconsin decision; I stand on the Judiciary Committee of the Senate and of the House; I am defending Senator Edmunds's proposals; I hold that the positions presented here are historic, moderate, and judicial, if you please, for they are certainly supported by judicial authority. Let us insist on all three of them. Two of them I seriously expect to see ultimately embodied in a national amendment, and my fervent prayer is that the third, that the Bible shall not be excluded, may also come into that amendment. [Applause.]

A committee representing the Boston Committee of One Hundred, whose record is so glorious in recent Boston politics, went last week to Washington and had a full hearing before the Educational Committee of which Senator Blair is chairman. I am told by the honored secretary of the Boston Committee of One Hundred that the hearing was reinforced by important speeches by gentlemen from New York and Philadelphia, and that the whole tide of sentiment at the hearing was in favor of the two propositions which the Committee of One Hundred emphasized, namely, that there shall be no state establishment of religion, and no sectarian division of the school funds. The Boston Committee of One Hundred is made up of so many various theological elements that it did not present the third point which is in the Edmunds resolve; but it is in the proposed Blair amendment, and according to the judgment of experts who attended this hearing, is likely to be insisted on just as thoroughly

as the other two. So this is the three-sided reform we want: No established church; no sectarian division of the school fund; the Bible not excluded from the common schools. [Applause.]

The Pope opposes, of course, the first and the second of these propositions; and the secularists oppose the third.

In a journal published in central Massachusetts I read lately this sentence: "The state has no right to teach theistic theories of the universe to the materialistic Spencerian's child." That is to say, if there is any child whose father is a materialistic Spencerian, the state must lower the level of its instruction for all children to the level of that benighted child's soul. [Laughter.] There must be nothing said in the public schools inconsistent with the belief of a materialistic Spencerian. If there were a Buddhist's child in the school, I suppose this fanciful theory of the relations of church and state would require that we should lower the instruction in such a way that nothing should be taught inconsistent with the faith of a Buddhist; and so with a Mohammedan, and so with a Mormon.

It is the most atrocious nonsense to hold such theories of church and state as make the rights of the minority the wrongs of the majority. [Loud applause.] I am for a conscience clause, such as Iowa has. The Bible shall not be excluded from the schools, the Iowa law says, but no child shall be forced to attend a service to which his parents object. With that clause in, I see no reason for following the advice of our eccentric secularists as to the materialistic Spencerian child. Profoundly important was Professor Hitchcock's remark that the Romanist bugles which sound ahead of us are not more dangerous than the secularistic bugles which sound behind us. As we go into this conflict with Romanism in the front, we must expect to be stabbed in the back by nearly every secular journal in the land. A purely secular basis for the common schools, the Bible excluded; that is what many unduly timid evangelical teachers want for sake of peace.

IS A COMPROMISE WITH THE CLERICAL PARTY POSSIBLE?

My central question on this occasion is, not whether we can make a compromise with the secularists, for that I have already discussed; but, Can we make a compromise with the clerical party and remain faithful to educational interests of transcendent importance to American society? Is a compromise in America between the republic and the Roman Catholic clerical party advisable? Before you ask whether it is advisable, you should ask whether it is possible.

It is impossible to effect a compromise on the school question with the clerical party, for that party is a unit, the head of it is the Pope, the Pope is infallible, and the Pope has declared his opinion. [Applause.]

American public sentiment rests at the present hour in a false security, in hope of making such an arrangement with Catholics as will save our American public schools. We are a powerful republic, we know that the Roman Catholic population numbers only about eight millions, and we have confidence that when it is necessary for us to rise and put things to rights, we shall have the strength to do it. Make a broad distinction between Romanism as a polity and Catholicism as a religion. Make a broad distinction between the Roman laity and the clerical party. My question is not whether a compromise is possible between the American republic and the enlightened Roman Catholic voters of the land. The voters will themselves decide that question, and I hope will do it with freedom from foreign dictation. Whether it be possible for a compromise to be carried out advantageously with the clerical party is a narrower but a most important inquiry.

PROGRAMME OF THE CLERICAL PARTY.

What is the programme of the clerical party?

1. Parochial schools are to be established, wherever a parish has financial strength to do it.
2. Politicians are to be threatened with the opposition of the Catholic vote if they do not favor a division of the school funds.
3. Catholic voters who disobey priestly directions on this

point will be threatened with a withdrawal of the sacraments and favor of their church.

We have not yet quite reached this stage, but Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland, in his Lental Pastoral of 1873, did distinctly ask his flock to refuse their votes to all political candidates who would not give a pledge to assist in a division of the school funds. How long it will be before that portion of the programme will be thrust to the front I know not, but the earlier portions are already public. Parochial schools are opening across the whole breadth of the land. More than half a million Catholic children are now in them ; and very soon you will find the bishops and the priests everywhere advising their flocks to refuse their votes utterly to all who will not vote for a division of the school funds. That will bring into the conflict enormous political forces, and in closely contested elections in cities, in states, and even in the nation, politicians who want office, and who care more for votes than for souls, will be immensely influenced. What will follow ?

4. The next step in the programme, when political power has become divided enough to justify such a proceeding, will be that many Catholics will refuse to pay taxes for public schools. That is threatened by Catholic journals everywhere. I have many authorities lying here, which I cannot now take time to read, and which justify the assertion that the clerical party is instructing, or preparing to instruct, the Roman Catholic laity to resist the payment of taxes for public schools. By and by, when a million Catholic children are in parochial schools, the demand will look more reasonable than it does now. What will come next ?

5. As has already been predicted, the property of Catholics who refuse to pay for the support of public schools will be attached, and under a levy sold at auction to pay taxes. I do not greatly envy the man who buys such property. I do not suppose that there will be reenacted here such scenes as Ireland has been distressed and disgraced by again and again, but the buyers of such Catholic property, sold at auction, are not likely to be let alone by the more disorderly elements in the Catholic population of our great cities. Such buyers are likely to be

subjected to insult, officers of the law may very likely be resisted in a scandalous way, riots and bloodshed may possibly occur in many places.

6. Who can put down this disorder? The Catholic Church, as represented by the clerical party, might make much use of its opportunity, if disorder arises. When this disorder springs up, what will the Catholic clerical party say? We only can put it down. We have such authority that when the New York mobs occurred in the civil war, a Catholic Irish bishop was held responsible for them largely, and told that if he did not exert his influence to repress them, public penalty would fall upon him. His advice quelled the mob in New York far more than federal bayonets. The Catholic Church will tell you by and by, as it has said over and over to the public authorities in Europe, that it alone can keep the peace, but that if it is to keep the peace you must let the church have its way, you must divide the school funds, and then the clerical party will put down riot. And for the sake of peace, many weak-kneed Protestants, and many yet more weak-kneed politicians, will favor such change.

7. A full and final execution of the programme, if the previous steps are successful, will include an effort to unite state and church, and make the Roman Catholic religion that of the state. If the church is sufficiently powerful there will be no toleration for any other faith.

For one, I do not expect to see this last portion of the programme ever entered upon, because explosions would occur, undoubtedly, in this republic, such as have occurred in Mexico and in the valorous Argentine Republic, throwing off papal domination of this kind, even if the Catholic faith were not thrown off. Mexico is Catholic, not Romanist. The Argentine Republic has established the Catholic religion, but it is not Romanist; it does not allow the domination of Catholics in politics. We certainly shall not sink lower than the level of Mexico, or of the Argentine Republic. But we may be led on and on, until, Catholic property being seized for taxes, riot will be raised, and then for the sake of peace we may make large but vain concessions.

This entire programme is already laid down in the official utterances of a so-called infallible Pope, and especially in the latest papal Syllabus.

At this point I beg leave to recommend to public attention a book, now almost forgotten, "Rome and the Newest Fashions in Religion," by Mr. Gladstone. The American edition, published by the Harpers in 1877, contains Mr. Gladstone's famous pamphlets on Vaticanism, and what is now of more importance, it contains the Latin text of the famous Syllabus, with the English translation, side by side, and a detailed history of the Vatican Council by Professor Schaff of New York. That book is the best single volume I have in a large collection of authorities on this whole blazing theme.

It is of no consequence what any inferior Catholic authority says, after the Pope has spoken. The Syllabus is of such fundamental importance that it ought to be posted in public places. It ought to be studied by the people. It is kept out of the journals largely, under the pretext that it is antiquated. It is an authority. It is what is directing the activity of the most powerful ecclesiastical organization known to history. It is the keen sword lifted for the complete destruction of our American common schools.

PAPAL SYLLABUS OF ERRORS.

The programme of the Roman Catholic clerical party is authoritatively set forth in the following famous propositions of the "Papal Syllabus of Errors."

It is an error to hold that the entire direction of public schools, in which the youth of Christian states are educated, except (to a certain extent) in the case of Episcopal seminaries, may and must appertain to the civil power, and belong to it so far that no other authority whatsoever shall be recognized as having any right to interfere in the discipline of the schools, the arrangement of the studies, the taking of degrees, or the choice and approval of the teachers.

It is an error to hold that the best theory of civil society requires that popular schools open to the children of all classes, and generally, all public institutes intended for instruction in letters and philosophy, and for conducting the education of the young, should be freed from

all ecclesiastical authority, government, and interference, and should be fully subjected to the civil and political power in conformity with the will of rulers and the prevalent opinions of the age.

It is an error to hold that this system of instructing youth, which consists in separating it from the Catholic faith and from the power of the church, and in teaching exclusively, or at least primarily, the knowledge of natural things and the earthly ends of social life alone, may be approved by Catholics.

It is an error to hold that kings and princes are not only exempt from the jurisdiction of the church, but are superior to the church in litigated questions of jurisdiction.

It is an error to hold that the church ought to be separated from the state and the state from the church.

From the *Papal Syllabus of Errors*, articles 45, 47, 48, 54, and 55.

That is the deliverance with which your school system is in conflict, and will continue to be in conflict until either American ideas triumph, by the exclusion of the ultramontane party from power in educational affairs in this republic, or until the clerical programme is carried out, very probably in the form which I have just outlined.

A compromise with the Papal Syllabus is impossible for Americans. No such compromise is possible that does not involve the complete destruction of our historic American common school system.

In Europe a compromise has been effected by a combination of secular and religious instruction. The secular instruction is given in common, the religious instruction separately, by the different state churches in Germany. You ask why the same thing cannot be done here. One reason is that we have no state churches, we never shall have state churches, and the Prussian plan is adapted only to a state church system. To subdivide religious instruction in our schools, to give now the Romanist and now the Protestant authority to teach the children the catechism, would be to introduce fashions wholly contrary to the spirit of American institutions; it would be to unite church and state, practically, to make the state responsible for two establishments of religion in conflict with each other. It is the judgment of many experts that such a plan would be unconstitutional. The authority of President Eliot,

of Harvard University, is quoted in favor of this plan, but he stands almost alone.

Can there not be a conference of Roman Catholic and Protestant authorities to arrange a basis for a settlement of the school question? How can the clerical party compromise any of the positions of the Syllabus? Of what service would a conference be? To the last line, syllable, and letter, the clerical party are governed by that Syllabus. They cannot give up a hair's breadth of it, but the Syllabus cannot be executed without the destruction of the American common school system. Professor Fisher of Yale College has said that since the deliverance of that great council which pronounced the Pope infallible, nearly all schemes for an alliance between Protestants and Roman Catholics have become less feasible than they once were. He thinks it is almost impossible now to arrange for a union of old Catholic and Roman Catholic activities in connection with education, and still less for a union of Protestant and Romanist authorities. Professor Hodge of Princeton, and a writer in a recent number of a Massachusetts review, and several other authorities that I respect, are advising a conference of Catholics and Protestants. It would amount to nothing. The clerical party has foregone conclusions. Nowhere has any such conference amounted to anything.

IMPOLICY OF SEPARATE SCHOOLS.

Ontario has separate schools, you say, and she maintains them all by public taxes. That is very true, and so much the worse for Ontario. Do you know what the conditions of the Separate Schools Act in Ontario are? Five Roman Catholics can petition for a separate school, and then all Roman Catholics within three miles of the centre to which that petition is presented must send their children to the parochial school. Taxes are levied for the support of it. Protestant teachers are examined for the public schools in Ontario; Roman Catholic brothers and nuns are received as teachers without examination. Protestant school-books in Ontario are selected by a board of education; Catholic text-books are not, and can be packed with treason, as they sometimes are. The public schools in Ontario

have a Scripture reading book, of which a copy lies on the desk here, a most admirably arranged volume, made up under the advice of a distinguished committee. This book has been revised over and over, and it suits Protestants very well. The Catholics will have nothing to do with it. In Ontario the public schools are inspected; the Roman Catholic schools are not. There is a secret ballot for teachers for public schools under the Australian system, but the clerical party requires Roman Catholics to vote by signatures, and so the priests know exactly how their parishioners stand, and can terrorize them if necessary. These are the advantages that Roman Catholics obtain in Ontario under the Separate Schools Act.

What has happened lately in the Dominion north of us? The Jesuits were expelled from Canada when she came under English rule. There were certain public lands held by Jesuit organizations, and now, more than one hundred years after that event, the Jesuits of Quebec, a city not far from Boston as the crow flies, have been demanding of the Quebec Parliament indemnification. Sir John McDonald could not retain his seat for an hour if he were to offend the Jesuit party in politics in Quebec province. The result has been he has yielded, and nearly half a million dollars have been given over to the Jesuit organization, now recognized by law, to indemnify the Jesuit order for losses at the time of the British settlement. Two weeks ago this occurred, and since then nearly every Protestant pulpit in the Dominion has been thundering against this truckling to the Jesuits of Quebec province. Protestant schools in Quebec are subjected to such injustice, public funds that should go to them are in such nefarious ways diverted from their legal use, that Protestant schools are dying out of the city of Quebec. They have no rights that the Jesuit party seems inclined to respect. Much business is going to Montreal away from Quebec, because of the interferences of the Jesuit party with the activity of Protestants, and the unjust taxes put upon the Protestant population, and the general domination of Ultramontaniam. Certain Protestant speakers have been saying, so the journals tell us, that one of the deepest reasons for the annexation of Protestant Canada to the United States is that it may escape

the domination of Jesuit Lower Canada. We know what Quebec province is in contrast with New England, and with Ontario, and what Quebec is she has been made chiefly by Roman Catholic manipulation. Where Protestants are strong, as in Ontario province, the Roman Catholics obtain more than their share of the public funds; they have privileges that Protestants do not possess; and where they are in authority, or in a large majority, as in Quebec province, Protestants are subjected to religious persecution. We could not adopt the plan of separate schools without giving up that glorious American system which has made Americans of us all; which takes in Italians, Germans, Irishmen, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and turns them all out Americans.

MGR. CAPEL'S PREDICTION IN 1884.

Mgr. Capel, a legate of the Pope, who visited this country in 1884, was asked in New York city, in an interview, "Whom must the Roman Catholic layman obey, if the state should command him to do one thing and the church command him to do another?" This legate of the Pope replied: "He must obey the church of course. . . . I am making a careful study of your whole school system. There is going to be a fight. There are a good many Catholics in this country — 8,000,000 somebody says. Your public school system is inadequate for them, and they are going to leave it. Suppose that the church sends out an authoritative command to the Catholics to open schools in every parish, and support them and send all Catholic children to them. It can be done by the utterance of a word, sharp as the click of a trigger. That command will be obeyed. New schools will spring up everywhere. What will be the result of that? A fight. It will be at least the warlike condition; a million or two of voting, tax-paying citizens warlike toward the government." (Document XX. of the Evangelical Alliance of the United States, the Rev. Dr. Josiah Strong, Secretary, New York.) In such a conflict may God be with us as he was with our fathers! [Applause.]

ROBERT ELSMERE'S SUCCESSOR.

CURFEW JESSELL: THE HISTORY OF A SOUL.

BY DR. JOSEPH PARKER, CITY TEMPLE, LONDON.

CHAPTER XII.

CURFEW was not able to visit Mr. Bell in consequence of an attack of illness which, at one point, seemed to threaten serious consequences. For three weeks Curfew was confined to his room, and for three weeks more he was only able to stroll about the garden or take easy walks around the meadow which lay behind his father's house. By some of his friends, notably Mrs. Oldbody, Curfew's illness was regarded as a judgment "as plain as plain can be," for his treatment of "dear, good Mr. Bruce," who had, she thought, shown a most forgiving spirit by expressing the hope that if Curfew did get better he would be wise enough not to make a companion of that most fantastical person, Mr. Boston Bell. Mrs. Oldbody had talked the whole matter over with the Kennedys, and had been shocked by the way in which Janet Kennedy had taken up Curfew's case.

"My dear Janet," said Mrs. Oldbody, "it will do good in one way."

"What will, Mrs. Oldbody?"

"Curfew's illness, dear, don't you see?"

"What good will it do?"

"Why, people will begin to see that, after all, there is such a thing as Providence. How people can deny it I really cannot understand. But now we see it, and I only hope Curfew himself will see it."

"Tut, tut, Mrs. Oldbody," said Janet, "you cannot open your mouth without talking nonsense. I wish people would not make such fools of themselves in trying to take care of the Almighty. He can take care of himself without our meddling and peddling."

"But, my dear Janet," said Mrs. Oldbody, "I am sure you believe in Providence? Now don't say the contrary. Don't go against your religion."

"Deed, Mrs. Oldbody," said Janet, "it's very little religion I can lay any honest claim to, and I begin to think the less the better."

"The less the better, child?"

"Aye, the less the better; at any rate, the less the better, of a certain kind. The most people's religion that I know anything about is all fudge and nonsense, for they will swallow any amount of superstition, and help to support any number of priests, provided they can cackle and gossip and

backbite, and twaddle, between Sunday and Sunday ; and I may tell you, Mrs. Oldbody, without meaning any disrespect, that I am not able to make you an exception to the number."

Mrs. Oldbody might have resented this candid criticism or have been dissolved in tears had not Mr. Kennedy come into the room in a state of excitement, saying, —

"Not fewer than seventeen crowed simultaneously, Janet."

"I'm glad to hear it," Janet simply replied.

"And I tell you what, Janet," her brother continued, "I must have a clock for the bantam house, for it will enable me to ascertain the precise duration of every crowing, and enable me further to compile a statistical table by which" —

"Away wi' ye," said Janet, "and just compile to your heart's content."

When Mr. Kennedy caught full sight of Mrs. Oldbody, he saw tears in that venerable lady's eyes.

"You have not lost any one, I hope?" said he.

"I have lost everything," Mrs. Oldbody pathetically observed, "if I have lost my religion" —

"That's another," said Kennedy, with delight; "I heard the crow; there it goes again," and off he went.

The great human family might come and go, with all its sorrow and joy, its pain and need, for anything Mr. Kennedy cared, provided only his bantams crowed "simultaneously." Any fool might hear a single bantam crow, but Kennedy despised every number less than twelve. He has even spoken contemptuously of ten, and shown only a languid interest in thirteen. The theatre was large enough for the actor. For bantams the solar system was hurriedly put together; for them the sun rose and set; for them the tides ebbed and flowed. "I believe in bantams," was the true end of all theological inquiry. But let us spare poor Kennedy, for we know it to be true that every man has a bantam house.

Curfew called at the Kennedy's one warm day during his convalescence and spent a few minutes in Janet's society.

"I'm right glad to see ye, Curfew, and from my heart I wish you many years of health and happiness."

"Thanks. I've quite got round the corner now."

"That's good."

"I'm not quite sure of that," said Curfew, "I had other hopes."

"Other hopes? What may your meaning be, Curfew?"

"I can tell you, but I could not tell everybody. Mary Butler once told me that she saw my mother and I could not credit her; I thought it was all a dream, but I know better now."

"Tell me," said Janet wistfully.

"During my illness my mother nursed me and petted me and comforted me, as she would have done if she had not died. She spoke to me and I spoke to her, I do assure you, just as certainly and as clearly as we are doing to-day" —

"Oh, Curfew!"

"I do not wonder at your want of credulity, but that does not change the fact. Depend upon it we do not see everything with the eyes of the body. Perhaps it is as well that we see so little. At the same time it is a great pity that most of us do not see more. Sometimes I wonder that God does not show us the other world more distinctly, for some revelation of it might do good. But whatever God does is right."

"That's my religion," said Janet warmly.

"Religion can have neither beginning nor end," Curfew replied in his old manner.

"How's that, Curfew?"

"Because God can have neither beginning nor end, and religion deals with God. It is the soul's native speech; it is the soul's union with the Eternal. But that is not what I was talking about. Shall I tell you about my sainted mother?"

"Do."

"Oh what talks we had together in the quiet nights! I asked her if she could see me, and she said, 'My dear boy, for days together I can see nothing else.' Then I asked her always to tell me what I ought to do, and she told me to be sure to make a friend of Mr. Bell, for he was well spoken of in the other world. 'But, mother,' said I, 'are we all known in the world where you now are?' Then she told me that every life was watched, every thought was known, and every word was heard"—

"Oh, Curfew," said Janet, "but that is a very awful thought."

"That depends how you take it," Curfew replied. "Mother says that we are not judged as lawyers would judge us, but we are judged by our purpose and intention. She means that if we really want to be right we are right, although we may say and do many things that are not good. As I understand her, it is a judgment of motive rather than a judgment of action. Don't you know what it is to want to do a thing and yet to do the very opposite?"

"I know it only too well, Curfew."

"I am sure," Curfew continued, "there is a double action in human life. We say things we do not want to say; we do things we do not want to do; we are always contradicting and opposing ourselves."

"That is perfectly true," said Janet, "as I know only too well."

"Very well. Mother says it is the upper line that is judged and not the lower, and she says that if I will read the Bible carefully I shall see that it is so. We look at separate actions, at infirmities and slips, and mistakes, and we say, this is a good man, and that is a bad man, when we simply know nothing at all about it. This gives me a hope I could not otherwise have. I should not like to be judged by my follies."

"Oh, Curfew, what follies have you had?"

"Plenty. I have said a hundred silly things just to nettle people. I am sure poor Mr. Bruce feels hurt, and I must see him about it. I can never receive his teaching, still I need not crush his feeling. He and I do not

take the same view of God, or man, or life, or destiny. We must not talk much to one another ; at the same time I must let him know that I was wrong, when I spoke unkindly to him."

"Don't trouble about the poor old creature," said Janet.

"But I must trouble about myself," Curfew interposed. "I owe it to myself to be just to other men. That is what Mr. Bell has taught me, and what my mother always told me was right. One thing more I should like to tell you, a thing I have never mentioned even to Mary Butler" —

"That I should like to know," Janet eagerly interrupted.

"One night, during my illness, when my mother came to sit beside me, she said she would like me to have her Bible, and that I would find it in a certain drawer in her own little sitting-room. You remember, it is the room that looks over the meadows at the back of the house."

"Oh, yes."

"So I said I should like to have it because it was hers, and she said she wanted me to look at the pencil marks she had made on the margin, and if you will look here," Curfew continued, drawing the Bible from his pocket, "you will see how much my darling mother read the Bible. I had no idea that she was such a Bible reader."

As Curfew produced the Bible his face and his whole mien constituted a picture. Moses wist not that his face shone when he came down from the mount, nor did Curfew know that in his eyes there was a light as of the dawn of a better day. Students of psychical mysteries may believe or doubt as to the night-visions of his mother which had laid so firm a hold on Curfew's imagination, but as to her real influence upon him there can be nothing but grateful certitude. Why this sanctity of the dead ? Why this homage paid to the genius of memory ? Does it not come of the operation of the very law which was revealed to Curfew by his mother ? We judge by the upper line — the motive and purpose of the life — and all surface roughness, sometimes, indeed, vulgarity or violence, falls into the grave to share the fate of the body. The man is always within the man, as the jewel is within the casket. Only God can see us as we really are, and therefore only God can judge us. What picture can compare with the face made radiant by spiritual reverence and joy ? At this moment Curfew's face makes it possible to believe that man was in very deed made in the image and likeness of God.

Curfew and Janet sat side by side as they looked at the precious treasure. From marks made by the reader we may infer much as to the reader's character. Mrs. Jessell might well submit to be judged by this unusual test. They were not common passages that were marked by her discriminating pencil. The first chapters of Genesis were noted with special care, particularly the incidents connected with the temptation in Eden, and at the end of the chapter in which Eden is forfeited there was a pencil line : "Must be a beautiful allegory, and is none the less valuable on that account." Coming to the ages of the patriarchs, Mrs. Jessell commented thus : "What a weary time they must have had of it ; things have im-

proved since then." In the book of Job she evidently reveled with delight. At the close of it the note was : " All this is going on to-day ; in my opinion this is the greatest book in the Old Testament. How Curfew will be thrilled when he comes to read it thoughtfully." In some such way most of the other books were marked ; and to Curfew's loving eye every mark was a comment. In the Bible many loose pieces of paper were found on which Mrs. Jessell had rapidly written her passing impressions. For example : " I am sure Curfew means to be right, and I am also sure that in the end my sweet boy will be a noble character. He is very like my mother, much more like her than he is like me. She had a wonderful mind, but her dotard of a husband — my own father, forgive me ! — gave her no encouragement." Again : " This has been the happiest day in my life. I hardly know how I have lived through it. Curfew put his arms around me and asked me to pray with him just as I did when he was a little child. I tried to say something, but a mother's tears would come, do what I might to keep them back ; and as for Curfew, poor boy, he sobbed as if his heart would break." The search for papers and notes could not go farther at that moment. Janet found it convenient to leave the room for a few moments, so that Curfew's feelings might not be desecrated even by her sympathetic observation. Poor boy ! — for what more was he even in years ! — his fine eyes were full of tears as he looked towards the sky. Surely through such lenses he must have seen his mother bending over him. Who knows ? Do we not often see just what we look for ? When Janet returned Curfew was quite composed, and even reverently cheerful.

" I tell you what," said he, " I think that in memory of my dear mother we might try to pray a little."

" By all means," said Janet, " she would like it above all things."

Janet Kennedy and Curfew Jessell kneeled together, Curfew grasping his mother's Bible with an intensity of which he was largely unconscious. But why so silent ? Who is to pray ? Presently Curfew began —

" Our Father which art in heaven."

There he stopped for what seemed to Janet a long time. The next two sentences he uttered with great rapidity as if afraid he would break down before he quite completed them. Then he added, " Thy will be done," — and could go no farther. It is a hard prayer. It means so much. It means self-crucifixion and self-annihilation. It gives God all his own way. That is a blessed state of soul to be in, but strait is the gate and narrow is the way that leads to it. How easy to say this at the wedding altar, how hard to say it when the dust rattles on the coffin in which the only child is sleeping ! Yet to this it must come if we are to know the deepest joys of religious experience. Do you ask the road to the City of Peace ? There it is — yonder — yonder — where the great cross lifts its head !

Curfew was in no haste as he walked towards his home, indeed he could not make much speed owing to the weakness in which his illness had left him. He would have made an effort, however, had he known who waited for him at the house, but this he did not know so he sauntered at leisure.

Perhaps it was better so, for his absence gave his father and Mr. Bell opportunity to say what they could not have well said in his presence.

"I never saw such a change in any one in all my life," said Mr Jessell ; "he seems quite to have come back to his senses."

"He never lost them, Mr. Jessell."

"No, no ; not that ; you know what I mean ; he had got into queer company in London, you know ; that old man Upfield, you know, who once came down here, and Cuttlestone ; and no end of odd people, but now, I do believe, that Curfew will one day — yes I do — once I did not — but I feel pretty certain that Curfew will put himself right with the parson, — Mr. Bruce, you know."

"If there is anything wrong," said Mr. Bell, "you may be perfectly sure Curfew will put it right. One thing I want to tell you, Jessell."

"What is that, sir ?"

"Why, I do not believe you have the faintest idea of Curfew's quality."

"No ?"

"No. He is one in fifty thousand, aye one in a million. I know his soul. I know what a mind he has, and what a royal heart" —

"Takes a deal after his mother," Mr. Jessell faintly interrupted.

"Possibly. He has a wonderful reverence for his mother's memory, but whether he takes after her or not I assure you that Curfew ought by and by to make his influence felt all over the world."

"I want him to take up with the land," said Mr. Jessell, "you know I have a goodish bit of property, and it will all fall to Curfew, and it would be a pity if he did not take his right position in the parish."

"Never mind the parish," said Mr. Bell, "no parish is large enough for Curfew. Mr. Bruce and I will take care of parishes" —

"Oh, I don't mean Curfew to be a vicar," said the father.

"No, no. You mean be a landed proprietor" —

"Yes."

"I know, but all that is rubbish. Curfew is a thinker, a philosopher, a poet" —

"Eh, don't go on to tell me he's a play-actor."

"I am not going to do so."

"I can never forget," Mr. Jessell broke in, "never, never."

"Forget what, Mr. Jessell ?"

"Why, what Curfew said to the parson — Mr. Bruce, you know ; poor Mr. Bruce — about monkeys, and kittens and play-acting — oh dear, oh dear — I really thought Mr. Bruce would have gone clear out of his head, and I was not the only one that thought so, for Mrs. Oldbody begged me to look after Curfew, for she thought he would be the death" —

Mr. Bell sprang to his feet and rushed into the meadow where Curfew was standing looking up wistfully at the window of his mother's room.

"My boy !" said Mr. Bell.

"This is a delightful surprise," Curfew exclaimed, holding out both hands.

"First of all," continued Mr. Bell, "tell me you are better."

"I am," said Curfew, "now I want to know about you."

"Well, I will tell you, Curfew, when we sit down in the arbor yonder. How charming. I feel that it is now really summer once more. Where shall I begin."

"Begin at the very beginning," said Curfew.

"It will have to come bit by bit," Mr. Bell replied, "for there is so much to tell. I have been a fortnight in London and have had some real amusement with four friends of mine, fine fellows but about as blind as moles on all practical matters. They undertook to convert the East End of London, and the way they went about their work would make you die of laughing. I was with them the whole time, and I have written a full and particular account of the whole business which I will leave with you. I thought it would amuse you and help to make you well again. I wish you could have been there. I wish Upfield, and Cuttlestone, and Doubletloe could have been there" —

"Did you see any of them?" Curfew interjected.

"Saw them all. Talked about you almost the whole time. They are going on just as usual, as foggy and bewildered as ever, but they all want to hear that you are well again."

"Did Cuttlestone descend to such trifles?"

"Yes, but in no trifling way, I can tell you. I took down some of his remarks in writing and he was proud to observe that I did so. He said, 'When I suspend my mind from metaphysical intentionment and give play to that heart-springment which is the very essence of comprehensionism' — and there I lost him, but I am sure his meaning was good. I thanked him warmly for his affectionate interest in your welfare, whereupon he wished me particularly to inform you that in adapting the old triadic religion of comprehensionism to modern betterment he had laid down the basis principle that there is a beginning to a beginning, but no beginning to the beginning of the beginning, and I told him that you would be charmed to hear it."

"So I am, Mr. Bell, in a certain way," said Curfew, "for I believe that Cuttlestone has a downright sound heart and that his real object is to do good. I always thought he was a guileless madman."

"So far, so good. Now Curfew, hear me. I am going to be master. You must take things quietly for another month and then come over to Butterfield and discuss the universe bit by bit. Nothing is to be gained by being in a hurry. You want time to gather strength in, and until you are as strong as ever I will rule you with a rod of iron."

Poor Curfew, in his young enthusiasm he had told Mr. Bell all about his London acquaintances and indeed about everything else, feeling that they were doubly his when Mr. Bell held them in appreciative confidence. Amongst the rest of his communications he had told Mr. Bell of Bobby's mother, and had particularly invoked Mr. Bell to dwell upon the gracious mystery of that Providence which had arranged for Bobby's appearance in the world on a Sunday in contradistinction from a Friday. Mr. Bell called on the simple-minded rustic and found her disconsolate.

"I am sure you would find Mr. Curfew Jessell very kind?"

"Oh yes, sir, kind enough, paid for Bobby's coffin, and paid for every-

thing and told me to hold my tongue about it, but how can I keep quiet about such kindness. It is very touching."

"Very. I never heard a word about it before."

"But what am I to do without Bobby," the mother continued in a tone pitifully forlorn, "everything keeps putting me in mind of Bobby. There's the bonny sampler he was working with the needle in it just where he left off, and there's the humming-top Miss Butler gave him. I want to know what that child did that he could not be let alone to stop with his mother and be a comfort to her" —

"But we are in God's hands," Mr. Bell began.

"No we are not," said Bobby's mother, "there is no God; there is only a devil, and he's a cruel one, say what ye may, and I am just tired of living, and no child coming in; bless him, if he would only come back I would n't care how he had torn his clothes" —

"Don't give way to hardness of heart," said Mr. Bell, "no good comes of that."

"Hardness of heart," was the bitter reply, "who is hard of heart? Bobby would never say his poor mother was. If there is a God He is hard of heart and I want to tell Him so. I am not going to say what I don't believe. What good does the church do me? Does it save my child? Does it make up for my loss? Here am I, a poor woman who has to work hard soon and late and can hardly get a coal to my grate, and when Bobby pulled a turnip out of the field he was treated like a thief by them that calls themselves our betters and thinks we are too well off when we take the back forms at church, and looks on us like dogs if we do not courtesy to them when the rheumatism is that bad we can hardly crook a limb."

Oh, incoherent poverty, how it rambles and raves and tears up all that syntax counts sacred — quite true — yet it does not talk without reason, or curse its fate through mere love of profanity. Nor is it to be denied that life is a development of hardship in countless instances, a real and intolerable pain. Philosophy may in some degree be able to argue itself into acquiescence with the inevitable, but what is ignorance to do — say ignorance redeemed from vulgarity by motherhood, and pitilessly cross-examined by poverty and bereavement? Can such ignorance find a balm in antiquated dogmas, or in priestly mummeries? On the other hand, can atheism prevent it, or agnosticism soothe its misery? Does not hail batter on the rich man's roof? Does no lightning glare through the rich man's window? The Bible does not dig our graves. If all churches were re-dedicated to the idol of agnosticism instead of the Maker of heaven and earth, little children would still die and sharp knives would wound our hearts. The mystery is not all on one side? To be, is to be tried with many a pain; to be, is to be miserable. Yet the world's misery has never been so gently and healingly touched as by the Son of God.

Let us turn, however, to the paper left with Curfew by the Rev. Boston Bell.

BOOK NOTICES.

BIBLICAL ESCHATOLOGY. By ALVAH HOVEY, D. D., M. D. Philadelphia : American Baptist Publication Society. 1888. 12mo, pp. 192.

This is a responsible utterance. It comes from one who for twenty years has been president of the Newton Theological Institution in Massachusetts, and is greatly revered, not only throughout the Baptist denomination, but far beyond it. Dr. Hovey was a member of the Executive Committee of the American Baptist and Missionary Union from 1868 to 1883. He is the general editor of "The Complete Commentary on the New Testament" (Philadelphia, 1881, and since), and author of a "Manual of Systematic Theology and Ethics," 1877, reissued in Philadelphia, 1880. The chief characteristics of this book on Biblical Eschatology, it need not be said, are exegetical solidity and evangelical soundness. The freshest points raised in current discussions are adequately noticed, but the volume is far from being of merely polemical interest. It is the calm, mature, devout study of one of the greatest of themes by an expert in the fields of ethics and Biblical theology. Dr. Hovey's initial proposition (Preface, p. 5) is that "a Biblical eschatology is the only door of escape from utter agnosticism as to the conditions of men after death." His reply to the fanciful theory that the Scriptures teach the annihilation of the incorrigibly wicked is particularly convincing. He rejects the doctrine of the Premillennial Advent of Christ, but treats its advocates with marked courtesy and respect.

Some premillennialists state their view cautiously, thus: *The apostles teach Christians to expect the second coming of Christ at any hour.* In proof of this, they appeal to Matt. 24: 44; Rom. 13: 11, 12; 1 Thess. 5: 1, 2; 1 Pet. 1: 5; 2 Pet. 3: 10; Rev. 3: 3; 16: 15. But we think it scarcely credible that Christ meant to teach that the Christian age or æon might come to an end at any hour. (Matt. 28: 20.) The work committed to his disciples was one that could not be accomplished in a short time. What, then, could have been impending that was equivalent practically to the second advent? Is not the hour of one's death, for him, virtually the hour of Christ's coming to judgment? And the day of one's death may come at any moment, bringing him face to face with the Judge. For to a thoughtful Christian death is only a gateway into the Lord's court. "After death, is judgment," or, more explicitly, the return of Christ in glory, the resurrection of the dead, the transformation of the living, and the final separation of the righteous from the wicked. "In its moral and spiritual effect on us, the uncertainty of the time of our going to Christ is nearly identical with the uncertainty of the time of his coming to us" (McLaren, "Sunday School Times," XXX, No. 23, p. 200). (Pp. 70, 71.)

While I am constrained by my reading of Holy Scripture to believe that the theory of postmillennialists is beset with fewer difficulties than the theory of

premillennialists, I heartily admire the enthusiasm, devotion, and learning of many who belong to the latter class. In evangelical and missionary labor they have no superiors. If they attach more importance to the visible presence of Christ, or to the influence of the raised saints, in bringing sinners to repentance, than I suppose is warranted by the Word of God, yet their belief does not interfere with a zealous use of the truth as it is in Jesus. If their explanation of the doctrine of election seems to be ingenious rather than broad and natural, the doctrine itself, as an expression of the sovereign grace of God, is honored and proclaimed. Such an article as that of Professor Kellogg on Premillennialism, in the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*" for April, 1888, shows how the doctrine may be held without narrowness of vision or uncharitableness toward others, and increases the prospect of delightful fellowship and coöperation between those who differ from each other on this part of Christian doctrine. (Page 77.)

The discredited and yet vastly mischievous hypothesis of probation after death is, of course, vigorously repudiated. Dr. Hovey's exegetical treatment of this topic is extremely cautious, clear, and candid, but is too extended to be cited here in detail. His judgment on the Andover book, entitled "*Progressive Orthodoxy*," is expressed in terms which we can heartily adopt as our own.

Some of the language in this book fails to discriminate properly between the preëxistent Word and Jesus Christ. Some of it affirms a closer relation of Christ to all created beings than the Bible suggests or reason teaches. Some of it favors the opinion that the incarnation would have taken place if there had been no sin; but this opinion is scarcely Biblical. Some of it denies that any man will be finally condemned except for the sin against the Holy Spirit — a denial not justified by the Word of God. Some of it appears to assert the universality of Christ's work, as though in the end all moral beings would be saved by it — an assertion which is opposed to strong Biblical evidence.

The trend of reasoning in many passages of "*Progressive Orthodoxy*" is distinctly towards the final restoration of all the wicked to holiness and God's favor. Yet there are explicit rejections of this theory on the ground of Holy Scriptures. Moreover, the doctrinal equipoise of the work, as an exposition of Christian truth, is more or less disturbed by ignoring the justice of God. What justice requires Him to do for sinners, and forbids Him to do against them, is grasped far more firmly than what justice requires Him to do against them. And finally in the argument for probation after death, the light which God gives to the heathen by reason, conscience, the order of nature and of providence, and by the Holy Spirit, is strangely undervalued. (Pp. 136.)

That there will be no unprivileged men, no infants, and no imbeciles on earth at the final coming of Christ to judge the living and the dead, is utterly improbable. But the living are to be changed "in a moment" at "the last trump," and, according to the obvious sense of Holy Scripture, are to be judged without further probation. If, then, we are constrained to believe that no injustice will be done to any of these, are we not bound to look upon probation in this life as sufficient for the earlier generations also?

From the fact that no account of the last judgment refers to the case of infants or of idiots, we think it rational to infer that, from the beginning of time, the effect of the fall upon their moral nature has been removed by the Saviour, through the work of the Spirit, before they enter the life to come. No other

hypothesis agrees so well with the assuring silence of Scripture in regard to their destiny; for we are unable to find within the lids of the Bible any hint of their being lost hereafter, or any faintest suggestion of prayer for their renewal after death. It is therefore safe to trust that, in the case of those who are thus removed from the only hopeful state of probation, the second Adam has by his perfect grace destroyed the work of the first Adam. In looking at their case we discover no ground for the doctrine of probation after death. It is a doctrine which lacks any solid foundations in the word or character of God. (Pp. 143, 144.)

The contention of Archdeacon Farrar and others that the word *eternal* refers to the quality rather than to the duration of the life of both the righteous and the wicked is explicitly contradicted.

The explanation of the Greek word or words translated "eternal," "forever," etc., as denoting *quality*, rather than *duration*, must be pronounced untenable. President Dwight, in his note on Matt. 25: 46, says: "The Revised Version has undoubtedly dealt fairly with the text in placing the word 'eternal' in both clauses; for this is the better and more accurate English rendering of the word, and it cannot be doubted that the word should have the same rendering in the first case which it has in the second. The Greek word here used, if turned into a corresponding form in our language, would be represented by *æonian*. The space allowed for these notes gives no opportunity for the discussion of this word; but the writer of the note would say that in his view the adjective had in it the quantitative, rather than the qualitative, element, as it was used by the New Testament writers in general, and that even what may be called its qualitative use in John's Gospel was, if we may so express it, founded upon the quantitative idea. The word seems to have been a word involving the idea of duration; and, in the adjective form, it seems to have come into use as the thought of duration began to reach out more fully beyond this earthly life" ("Sunday School Times" for May 6, 1888). The writer of this book dissents from the opinion that *αἰώνιος* has a qualitative sense in the Fourth Gospel. The term "life" is very often found in the writings of John, having a higher and spiritual sense not belonging to the word in its ordinary use; but the adjective "eternal" retains everywhere its customary reference to duration. True life is eternal, as well as holy and blessed. That the qualitative idea attaches to the word "life" is evident from its use in this higher sense without the adjective — *e. g.*, in John 3: 36^b; 5: 24^b, 40; 6: 33, 35, 53, 63, etc. The adjective is associated with "life" forty-three times in the New Testament; but also with such words as, "God," "Spirit," "glory," "weight of glory," "redemption," "salvation," "gospel," "covenant," "kingdom," "inheritance," "tabernacles," "house in heaven," "comfort," "power," "judgment," "punishment," "fire," "destruction," "sin," "things not seen," and in all cases the quantitative sense of the word "eternal" suits the connection. (See Thayer's Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament, under the words *αἰών* and *αἰώνιος*; also Cremer's Biblico-Theological Lexicon of New Test. Greek under the same words.)

Eternal sin is presupposed by eternal misery. It is the impenitent, the unbelieving, the enemies of God and righteousness, who are cast out into the outside darkness, and there is no evidence that they will ever come to a better mind. In a moral universe, rightly constituted, incorrigible wickedness draws after it perpetual loss and pain. The worm that dieth not is kept alive by sin, and sin is the movement of a free being in his chosen way. If he is a slave, he is in bondage to self, and not to another. (Pp. 161-164.)

CHRISTIANITY, ISLAM, AND THE NEGRO RACE. By EDWARD W. BLYDEN, LL. D., Liberia. With an Introduction by the HON. SAMUEL LEWIS of the Legislative Council of Sierra Leone. London : W. B. Whittingham & Co. 1888. Post 8vo, pp. 440.

This volume contains essays and discourses by Edward Wilmot Blyden on various questions which affect Africa and the African, such as Colonization, Christianity and the Negro Race, Christian Missions in Africa, and Race Distinctions. Dr. Blyden displays an earnest zeal on behalf of his race, and must be credited with extensive reading and observation. He possesses the soul of a patriot and a philanthropist. Born in the West Indies "of the purest negro parentage," he early showed signs of love for the fatherland, and in his seventeenth year went to the United States to prepare himself "to work in Africa." Failing to gain admittance to an educational institution, "so strong was the prejudice against his race," he at once proceeded to Liberia, where by his "diligence and perseverance" he has commanded the respect of his fellow-countrymen, and by them has been called to grave and important duties which he has performed with the faithfulness of a lover of his race.

He longs to see the negro return to the home of his fathers. It is Dr. Blyden's belief that many American freedmen are anxious to go to Africa and be free from the embarrassments and hindrances which surround them in the land of their former captivity. On this topic Dr. Blyden says in an address before the American Colonization Society :—

There are thousands who are longing to betake themselves to those vast and fertile regions to which they are directed by the strongest impulses that have ever actuated the movements of humanity. The negro is drawn to Africa by the necessities of his nature. . . . There are men and women who will go who have a restless sense of homelessness which will never be appeased until they stand in the great land where their forefathers lived. It is evident that there can be no hope for the future improvement of the African only as the negro finds out his work and destiny . . . and learns to trust his own judgment. So long as the negro remains in America he can never act out what he feels. In Africa his wings develop, there he casts off his fears and his doubts, returns to faith and reason, and becomes a righteous man.

Of the services by which the African race has made the world its debtor, Dr. Blyden says :—

In helping to achieve the material and moral grandeur of the American republic, Africa has borne an important part. He who writes the history of modern civilization will be culpably negligent if he omits to observe and to describe the black stream of humanity which has poured into America from the heart of the Soudan. . . . The slaves exported to America have profoundly influenced civilization. The political history of the United States is the history of the negro. The commercial and agricultural history of nearly the whole of America is the history of the negro.

Regarding Christian missions and the many drawbacks to their success

besides the climate, want of assimilation, and the prejudice and contempt of not a few of the missionaries toward the negro, he says :—

Growing out of the general misunderstanding of the people, the first and constant effort of the missionaries is to Europeanize them, without reference to their race peculiarities or the climate influences of the country, and this course has been attended by many serious drawbacks, preventing any healthy or permanent result.

The "thin varnish of European civilization" which the native thus receives is mistaken for a genuine mental metamorphosis, when, as a rule, owing to the imprudent hurry by which the convert's reformation has been brought about, his Christianity instead of being pure is superstitious, instead of being genuine is only nominal, instead of being deep is only superficial, and not having fairly taken root, it cannot flourish and become reproductive. The Christian missionaries in Africa should not only be well-trained, highly-educated, and large-minded men, but they should be men of imagination, logical power, and philosophical spirit . . . who will be content to prepare the soil by the painful and judicious husbandry of years if not of generations.

It has been charged against Dr. Blyden that he eulogizes Mohammedanism to the disparagement of Christianity. The truth is that he gives Islam its full quota of praise for the good it has accomplished in lifting the negro out of absolute barbarism. The Koran he regards as "an important educator." At the same time he very plainly states his belief in the ultimate triumph of Christianity over Islam.

As to the conflict for the supremacy of Christianity he says : "I venture to think that if they desire to convert Mohammedans, Christians should give up their bitter hostility and study Islam with greater sympathy and liberality," and in order to be an "effective missionary among the natives of Interior Africa" the question "must begin with 'silver and gold have I none' and end with 'stand up! I myself also am a man.'"

Dr. Blyden deeply deplores the ravages of the rum traffic in Africa :—

It is a very fortunate circumstance for Africa that the Mohammedans of the interior present so formidable and impenetrable a barrier to the desolating flood which but for them would sweep across the Continent. One of the most pernicious elements in the demoralization of the coast tribes is ardent spirits. It is unfortunate for the English and other European languages that in this part of Africa (West Coast), they have come to the greater portion of the natives associated with plunder and cruelty, and devoid of any connection with spiritual things, while the Arabic is regarded by them as the language of religion and piety, and of all that is unworldly and spiritual.

A large store of general knowledge is contained in these papers, concerning Liberia, Sierra Leone, and the adjacent country. Patriotism is the dominant idea in these discussions, but they exhibit also the careful observer and diligent student, one who has the courage of his convictions as to the best methods of solving the many grave problems surrounding the negro in this country and which beset the work of civilization in Africa. Dr. Blyden has enjoyed exceptional opportunities of travel and observation in both hemispheres, and has studied his race under widely varying conditions.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY PROFESSOR C. A. AMARON, D. D., PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH PROTESTANT COLLEGE AT SPRINGFIELD, MASS., AT TREMONT TEMPLE, FEBRUARY 25.

64. *What is likely to be the effect of the large immigration of French Canadian Catholics into New England?*

Consistent Roman Catholics are opposed to your public school system. The bulk of the French Canadians in New England are Roman Catholics. They are here in your midst about 350,000 strong, controlled by a wise and far-seeing clergy. The French Canadians are made to believe that the system of education which prevails in the Province of Quebec and in Ontario works well there, and that it is quite sufficient for them here. They are putting forth herculean efforts to plant that system on your New England soil. Their purpose is nothing less than to change in time your New England States into a new France.

The doctrine of the French Catholic Church is that outside of the Catholic apostolic church there is no salvation. The French Catholic parochial school I take to be nothing but a nest of revolution. [Applause.] The mischief of Catholic parochial schools is not simply that the children in them are prevented from obtaining a good American education in your public schools, but that children are taught to be rebels against the institutions which are destroying their faith. It is common-sense that the clerical party with its convictions should teach this, and if I were a priest I would do the same thing.

The Catholic press is wholly under the control of the clergy, unable to give expression to an independent thought, because it would be boycotted were it to do so, and that would be the end of it.

In the annual national French Canadian convention, such as that which was held in Nashua last summer, and which I attended, measures anti-American to the backbone were discussed and passed.

And, finally, there is the naturalization club controlled by the clergy, where voters are formed who will pledge themselves to vote just as the priests wish them to vote. The French vote is preparing to make an alliance with the Irish vote on the school question. And yet we have Americans who laugh at these pretensions. We have newspapers so optimistic, and this is one of the plagues of this nation to-day, that they think everything will turn out right. There is a large and ever-increasing emigration from Canada. It is a very significant fact that where the clergy in the past have been opposed to this immigration, they are now encouraging it. Why?

Because they have seen that your New England States are being more rapidly and thoroughly affected by Romanism than Romanism is being affected by your institutions. Then they have a large increase by birth. What can you do, you New Englanders, with your families of one and two children, against Jean Baptiste, with his ten, fifteen, eighteen, twenty, and thirty children ? I have seen such families among the French Canadians. You are rapidly being replaced by this population here, and here you are, up to this moment, almost unaware of the presence of these disintegrating forces.

Now, we French Protestants wish to help the movement you are now making. We wish to help it by spreading the word of God. That is what Catholics need most. [Applause.] We wish to have the Bible sent into every French home, whether the priest wants it there or not. Then we want to create a press ; we want to form a publication society, a Protestant French publication society, the object of which will be to print a good, strong, Protestant Christian paper that will be disseminated among these Romanist multitudes. We wish to send to them literature and tracts of all kinds. And to do all this we need men.

It was for these reasons that we laid in New England the foundation of a French Protestant college, where the English language is taught, where the Bible has and always will have, as long as I have anything to do with the college, a high place among its text-books, to be studied carefully and reverently, and with prayer. We do not compel the Catholic boys who come to our school to read the Bible if they do not wish to. A mother wrote me some time ago that she did not want her boys to learn their Bible verses ; well, I replied I would not compel them to learn them, of course. But those boys went home at Christmas, and she found them so much improved, so much better, that she wrote to me, " You can let my boys read the Bible, if they like, for the rest of the year." The Bible tells upon these young men, forms their character, and those who have been the most opposed to the use of the Bible are now those who are the most ready to help it.

In connection with the public school discussion in Canada, let me ask you to notice what the rule of Romanism will bring to a country. There is a council of public education in the Province of Quebec, composed of bishops and the Cardinal and some distinguished laymen, of which Dr. Dawson and others are members. Now, the church has so managed things that nothing can come before the legislature until that council has decided that it should. Of course the Protestants say, You have had public money for the building and keeping up of Catholic schools, and now we want something. And the Premier says : " I am sorry I cannot do anything, but I cannot until the council has decided that I can." Protestants cannot bring any measure in defense of their interests in schools before the legislature. Why ? Because the Cardinal does not want any such measure brought there. That is the way in which Rome will grasp everything ; and I thank God from my heart that this question is being discussed to-day, and God bless the discus-

sion. Let us be manly, let us be strong ; let us remember the days of Calvin and Luther.

REPLY BY THE REV. CYRUS HAMLIN, D. D., LL. D., EX-PRESIDENT OF ROBERT COLLEGE, CONSTANTINOPLE, AT TREMONT TEMPLE, FEBRUARY 25.

65. *Can the Bible be taught without sectarianism in schools patronized by various sects ?*

In the formation of Robert College, in Constantinople, an institution designed for students of from eight to ten nationalities, and from six to eight different forms of religion, the question arose, What place shall the Bible have in the institution ? It was said by many, It cannot be introduced because you expect to have Catholics, Armenians of the old Gregorian Church, Greeks of the ancient Greek Church, and persons from all forms of Protestantism and Judaism. I had to decide the question and send forth the programme of the college, which I did in seven different languages, stating that the Bible would be read morning and evening, and that prayer would be offered ; that there would be worship on the Sabbath, and that the preaching would be on the basis of the Bible ; that the Bible was also to be taught as a text-book to Bible classes on the Sabbath day in the different languages of the students, that is, in English, French, Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian, etc., but that absolute religious freedom would reign throughout the institution ; that when parents should request it, the student would be permitted to attend the worship of his church on his sacred day, that is, the Moslem on Friday, the Jew on Saturday, and the members of the different Christian churches on their Sunday ; but that all the other students would be required to attend the religious services of the college.

It was honestly supposed by many that this arrangement was absurd ; that non-Protestant parents would not send their children to an institution where the Bible should have such a place. The first year we had but few non-Protestant students ; the second year we had quite a number ; the third year the non-Protestant students outnumbered the Protestants, and ever since the non-Protestant students have outnumbered the Protestants certainly three to one. When a parent, father or mother, requested that a son should be allowed to go to his church on his sacred day we allowed it, and there was always a number who were thus sent to their churches. But how long ? I never knew a student in that college go five times to his church. Why ? Because the worship was in an unknown tongue to him — in the Roman Church, in the Latin ; in the Greek Church, the ancient Greek ; in the Armenian Church, the ancient Armenian ; and they found that the services in the college were in the language they could understand, and they chose to attend them. Now, Mr. Chairman, if we had refused to let them attend their churches, they would have gone, but as we allowed them to go, they did not care to go. [Laughter and applause.] They did not go, after a time.

In the Bible classes we had no difficulty, because no sectarianism was taught. [Applause.] Nothing was said about Judaism, or Islam, or any

form of Protestantism or Roman Catholicism, or Orientalism of any kind. The Bible was taught, and that was all. There was no trouble about versions. I think we had as many as six or eight versions in the college. We had the King James version, the Douay version, the Septuagint, the ancient Armenian version, and the modern Armenian version, and the Bulgarian. We cared not what version of the Bible the pupils had ; there was no trouble on that point whatever. But our plan had this good effect, that many of the students expressed their wonder that the Protestant version was so almost exactly like their version ; and many compared the Douay version with the Protestant, and were surprised to find that in effect the same truths were in both, and wherever there was a difference it led them to inquire into the difference. We never taught them on that point, but left it to their own inquiries.

This freedom of the Bible and of the pupils commanded the respect of the students and their parents. After some five or six years, perhaps it was in the seventh year, a combination was formed against this plan. The opposition had its origin outside the college. There was a party determined that the Bible should be taken out of Robert College, or that students should be withdrawn, and a real conspiracy was gotten up against the Bible, and finally the definite ultimatum was given us, "You take out the Bible, or we shall take out the scholars." We replied to that, "The doors of Robert College swing both ways, and as easily one way as another, which was the fact materially, and any student who wishes to go is as free to go as any other student is to come." [Applause.] In point of fact, only seventeen students left. They were students we were very sorry to lose ; they were connected with high and influential families, and many of them were ardent, hard-working students. They left. But in two weeks, one after another, twelve of them returned [applause] ; and within three weeks fifteen of the seventeen returned [applause] ; and the other two called privately at the college to say they were immensely sorry that they could not come back, but that the pride of their fathers would not allow them to come. Since that time, sir, there has been no demand for taking the Bible out of Robert College. And I have had intelligent men, non-Protestant, but very intelligent Greek merchants, say to me, "If you should take the Bible out of the college it would ruin it. [Applause.] What we Greeks need is more Bible and less ritualism." [Applause.]

This question of the Bible in the schools requires only a little more courage. Stand by the Bible and the Bible will stand by you. [Applause.] Stand by the Bible in the schools, and the schools will flourish. [Applause.]

EDITORIAL NOTES.

WASHINGTON is the accepted American measure of a man. It is difficult to say which of four traits was the most conspicuous in his character, massiveness, conscientiousness, symmetry, or solidity. The massiveness was perfected by the symmetry. The conscientiousness was the chief source of the solidity. The symmetry was such as to give not only balance of temperaments, and of physical proportions, but unmatched poise of judgment, of motives, and of purposes. The solidity was like that of El Capitan. It appeared in courage, alertness, caution, power of endurance, extraordinary practical sagacity, commanding seriousness, patriotic unselfishness, inflexible integrity. The combination of these traits in Washington made him the greatest among the great men with whom he stands grouped in American history. He did not possess brilliant powers of expression and imagination. In every other respect his endowments were of the first order of eminence.

A table-land may be as high as a mountain and yet not appear as high. Western Colorado is half as high as Pike's Peak, but does not look as high, because it is *all* high. Washington was high as a table-land and not as a peak, and so his height is often underestimated, except by experts in the study of spiritual landscapes. He was great in many directions. He was first in war, and first in peace, and first in the confidence and affection of his countrymen. This familiar characterization of him is the truth of cool history, not of idealizing sentiment or partisan eulogy. This was the truth of history as it was understood by his contemporaries. After one hundred years from the date of his inauguration as President, it remains yet the truth of history as it is interpreted by his successors. When his environment included such men as John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Franklin, Washington was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen. It remains true that he is yet first in all these aspects, although

his memory now has the environment of Webster, and Clay, and Sumner, and Seward, and Grant, and Lincoln.

It is a cheerful sign of the times that it was not the material development of the country, nor even the completion of a century of constitutional government that drew out the chief enthusiasm in the celebration of April 30, but rather the character of Washington as a man, a Christian, a soldier, a patriot, a chief magistrate. An impressive naval display crowded the waters at the New York gates of the ocean. The colossal statue of Liberty Enlightening the World lifted her hand in benediction above a maritime pageant such as this continent never before witnessed. A military and civic parade in the streets of New York eclipsed all former similar displays among Americans. A most elaborate programme of speeches by distinguished men drew vast audiences in New York, Chicago, and many other cities. But the chief fact in the whole celebration was the unbroken reverence felt by the entire people for Washington's character as a whole, in war, in peace, and in private life. There is hope for the spiritual future of America so long as hero-worship is spontaneously paid by the leaders and the masses of the population to the name, the principles, and the career of Washington. While Americans build with his soul as the measure of a man, they are building better than they know.

BISHOP POTTER's address at St. Paul's Church, April 30, in the great New York celebration of the centennial of Washington's inauguration, has justly received much praise, and perhaps as justly much blame. It is not to be supposed that it was intended to be a personal rebuke to President Harrison for the political methods of his administration. The speaker must have known, however, that the opponents of the President, who was present as a guest on the occasion, would claim that such rebuke was intended; and this they have not failed to do. Party loyalty has defended the President and attacked Bishop Potter, and so the address has excited more comment than any other that the celebration called out. Its essential paragraphs we gladly make a part of our record of current reform.

When the first President of the republic had taken upon him, by virtue

of his solemn oath, pronounced in the sight of the people, the heavy burden of his chief magistracy, he turned straightway to these walls, and, kneeling in yonder pew, asked God for strength to keep his promise to the nation and his oath to Him. This was no unwonted home to him, nor to a large proportion of those eminent men who, with him, were associated in framing the Constitution of these United States. Children of the same spiritual mother, and nurtured in the same Scriptural faith and order, they were wont to carry with them into their public deliberation something of the same reverent and Conservative spirit which they had learned within these walls, and of which the youthful and ill-regulated fervors of the new-born republic often betrayed its need. And he, their leader and chief, while singularly without cant or formalism or pretense in his religious habits, was penetrated, as we know well, by a profound sense of the dependence of the republic upon a guidance other than that of man, and of his own need of a strength and courage and wisdom greater than he had in himself.

The modern student of history has endeavored to tell us how it was that the service in this chapel which we are striving to reproduce came about. The record is not without obscurity, but of one thing we may be sure — that to him who, of that goodly company a hundred years ago gathered within these walls, was chief, it was no empty form, no decorous affectation. Events had been too momentous, the hand of a Heavenly Providence had been too plain for him and the men who were grouped about him then, to misread the one or mistake the other. The easy levity with which their children's children debate the facts of God and duty and eternal destiny were as impossible to them as faith and reverence seem to be, or to be in danger of becoming, to many of us. And so we may be very sure that when they gathered here the air was hushed, and hearts as well as heads were bent in honest supplication.

The one thing that has, I imagine, amazed a good many cynical and pessimistic people among us is the way in which the ardor of a great people's love and homage and gratitude have kindled, not before the image of a mechanism, but of a man. It has been felt with an unerring intuition which has once and again and again in human history been the attribute of the people as distinguished from the doctrinaires, the theorists, the system makers, that that which makes it worth while to commemorate the inauguration of George Washington is not merely that it is the consummation of the nation's struggle toward organic life, not merely that by the initiation of its Chief Executive it set in operation that Constitution which Mr. Gladstone has declared is "the most perfect instrument which the wit of man has devised;" but that it celebrates the beginning of an administration which, by its lofty and stainless integrity, by its absolute superiority to selfish or secondary motives, by the rectitude of its daily conduct in the face of whatsoever threats, blandishments, or combinations, rather than by the ostentatious phariseism of its professions, has taught this nation and the world forever what the Christian ruler of a Christian people ought to be.

I yield to no man in my veneration for the men who framed the compact

under which these States are bound together. No one can easily exaggerate their services or the value of that which they wrought out. But, after all, we may not forget to-day that the thing which they made was a dead and not a living thing. It had no power to interpret itself, to apply itself, to execute itself. Splendid as it was in its complex and forecasting mechanism, instinct as it was in one sense, with a noble wisdom, with a large-visioned statesmanship, with a matchless adaptability to untried emergencies, it was, nevertheless, no different in another aspect from one of those splendid specimens of naval architecture which throng our wharves to-day and which, with every best contrivance of human art and skill, with capacities of progress which newly amaze us every day, are but as impotent, dead matter, save as the brain and hand of man shall summon and command them. "The Ship of State," we say. Yes; but it is the cool and competent masonry at the helm of that, as of every other ship which shall, under God, determine the glory or the ignominy of the voyage.

Never was there a truth which more surely needed to be spoken! A generation which vaunts its descent from the founders of the republic seems largely to be in danger of forgetting their preëminent distinction. They were few in numbers, they were poor in worldly possessions — the sum of the fortune of the richest among them would afford a fine theme for the scorn of the plutocrat of to-day; but they had an invincible confidence in the truth of those principles in which the foundations of the republic had been laid, and they had an unselfish purpose to maintain them. The conception of the national government as a huge machine, existing mainly for the purpose of rewarding partisan service — this was a conception so alien to the character and conduct of Washington and his associates that it seems grotesque even to speak of it. It would be interesting to imagine the first President of the United States confronted with some one who had ventured to approach him upon the basis of what are now commonly known as "practical politics;" but the conception is impossible.

There is an element of infinite sadness in the effort which we are making to-day. Ransacking the annals of our fathers as we have been doing for the last few months, a busy and well-meaning assiduity would fain reproduce the scene, the scenery, the situation, of a hundred years ago! Vain and impotent endeavor! It is as though out of the lineaments of living men we would fain produce another Washington. We may disinter the vanished draperies, we may revive the stately minuet, we may rehabilitate the old scenes, but the march of a century cannot be halted or reversed, and the enormous change in the situation can neither be disguised nor ignored. Then we were, though not all of us sprung from one nationality, practically one people. Now that steadily deteriorating process against whose dangers a great thinker of our own generation warned his countrymen just fifty years ago, goes on, on every hand, apace. "The constant importation," wrote the author of "The Weal of Nations," "as now, in this country, of the lowest orders of people from abroad to dilute the quality of our natural manhood, is a sad and beggarly prostitution of the noblest gift ever con-

ferred on a people. Who shall respect a people who do not respect their own blood? And how shall a national spirit, or any determinate and proportionate character, arise out of so many low-bred associations and coarse-grained temperaments, imported from every clime? It was, indeed, in keeping that Pan, who was the son of everybody, was the ugliest of the gods."

And again; another enormous difference between this day and that of which it is the anniversary is seen in the enormous difference in the nature and influence of the forces that determine our national and political destiny. Then ideas ruled the hour. To-day there are, indeed, ideas that rule our hour, but they must be merchantable ideas. The growth of wealth, the prevalence of luxury, the massing of large material forces, which by their very existences are a standing menace to the freedom and integrity of the individual, the infinite swagger of our American speech and manners, mistaking bigness for greatness, and sadly confounding gain and godliness — all this is a contrast to the austere simplicity, the unpurchasable integrity of the first days and first men of our republic, which makes it impossible to reproduce to-day either the temper or the conduct of our fathers. As we turn the pages backward, and come upon the story of that 30th of April in the year of our Lord 1789, there is a certain stateliness in the air, a certain ceremoniousness in the manners, which we have banished long ago. We have exchanged the Washingtonian dignity for the Jeffersonian simplicity, which was, in truth, only another name for the Jacksonian vulgarity. And what have we gotten in exchange for it? In the elder States and dynasties they had the trappings of royalty and the pomp and splendor of the king's person to fill men's hearts with loyalty. Well, we have dispensed with the old titular dignities. Let us take care that we do not part with that tremendous force for which they stood! If there be not titular royalty, all the more need is there for personal royalty. If there is to be no nobility of descent, all the more indispensable is it that there should be nobility of ascent — a character in them that bear rule, so fine and high and pure, that as men come within the circle of its influence they involuntarily pay homage to that which is the one preëminent distinction, the Royalty of Virtue!

JUSTIN WINSOR, librarian of Harvard University, contributes to a highly interesting and valuable *symposium* on Washington in the "Independent" of April 25, a word that has long needed to be said concerning the reasons for a new edition of the writings of the Father of his Country. The positions of Mr. Winsor are supported by George William Curtis and Thomas Wentworth Higginson in the same *symposium*, and will meet with the earnest approval of every scholar in the nation. Mr. Winsor says:—

Packed in boxes and piled beneath the room in which I write are the

stereotype plates of the twelve volumes of Sparks's "Life and Writings of George Washington," now a worthless possession, except for the melting-pot. The works of Washington, as given by Sparks, under the restrictions of such a selection as he thought the public would be best content with, hardly measure, it is probable, a tenth part of what it is possible to present to-day to a public, which, if I mistake not, demands that everything which Washington wrote should be put in indestructible print, as the fittest memorial which can possibly be constructed of his great fame and of his countrymen's admiration. It is yet ten years to the centennial of his death. It would take that time to collect, collate, verify, and arrange for publication this great mass of his correspondence, and of his military and civil documents, sufficiently annotated and illustrated.

The work to-day must be done in the main as if no one had cleared the field. The kind of editorial supervision which Sparks did will no longer satisfy the public or its scholars. Sparks was the kind of editor which was the natural outgrowth of his generation. He had the merits and the failings of a pioneer. We must be thankful for the one, and pardon him for the other; but with all the gratitude toward Sparks that we should feel — and it is too vast to be easily expressed — the judgment of historical criticism at this day is that his work must be entirely done over again. It is an unfortunate element in Washington's fame that the generation which grew up soon after his death derived their conceptions of him from the "goody" biography of Mason L. Weems, so long popular and still in the market; while a generation next succeeding were educated to view him in the unsoiled clothing and studied bearing which Sparks had in large measure given to his portraiture. It is superfluous almost to say, that no historical student of the school now in vogue can think his studies are well-vouched, unless he can observe a great man as his contemporaries saw him.

In December, 1887, Secretary Bayard sent a circular letter to leading historical students throughout the country, asking their opinion of a plan to print the great mass of documentary material in the archives of the Department of State, including the Washington manuscripts, just as the papers were written, with no omissions and with no changes. "This," he said, "is the only rational method of utilizing these collections that commends itself." And as a specimen of the way in which he proposed the work should be done, he had set up in type for the consideration of these critics about a hundred octavo pages, which covered the letters written by, and addressed to, Washington, with their inclosures, from the time Washington started from Philadelphia in June, 1775, to take command of the army in Cambridge, to the following August, comprising, in fact, more than two months of his camp life at the beginning of the war. We may safely suppose that in different parts of the country, as this letter of the secretary came to hand with its accompanying brochure, the third volume of Sparks's Washington was taken from its shelf, and the two texts compared. Almost every variety of change that can vitiate a text, which one needs to have authentic, was pressed at once upon the notice of these critical students. The style was

changed to suit another standard ; what was rough was made smooth ; what was grating was omitted ; what was disjointed was run together ; and what was consecutive was broken up. What these students had been reading all these years in the pages of Sparks, was not Washington, amid the distractions of responsibility, harried in mind, critical of ways he was not accustomed to ; but another being, careful with his grammar, considerate with his punctuation, scholastic in his spelling, smothered in his momentary feelings.

It was a claim for a restoration of the man of the Revolution, that this comparison of texts brought to these scholars' minds, as they considered the problem, which the secretary had brought to their attention afresh.

For some reason or other Mr. Bayard's project failed of even a start ; and we have for a partial substitute the new edition of Washington's writings now in progress, fortunately with the same adherence to the genuine text, of which the first volume under the editing of Mr. Worthington C. Ford has recently appeared. Americans, whether scholars or not, are to be thankful for it ; but its promised fourteen volumes cannot hold more than a portion of what we crave, to say nothing of the necessary adjuncts, of which we had samples in the specimen brochure of the secretary.

Therefore let us hope that Congress will yet do its duty to this great character and cause that the hundredth anniversary of his death shall see in our libraries and on the shelves of the ever-increasing number of students of American history, this great monumental collection of all that Washington ever wrote, reflecting every shade of his character because printed as he wrote it, and elucidated as it deserves.

WE are not among those who think that the character, or the influence of Washington has been overestimated. President Eliot of Harvard University was quite within the solid truth when he said at the Centennial banquet : —

Our children, of whatever race — British, Irish, French, German, Scandinavian, Italian, Spanish, Greek, African, Indian, and of whatever religious communion, Jewish, Mormon, Roman Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Wesleyan, Presbyterian, Congregational — all have learned that Washington was the brave and steadfast soldier, the wise statesman and the patriotic ruler, who made their country free, strong, and just. They all know his figure, dress, and features, and if asked to name their country's hero every voice would answer, Washington.

The 250,000 girls and boys in the secondary schools are getting a fuller view of this incomparable character than the younger children can reach. They are old enough to understand his civil as well as his military achievements. They learn of his great part in that immortal federal convention of 1787 ; of his inestimable services in organizing and conducting through two Presidential terms the new government, services of which he alone was capable, and of his firm resistance to misguided popular clamor. They see

him ultimately victorious in war and successful in peace, but only through much adversity and over many obstacles.

Next picture to yourself the 60,000 students in colleges and universities, selected youth of keen intelligence, wide reading, and high ambition. They are able to compare Washington with the greatest men of other times and countries, and to appreciate the unique quality of his renown. They can set him beside the heroes of romance and history, beside David, Alexander, Pericles, Caesar, Saladin, Charlemagne, Gustavus Adolphus, John Hampden, William the Silent, Peter of Russia, and Frederick the Great, only to find him a nobler human type than any one of them, complete in his nature, happier in his cause, and more fortunate in the great issues of his career.

They are taught to see in him a soldier whose sword wrought only mercy and justice for mankind; a statesman who steadied a remarkable generation of public men by his mental poise and exalted them by his singleness of heart, and a ruler whose exercise of power established for the first time on earth a righteous government by all for all. They recognize in him a simple, stainless, and robust character, which served with dazzling success the precious cause of human progress through liberty, and so stands, like the sunlit peak of the Matterhorn, unmatched in all the world.

SOCIETY, of the fashionable sort, was represented at the Centennial Ball in New York on Monday night, April 29, by people who disgraced themselves by drunkenness after the feast. Our population, as a whole, cannot be held responsible for the scandals of this occasion. The press of the country has excoriated the culprits none too severely. It was a great mistake on the part of the management to provide free champagne at a public dinner and to open such opportunity for shameful indulgence. Whatever may occur at private entertainments, it is high time that free champagne should go out of fashion at public dinners. In both New York and Chicago almost no drunkenness or disorder was seen among the multitudes on the streets. It was a refreshing incident of the civic procession on Wednesday, May 1, that when it was passing the reviewing stand in Madison Square, although the President had accepted bouquets of flowers lifted up to him at the end of long staves, he declined with decision and with the emphatic applause of thousands of spectators, to accept a bottle of wine presented in the same way. His example in this respect, following that of Mrs. Hayes in expelling wine from the White House, represents that growing temperance sentiment which has now made scientific education in total abstinence compulsory in the public schools of twenty-five States and Territories.

MISS WILLARD'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY, entitled "Glimpses of Fifty Years," is a richly illustrated octavo of over 700 pages. It has been eagerly expected and will be read as a whole with zealous attention, in spite of its great fullness of details. The volume exhibits on every page Miss Willard's characteristic genius as author and reformer. The style is vivid, incisive, picturesque, animated, clear, and so carefully avoids being stilted and dull that it drops now and then into phrases which some will possibly criticise as not drawn from the "well of English undefiled," and others will praise as an addition to the raciness of the narrative. The freedom and freshness and brilliancy of the best portions of the autobiography; its impassioned championship of the wide reforms which woman's enlarging sphere now embraces; its sketches of Miss Willard's friends among reformers and politicians; its thoroughly American tone, and, above all, its devout, aggressive, evangelical spirit, make the work the most remarkable life that has ever been published of an American woman. The study of this book will be an inspiration to the great host of Miss Willard's friends and associates in reform. The title-page states that the volume was written "by order of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union." The book is dedicated by Miss Willard to her mother on her eighty-fifth birthday, January 5, 1889.

The general plan of the autobiography is a natural and skillful one. It represents Miss Willard as "a welcome child, a romping girl, a happy student, a roaming teacher, a tireless traveler, a temperance advocate and organizer, a woman in politics." To these seven sections are added a series of silhouettes on a variety of topics of reform with an appendix on ancestry. Nearly half the book, however, is taken up by matter touching Miss Willard's life and travels before she became a temperance reformer. Extracts from her early diaries occupy as much space as those from her later speeches. Many points of personal history that seem almost too sacred for publication are presented here with the frankness of one who seems always to be writing for her friends and sure of their sympathy. We expect soon to review this work and make elaborate extracts from it as part of our record of reform. We venture the prediction that the book

will make Miss Willard in a more emphatic sense than ever the best known and the best loved woman in America.

OCEAN passage across the Atlantic has now been reduced to less than six days. The City of Paris, of the Inman line, has achieved a record of five days, twenty-two hours, and ten minutes, corrected time, between Sandy Hook and Queenstown. As lately as 1851, it was considered surprising when the Pacific made the voyage from New York to Liverpool in slightly less than ten days. The screw has supplanted side-wheels for steamers; the double screw has generally taken the place of the single screw.

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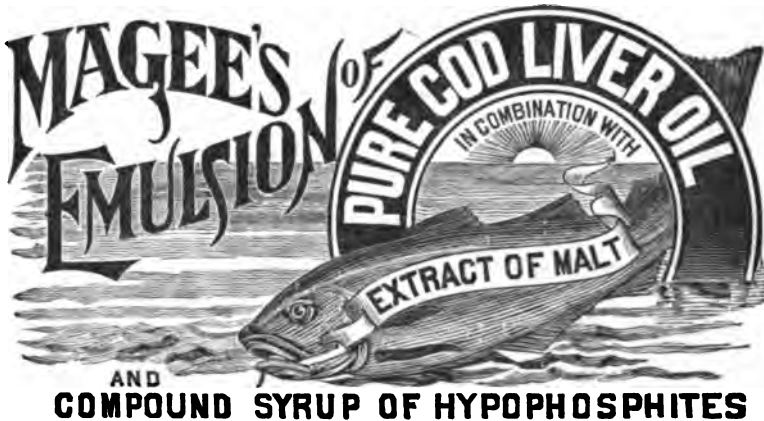
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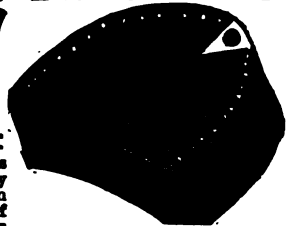
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